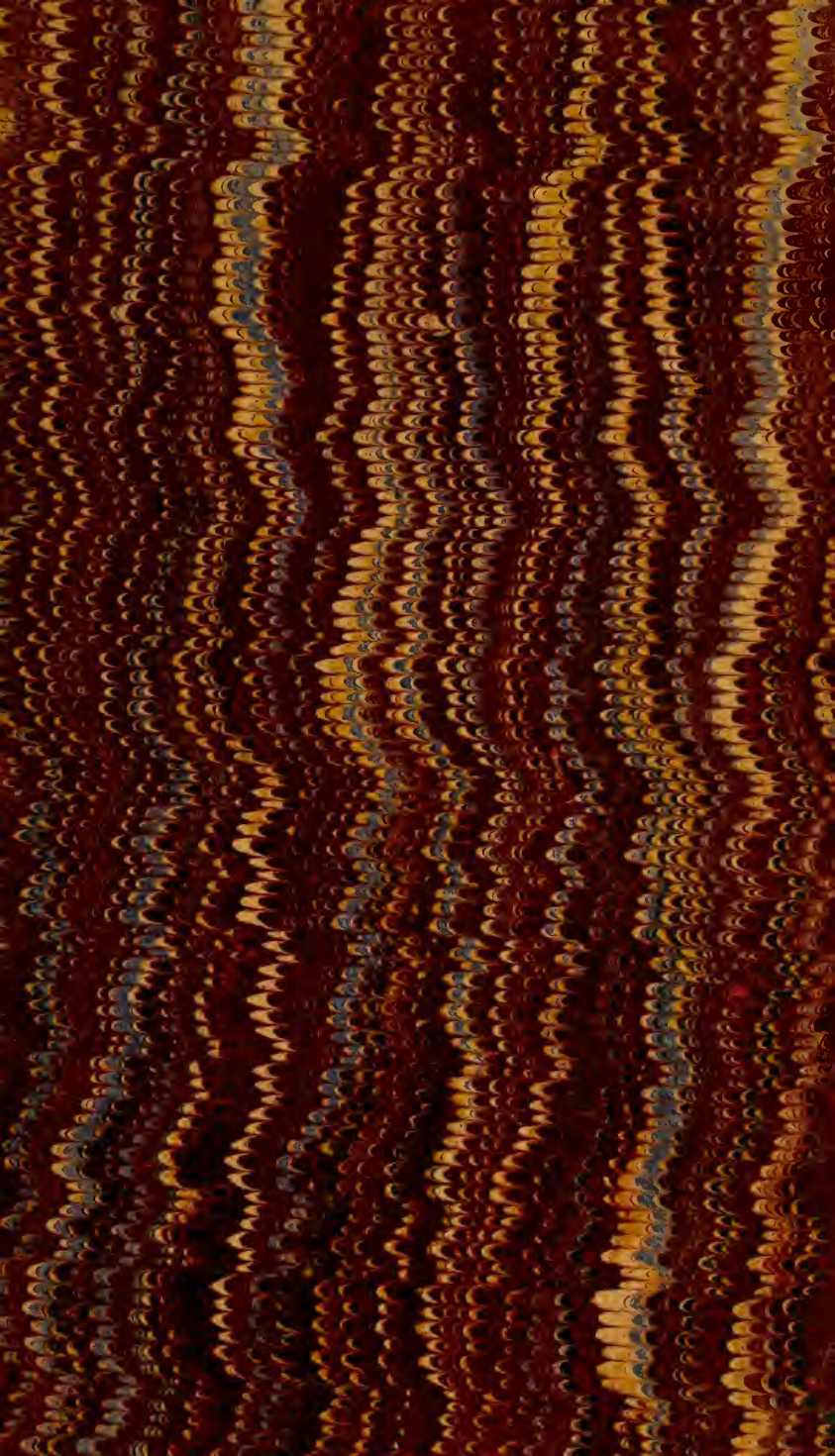




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TWENTY-SEVENTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

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AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

AND OF THE

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY,

JANUARY 17, 1844.

WASHINGTON:

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TWENTY-SEVENTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.



IN the opening of this Report the Executive Committee acknowledge with reverence and submission, the afflicting visitation of Providence, by which the venerable Dr. Proudfit, a Vice President of the Society, and for several years the devoted and able secretary of the New York Colonization Society, has been removed from his labors to his reward. He died, after a short illness, on the 17th of April, cherishing even in his last moments, the holy sentiments that had so long animated him as a Christian minister and philanthropist, and an unwavering confidence in the character and success of this institution. His eminent faith, devotion, and charity were evident to all who knew him, and the people of Liberia, and thousands in whose bosoms he excited sympathy in their behalf, and from whose benevolence he drew generous contributions for their benefit, will cherish the remembrance of his distinguished exertions and virtues. His voice of persuasion and encouragement was heard in this hall, at the last anniversary of the Society, and though dead he still speaks. By his works and his example he will continue to live, and by an influence to which time shall add only increasing extent and power.

With painful regret, the Committee also record the decease of the Hon. Wm. Halsey, of New Jersey, a gentleman, who, during several of the closing years of his life, engaged with zeal, energy and perseverance in efforts to make known the views and increase the funds of the Society. He visited repeatedly many parts of New Jersey, excited the public

mind to confidence and activity in the enterprize, diffused information, replied to objections, and induced many who had been indifferent, to feel and manifest an interest in its success. Among the last acts of his useful and honored life was the publication of a pamphlet, exhibiting a brief account of the origin and results, as now evident, of African Colonization, and of his own endeavors in co-operation with the State Society of New Jersey, for the advancement of the cause. This institution, the State in which he lived, and Africa so deeply indebted to his labors, will remember him with affection, and long deplore his loss.

On the ninth of May last, seventy one of the slaves left by Mrs. Margaret Alison Reed, of Mississippi, to Dr. Stephen Duncan and the Rev. Zebulon Butler, embarked at New Orleans, in the bark "Renown," chartered by the American Colonization Society, for Liberia. Six others, free persons of color from Mississippi accompanied them, which (one child a few months old having died on the passage to Norfolk,) with three of the same class from Charleston, made the whole company that sailed from this last port, seventy nine. In this vessel, lumber and trade goods for the benefit of recaptured Africans to the amount of \$1,500 were shipped by order of the Government, which also sent out as freight to the amount of 1,840½ barrels of provisions, to be landed at Port Praya, in the Cape De Verd Islands, for the U. S. Squadron. This vessel was, after having landed a part of her cargo, unfortunately wrecked at the Cape De Verde with much loss, though all the passengers were saved, and through the kind and energetic efforts of our consul, F. Gardner, Esq., transferred to the barque Jane, of Massachusetts, promptly chartered by him to convey them to the colony. Though the loss of stores and provisions may have caused some inconvenience to these emigrants, all claim on account of the *Renown* ceasing with the nonfulfilment of the terms of the charter-party, this unfortunate event proved of no pecuniary disadvantage to the Society. Intelligence of the arrival of this company at the colony, though for some time expected, has not yet arrived.

Early in November, the barque "Lutetia," sailed from Baltimore, with between seventy and eighty emigrants, nearly all manumitted slaves, and under the patronage of the Maryland Colonization Society, destined to the colony at Cape Palmas. A worthy colored family, Mr. Harrings, and an intelligent colored mechanic, Mr. Hines, from Virginia, embarked in this vessel for Monrovia, under the direction and at the expense of the Parent Society. Of the number emigrating to Cape Palmas, thirty-one were manumitted by a single philanthropic individual, Mr. Goodwin, who was present, with a numerous assembly of the friends of the cause, to participate in the impressive religious services at their departure.

By a recent legal decision, twelve slaves in Flemingsburg, Ky., are to receive their freedom and are now ready to emigrate, and a final decree in favor of the liberty of twenty-one at Richmond, Va., is expected the present month, while three in Nansemond county are now ready to sail, and a number from Gloucester county and other places will soon, it is expected, be placed at the disposal of the Society.

The message of Governor Roberts to the colonial legislature in the early part of the year, and his subsequent despatches, afford gratifying evidence of increasing attention to commerce, agriculture, education, and various public improvements. By the colonial law, a common school is to be established in every township of the colony, under the direction of a school committee, to which all persons are compelled by law to send their children; and, while all monies arising from licenses and unappropriated military and court fines are set apart as a fund to support education, the inhabitants of the several towns and villages are authorized to impose taxes to supply any deficiency. To this subject, the Governor invokes the consideration of the legislature in appropriate and impressive terms. "The condition of our race," he observes, "in other parts of the world, and especially of the inhabitants of this heathen country, should be motives to rouse us to greater diligence, that we may show to the world that the African race is as susceptible of mental improvement as any other. At present there are schools established in several of our towns and villages; these, however, are under the patronage and control of various religious institutions in America, and may be discontinued at any moment. It therefore becomes us to assist ourselves in this great work of improvement, that we may be prepared for any emergency. We can do something and should do something. Let us put our shoulders to the wheel, and when we have done all we can do, I pledge myself there will be no lack of aid. The sympathies of the benevolent every where are enlisted in our favor, especially with regard to this subject; and when it is known abroad, that we appreciate learning, and are doing all in our power to obtain it and cannot succeed, then, and not till then, shall we have the efficient aid of our friends abroad, and be able to establish permanent schools for the education of our youth." There is evidently a want of competent teachers, and of means for their support, and more effectual measures are suggested to the legislature by the Governor to meet the necessity of a more general and thorough system of instruction.

Though the commerce of the colony has suffered from occasional disasters, and particularly from the competition and interference of foreigners, yet it is steadily on the increase. It is stated in the message of the Governor just quoted, that "during the past year three new vessels have been launched at Monrovia, one at Bassa Cove, two, which were foreign

built purchased by colonists," and that three others were about to be launched from the stocks. It may be expected that confidence will arise and increase between American traders and the merchants of the colonies of great mutual advantages, and that these settlements will at no distant day attract to themselves a very valuable commerce from various points of the coast, and the powerful tribes of interior Africa. It is to be regretted, that while Liberia has already done much to enlighten the minds of the native Africans, to excite their industry, and direct their attention to the vast resources of their country, as well as to protect the lives and advance the interests of Americans engaged in lawful traffic upon that coast, it has looked in vain for that encouragement and support, which it so well merits from the Congress of the United States. The committee trust that such instructions have been or will be given to our African squadron, as shall enable it to render that protection and aid to the authorities of Liberia, as are consistent with the specific objects of its movements, and the constitution and true policy of the country.

The agricultural interests of the colony, have neither been prosecuted with sufficient vigor, nor wholly neglected. Of necessity the farmers of Liberia labor under great difficulties and embarrassments, and in the cultivation of the most valuable productions of the tropics, must be expected to make but slow progress. Trade, as the more easy and rapid means of support, naturally and principally occupied the attention and efforts of the early settlers, to the neglect of agriculture, the more sure and certain source of comfort and prosperity. "The soil," remarks the Governor, in his last message, "is good and capable of producing abundant harvests: this will be admitted by all, and in every instance where individuals have perseveringly given the business a fair trial, it has not failed to yield them a handsome reward." Again he observes, "though the crops among the natives last year, in a great degree failed, the colonists, especially in the upper settlements, were generally free from want, and in many instances were able to supply the neighboring natives. The past season has been one of rejoicing among the farmers. Rice crops, especially, have been abundant, and I rejoice to find that the people throughout the commonwealth are becoming awake to their true interests, and convinced that the future prosperity and independence of the colony, depend upon the agricultural resources of the country. Several gentlemen both in this and Bassa county, are turning their attention to this subject, and are establishing coffee and sugar estates, though at present on a small scale. The experiment has proved successful, and established beyond a doubt, the fact, that farmers in Liberia, if industrious, frugal and persevering, may become not only independent, but rich."

A number of valuable public improvements have been made in the colony, and in his message early in the year, the Governor states, that the revenue of 1842, arising from duties on imports, tonnage and other sources, amounted to \$5,403 53, and the expenditures on public works to \$3,111 12, leaving a balance in the treasury of \$2,242 41.

The constitution and laws of the commonwealth of Liberia, including an abstract of legal principles and rules, with an appendix of forms for legal proceedings, published by order of the Legislative Council, has been transmitted by the Governor to the Society, and leaves it impossible to doubt that intelligent justice and humanity pervade the public mind of the colony, and that in their enactments, a due regard will be had to education, to the necessities of the poor, and to the rights and interests of the native African people. The abstract of legal principles and rules, appears to have been compiled with care, by the former chairman of the committee (Judge Wilkeson) and transmitted to the colony, and to them, by an act of the legislature in 1841, was given the force of law.

On the whole, the committee are of opinion, that during no one year, since the origin of the Society, has the colony been as healthy, quiet, and improving as the last, and that its friends have occasion for special gratitude to Almighty God for his favoring providence towards it, for the good order and harmony of its inhabitants, for their increasing regard to the public welfare and the true resources of permanent individual prosperity, for the spirit which has animated the colonial legislature in the enactment of good laws, and for the wise administration of the same, and finally for the abundant evidence they possess, that the public affairs of Liberia are settled on firm and peaceful foundations.

Peace has prevailed during the year, between the colony and the native tribes, and some negotiations have been concluded, mutually beneficial and promising an extensive influence for the abolition of the slave trade, and the advance of civilization. In the month of February, Governor Roberts visited the Golah country, some eighty to one hundred miles in the interior, and of this region he remarks: "I have traveled considerably in the United States, but have never seen any where a more beautiful country than the one we passed through; well timbered and watered, and the soil, I venture to assert, equal to any in the world."

A treaty of amity and alliance was formed between the Colonial Government, and the principal king and other kings and head men of the Golahs, by which it was stipulated, that all matters of difference which might arise between the Liberians and Golahs, or between the head men of the Golahs, or between this tribe and any other, should be referred to the Governor for adjustment, that the natives of the interior should not be obstructed in their intercourse or trade with the colony, that the slave

trade should be banished from the country, and the superstitious trial by *saney-wend*, or other poisonous matters should be forever abandoned.

With Ballasada one of these chiefs, a treaty was concluded in 1840, and in the early part of last year, Governor Roberts was requested to interfere between him and a neighboring chief, Gogomina, who had taken and, as was supposed, murdered six of the people of Ballasada. On the requisition of the Governor the people (who were yet alive) were restored, and war prevented. Ballasada has expressed his desire of removing with his wife within the limits of the colony, and a tract of land has been assigned to him.

It has been observed, that this treaty may open commercial intercourse with the people around the sources of the Niger, and taken in connection with the fact, that treaties of the same general character have from time to time, been made with some thirty other kings, proves that, "however the colony may fall short of being what it should be, it has established among its neighbors, who have watched it for twenty years, such a reputation for superior intelligence, equity and good government, that they think their condition improved by placing themselves thus under its control."

Anxious to adopt every measure, which might conduce to diffuse information and client aid from the churches of the country, in the month of April a circular letter was prepared, and distributed to the number of about eight thousand, among the ministers of nearly every religious denomination in the land. This letter was copied in several of the religious newspapers, and there is reason to think was read by a large portion of the people of the United States.

Public confidence in the cause has, the Committee are convinced, been revived and strengthened during the year in many parts of the Union. In the spring, the Massachusetts Colonization Society resolved, that vigorous efforts were demanded by the circumstances of the Society and colony, and in a public address recommended it to the regards of the churches and congregations of every name. The State Colonization Society of Connecticut, was re-organized at Hartford, in the month of May, and that of Delaware, about the same time. The Colonization Society of Vermont, still continues its aid to the cause, and in New Hampshire and Maine, are some of its most warm and devoted friends. The New York and Pennsylvania Societies, have continued to cherish zeal in the enterprise, though from various causes (in the case of the former repeated disappointments in securing the services of a secretary and general agent,) their contributions have been less than in several former years. The Colonization Society of Indiana, and that of Missouri, have renewed their exertions, and Virginia retains for the scheme her early confidence and attachment. The Committee are assured that there is no abatement of

zeal in its behalf in Mississippi and Louisiana, though prevailing financial embarrassments in those States, and the want of an able agent, as in many other portions of the country, have prevented the usual amount of contributions to the Parent Society. In New England and some other sections of the Union, the cause of this Society has been assailed by every weapon which the subtlety and ingenuity of opponents could direct against it. So fierce and ungovernable has been the spirit of hostility, so disturbed has been the peace of ministers and churches, so extensively has suspicion been excited, and so many doubts thrown over the cause, that many intelligent and benevolent men have been led to pause and suspend their efforts for its benefit. Unfortunate impressions, produced by slight and transient causes, and individual dissensions on the African coast, of the influence of the colonists upon the cause of missions, have diminished confidence and sympathy in churches and prevented collections for the Society. Re-examination has re-established the merits of the cause in the minds of thousands, and made them its friends forever.

The committee have neglected no proper means of securing the services of able and judicious agents, but their endeavors have been attended with but partial success. In Pennsylvania, the Rev. J. B. Pinney, secretary and general agent of the Pennsylvania Society, has continued his earnest and useful labors, though various causes, especially the pecuniary embarrassments of the State, have rendered the collection of funds a work of toil and difficulty.

As secretary and general agent of the Massachusetts Society, the services of the Rev. Joseph Tracy, have been of great value, and his able writings have effectually contributed to diffuse information, correct errors, refute objections and strengthen confidence in the cause.

Mr. Franklin Knight was appointed early in the year to visit, as agent, various parts of Virginia, in the hope that a number of large unpaid subscriptions might be collected, and that a fund might be raised to enlarge by purchase, the Liberian territory. The pecuniary embarrassments in that State rendered it impossible to raise large sums of money, yet the faithful exertions of Mr. Knight, it is hoped, will not only result in the addition of a valuable amount to the funds of the society, but in awakening the minds of many to interest in the cause, and the formation of several auxiliary societies.

Rev. Samuel Cornelius, who had in previous years rendered very important service to the cause, has been earnestly engaged in advancing the interests of the Society in the State of Connecticut, and for a portion of the year in New Jersey.

Captain George Barker, who has long labored indefatigably and suc-

cessfully for the Institution, more particularly in the New England States, has continued his exertions in those States, and New York, principally in making collections and obtaining subscriptions to the African Repository.

The Rev. M. Wallace, of Ohio, and the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Kentucky, have made some efforts in their respective States during the year, and the Rev. Mr. M. Aston has recently been appointed for the State of Tennessee, but as yet, no intelligence is received of his movements.

While during the year a considerable amount of debt has been paid in the colony, and the pecuniary obligations of the Society been there reduced; yet the Committee regret to say, that owing to the failures of the usual resources from some of the most wealthy States of the Union, the full amount proposed to be raised at the last annual meeting, has not been received. The operations of the Society have thus been restricted and embarrassed, and the still remaining debt of the Society not materially diminished. The pecuniary difficulties of the country felt by all benevolent societies, and by almost every individual, the absence of the usual amount of aid from New York, Pennsylvania, Mississippi, and Louisiana, the too general neglect of ministers and churches, disposed to avoid agitated and controverted topics, to take up collections; the impossibility of obtaining able agents for certain districts of country, the obstacles thrown by the enemies of the Society in the way of those who have been employed, will afford an explanation of the financial condition of the Society. It should be added, that receipts from legacies have been smaller the last, than in several preceding years. Some bequests are still due the Society, but embarrassed by pending suits. It has been deemed expedient the last as in previous years, from motives of economy, in the necessary expenditures at the colony, to send a small stock of trade goods to the public store, and the returns have been as large as could be expected. By entering more largely into this commerce, could permanent arrangements be made, for securing regular intercourse by vessels under the control of the Society, between this country and the various settlements of the colony and other points on the coast, the Committee doubt not the means of the Institution might be much augmented.

From an extensive correspondence, and from intercourse with numerous individuals in various parts of the country, the Committee are well assured, that the limited income of the Society the last year, is not to be traced to a diminution of interest in the cause; but on the contrary, that the attachment of its friends every where is increasing, and that in more favorable times and circumstances they will extend to it that assistance which it merits and requires.

The difficulties which the colony has experienced from the interference of foreign traders, and the collisions and injuries to which it will be exposed, should any foreign Power establish itself on any portion of the coast to which its Government has pre-emptive rights, or so near in its vicinity as necessarily to restrain its advantages and restrict its growth, are subjects which have not escaped the consideration of the Committee. They have invoked the friendly interposition of our own Government to induce both the authorities of England and France to abstain from planting establishments on any portion of the coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, but they are not informed of the results of the representations which they are assured have been made on behalf of the Society, through our ministers, to at least one of these Governments.

Near the close of the last session of Congress, Mr Kennedy, of the Committee on Commerce, to whom had been referred the memorial of the Colonization convention, held in this city in May, 1842, presented a very valuable report, which has since been printed by order of Congress, with a great variety of documents relating to the history of African Colonization, the slave-trade, the condition, climate, people, commercial and agricultural resources of Africa. This report says:

“It is vitally important that the territory of the colonies should be enlarged, and that their jurisdiction should become clear and incontestible over the whole line of coast between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred miles; and that in case of hostilities between this and any European country, their rights as neutrals, should be recognized and respected. The increase of legitimate commerce on the western coast of Africa is already strongly tempting the enterprize of English merchants, and serious difficulties have arisen between British traders claiming rights, independent of the governments of Liberia and Maryland within their territorial limits. Naval officers of Great Britain have been called on by British subjects to interpose and defend them against the revenue laws of the colonies; and the French, the committee are informed, have sought to obtain a cession of lands within the limits of Liberia just referred to, and to which the people of that colony have a pre-emptive right.

“As neither Great Britain nor any European Government, has to the knowledge of the committee claimed political jurisdiction from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas; as such claim if by possibility it exists, has arisen long since the colonies were founded; as those who occupy these settlements have gone thither to establish for themselves, their posterity, and multitudes who may follow them, a republican commonwealth, capable of indefinite enlargement, it is essential that they be not disturbed in the exercise of rights already acquired, or precluded from extending their authority over the entire line of coast, (from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas) generally known as Liberia. An appropriation of a few thousand dollars to enable the colonists to effect negotiations with the native chiefs, by which the native title to this region of Africa should be extinguished, and the jurisdiction of their Government over it rendered unquestionable, would in the judgment of your committee, whether regarded as a measure auxiliary to the suppression of the slave-trade or to the interests of American commerce be highly expedient. In all treaties for the purchase of lands, it might be stipulated that on the part of the African chiefs the

slave-trade should be forever abandoned, and their attention directed to the more fruitful pursuits of agricultural industry, and to the exchange of the rich products of their country, for those of the manufacturing skill of this and other civilized nations. The people of the colonies, thus encouraged, would co-operate most effectively with our naval squadron in carrying out the humane and philanthropic purpose of the recent treaty, for the overthrow of the slave-trade, and become factors and agents to increase and extend American commerce in that quarter of the world. It is believed that \$20,000 thus expended would effect more for the furtherance of both these objects, than \$100,000 expended in any other way.

"The committee have abundant evidence, to which they refer in the documents accompanying this report, to show the increase of lawful commerce on the African coast, and that for want of adequate protection, and the due attention of our Government to the subject, it has been prosecuted by our own citizens under great disadvantages. To the testimony of Dr. James Hall, a gentleman entitled to full confidence, and who has resided long in Africa, the committee invite the special attention of the House. This testimony is confirmed by the information recently given to the world in the report and accompanying documents of a committee of the English House of Commons, appointed to inquire into the condition of the British settlements and their relations to the native tribes of Western Africa. The annual imports from Western Africa into this country probably exceed a million of dollars, and into Great Britain are about four millions. The palm-oil trade now becoming of great value had hardly an existence twelve years ago, is rapidly increasing, and may be increased to an almost indefinite extent. Hitherto the slave-trade has been at war with all improvement and every kind of innocent commerce; its cessation will be succeeded by the cultivation of the soil, and the growth of trade in all the varied and valuable productions of the African climate. It is of infinite importance that the natives of Africa should be convinced that agricultural labor, and the substitution of lawful trade for the infamous commerce in human beings, will be for their advantage, and that in their intercourse with them, our own merchants should possess every privilege granted to those of England, or any other nation.

"The establishment of a commercial agent (as recommended by Dr. Hall,) to reside in Liberia, and occasionally to visit in a Government vessel, various points on the coast, to ascertain the best sites for mercantile establishments, to form conventions and treaties of commerce and for the suppression of the slave-trade with the principal chiefs, to take charge of the stores and other property sent out for our ships-of-war, to guard the rights and interests of our seamen, and secure for American vessels free and unrestrained right of trade at all important stations, the committee would recommend as an object urgently demanded by interest and humanity.

"The time has arrived, in the opinion of the committee, when this subject of African Colonization has become sufficiently important to attract the attention of the people in its connection with the question of the political relations which these colonies are to hold with our Government. Founded partly by the private enterprise of American citizens, and partly by the aid of federal and state authorities, recognized as political communities by our laws, and even owing their regulation in some degree, to the sanction of a State of this Union, (as in the case of Maryland) they have attained a position in which, obviously, they must very soon become objects of consideration to the world, both for the commerce which may be under their control, and for the agency they are likely to exercise in the final disenthralment of the continent to which they belong. It may speedily become apparent to the observation of Christendom, that the slave-trade may more cer-

tainly, effectually and cheaply be destroyed by the colonial power on shore, than by all the squadrons of Europe and America afloat. The growth of such a conviction will inevitably draw an anxious and friendly eye towards the American colonies, from every power which sincerely pursues the charitable work of relieving Africa from her horrible traffic, and mankind from the reproach of permitting it. The influence of such a sentiment, we may conceive will greatly advance the interests and magnify the value of the colonies. It would appear to be our duty, before an occasion of conflicting interest may arise, to take such steps towards the recognition of our appropriate relations to these communities, as may hereafter secure to them the protection of this Government, and to our citizens the advantages of commercial intercourse with them."

The following resolutions are submitted at the close of this report.

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the increasing importance of the colonies on the western coast of Africa, both in regard to the commerce of that coast and their influence in suppressing the slave-trade, renders it expedient that an agent should be appointed by the Government to protect and advance the interests of American trade in that region; that said agent should reside at some convenient point in the said colonies; and that he should be empowered to form treaties or conventions with the native tribes on the coast of Africa, for the advancement of American trade, and for the suppression of the traffic in slaves.

"And be it further resolved, That the subject of settling the political relations proper to be adopted and maintained between this Government and the colonies now established or which may hereafter be established, on the coast of Africa, by the citizens or public authorities of the United States, or any of the States, be referred to the Secretary of State, with a direction that he report thereon to the next Congress."

The committee cherish the hope, that some early and effectual measures in accordance with the general views of this report, will be adopted by Congress.

The value of this document, as a source of information on almost every topic connected with the enterprise of African Colonization, cannot well be over-estimated. The subject is now fully and fairly before the nation. Every consideration connected with the suppression of the slave trade, and the protection and advancement of our commerce on the African coast, the very objects, for which our squadron is there maintained, demands that a fostering care should be extended by the Government, to the colonies of Liberia. "Here," says Dr. Hall, "our Government finds ready at hand the very establishment which a sagacious statesman would have desired, a key of that vast continent, to unlock and open its treasures to our commerce, a foothold from which, with the least possible protection, we could not be dislodged. We have thus far realized all the advantages of colonial possessions without the expense of founding and supporting them. We have the material for extending and perpetuating colonies on the coast of Africa, not possessed by any other nation in the world: and why should all these advantages be sacrificed. Why should

we not at least seek to retain what we already possess, when it can so easily be done?"

The committee are gratified to observe, that the report of Mr. Kennedy has attracted much attention, and they are happy to conclude this report with a passage from an able and instructive article in the last number of the *Biblical Repository* and *Princeton Review*.

"No that," says the writer, "is dearer to them [the Liberians] than that of becoming an independent nation; and we acknowledge, that it is our earnest wish, that Liberia may never become dependent on any nation. Let it under providence, become a great and virtuous Republic. No nation, in its beginning ever had a brighter prospect before it. Let the American Government become the ally and protector of these colonies. Let them assist them, to complete the purchase of those portions of territory, the title of which has not yet been acquired from the natives. Let them avail themselves of the advantages, which these colonies present, for promoting that valuable commerce, which is now opening to the world; and let them combine their efforts with those of other nations, in untiring efforts to suppress the slave trade, in which benevolent enterprise, they will find the Liberians their most efficient coadjutors. **BUT LET LIBERIA FOREVER BE FREE.** The greatest difficulties attending the establishment of a colony, are already overcome, and we do entertain the confident and pleasing expectation, that Liberia is destined to be a grand republic, which shall extend its benign influence into the very centre of the dark continent of Africa. And we do believe that it is the design of a wise and benignant providence to make Liberia the asylum of the whole African race, now dispersed over a large part of this continent, and the West India Islands. In our view, there is no spot on the globe better calculated to interest the Christian and philanthropist, than this little republic on the western coast of Africa. When the historian shall survey the events of the nineteenth century, we are of opinion, that his eye will fix with intense interest, on the bold, but benevolent enterprise, of colonizing the free people of color on the coast of Africa. And that such an enterprise should have been undertaken by a voluntary association, without the co-operation of the Government; and that it should have been successful, will be a subject of wonder to future ages. It is our sincere persuasion, that no event, which has occurred in the world since the commencement of the nineteenth century, is at all equal in real importance to the successful establishment of this little colony. We do not think, that the history of the world can furnish a parallel to the accomplishment of this work, by voluntary association of benevolent men."

The committee will add only, that however wide and fair a prospect is opened by this enterprise to the eye of philanthropy, however great the

wisdom and sagacity that devised it, or the benevolence and piety of those who in the service of the Society have sacrificed their lives on the coast of Africa, none deserve higher praise than those men of color who have engaged in it with an unconquerable resolution, determined at all hazards to lift the covering of night and barbarism from the African mind, to re-kindle the extinguished hopes, and re-build the broken fortunes of their race.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, AT THEIR ANNUAL MEETING.

WASHINGTON CITY, *January 17, 1844.*

The BOARD OF DIRECTORS of the American Colonization Society met.
Present,

Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., P. T. Jones, Esq., Rev. A. D. Gillett, *Delegates from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society*—A. G. Phelps, Esq., *New York Colonization Society*—Rev. Joseph Tracy, *Massachusetts Colonization Society*—Rev. Elias Harrison, Rev. John Davis, *District of Columbia Colonization Society*—Elliott Cresson, Esq., *Life Director*—Rev. R. R. Gurley, W. McLain, M. St. C. Clarke, Esq., H. I. Ellsworth, Esq., *Members Executive Committee.*

Rev. Dr. Cuyler was called to the chair, and the Rev. W. McLain was appointed Secretary.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read.

On motion of the Rev. Joseph Tracy, it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report be taken up, and so much thereof as relates to the state of the colony be referred to a committee; and that so much thereof as relates to the state of the cause in this country be referred to another committee, each committee to consist of three members.

Whereupon the Chairman appointed Messrs. TRACY, GILLETT, and DAVIS, a committee on the state of the cause in this country; and

MESSRS. CRESSON, HARRISON, and JONES, on the state of the Colony.

The Rev. R. R. Gurley offered the following resolutions, viz :

1. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider the financial interests of the Society, and by what means the income of the Society may be increased.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider what, if any, further measures should be adopted to increase the confidence of all the friends of missions, and to secure their aid to the cause.

3. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider what, if any, further measures should be adopted to secure aid from the General and State Governments, and also to secure a friendly recognition by foreign powers of the rights and interests of Liberia.

4. *Resolved*, That a committee be appointed to consider whether any and what measures should be adopted to secure some increased advantages from trade with the Colony ;

and, also, whether and what arrangements should be made to establish a regular line of packets, to sail at least twice a year at certain times for the Colony.

On motion of the REV. W. McLAIN, the first and third of these resolutions were referred to the committee appointed on the state of the cause in this country, and the second and fourth to the committee on the present state of the colony.

On motion, it was resolved, that JAMES HALL, M. D., Secretary of the Maryland Colonization Society, be invited to sit with the Board as a corresponding member.

Messrs. PAUL T. JONES and A. G. PHELPS, were appointed a committee to examine the Treasurer's account, and the financial transactions of the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mr. Jones, it was resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to examine the records of the Executive Committee for the past year, and report during the meeting of the Board.

Messrs. Guyler, Tracy, and Davis, were appointed said committee.

Adjourned to meet at 7 o'clock this evening.

The Board met agreeably to adjournment. Present, as in the morning, with the addition of Hon. H. A. Wise, Delegate from the Virginia Colonization Society; Hon. John Stewart, Delegate from the Connecticut State Colonization Society; Hon. Joseph Vance, Delegate from the Ohio State Colonization Society; Hon. J. Huntington, Delegate Connecticut Colonization Society.

The Rev. Joseph Tracy, from the committee on the state of the colony, made the following report:

"The Committee to whom was referred so much of the Annual Report as relates to the condition of the colony, beg leave to report:—

"That the affairs of the colony, and of the society with respect to it, appear to have been conducted on correct principles, and with as much success as it was reasonable to expect. The distance of the colony from the directing power at home, and the consequent necessity of acting often on imperfect information, both here and there; the influence of the disadvantageous position of the colonists, before emigration, on their mental culture and habits of thought and action, and the adverse influences, both African and European, with which they have had to contend in their new abode, are formidable obstacles; and the degree in which these obstacles have been overcome in the short space of about twenty years, encourages the most cheering hopes for future ages.

"The Committee notice, with peculiar gratification, the provision made by law, for a system of Common Schools, intended to meet the wants of the whole colonial population. Where a State fails to provide for the instruction of its youth, it is well for private enterprize or liberality, or asso-

ciated benevolence, to step in and supply the deficiency ; and perhaps this can be done in no better way than by the action of churches. It is certain, however, that a system devised and executed by the public authorities of a Christian people, can be more efficient in reaching the whole population, in teaching thoroughly the rudiments of knowledge, and in forming correct moral habits, than any system which depends on the will of a few, and which is not armed with the power of the State. While, therefore, we would sincerely thank those "religious institutions in America," who have done so much for education in the colony, and would earnestly request their continued aid, so long and to such extent as may be necessary, we would also express the earnest hope, that the colonists will effectually take the work into their own hands, and soon render their system of education independent of charitable aid. In this attempt all depends, as it ought, on the several school districts. Let them first tax themselves liberally and then see to it that their money is well expended, and the work is done.

"The Committee are gratified to learn, that the commerce of the colony is prosperous, and that agriculture is receiving increased attention. Agriculture ought certainly to be the business of the great body of the people, and should be so conducted, that, as far as practicable, each shall produce on his own farm, whatever is necessary to sustain life with comfort. By pursuing such a course, the farmer secures himself against being reduced to want in a single year, by the failure of a single kind of crop, or by a change of its price in the market. He secures that noblest boast of his calling, independence; and he takes the surest, though not the most flattering, road to wealth.

"In respect to both agriculture and commerce, the Committee regret the want of more full and definite statistics. The circumstances of the case go far to excuse this deficit hitherto. We hope, however, that returns from the colony will hereafter be such as to furnish the desired information.

"The Constitution and Laws of Liberia, the Committee have not been able to examine in detail. The fact, however, that such a volume, sanctioned by an African Legislature, has issued from an African press, ought to give joy to the civilized world.

"The relations existing between Liberia and the neighboring tribes, is highly gratifying, and cannot fail to be mutually beneficial. The population of the allied tribes, before the late treaty with the Golahs, has been estimated at 60,000. Yando, head King of the Golahs, boasted that he had 50,000 subjects. His residence is supposed to be 80 or 100 miles from the coast, and his country to extend to a considerable distance beyond. After all due allowance for exaggerations, we may safely suppose

that these treaties cover an extent of 100 miles inland, and embrace nearly 100,000 natives. Among all these, war and the slave trade are abolished, much of barbarism and of cruel and degrading superstition has been removed, and civilization and Christianity are making progress. They are brought, or rather, having watched and considered the subject for twenty years and become convinced of its advantages, they have sought and obtained admission, into habitual and friendly intercourse with civilized and Christian men, in the hope and for the sake of learning to be like them. And more than this: they think themselves gainers by surrendering some part of their national independence, and placing themselves, in some important respects, under the control of their Christian neighbors. The influence of these relations on the diffusion of Christianity cannot be doubtful.

"This seems to be the proper place for considering, as the Committee were directed, " what, if any, further measures should be adopted to increase the confidence of the friends of missions, and to secure their aid to the cause." What can be necessary, more than a fair and full statement of the facts in the case? Indeed, that confidence, which was certainly somewhat impaired for a little while, seems to be reviving; as, with one exception, every society which has ministers there, is strengthening and enlarging them. Of that one exception, the mission of the American Board at Cape Palmat, it might be sufficient to say that it is not within the limits of our colony, and we are no more responsible for its history than if it had been at the Cape of Good Hope. But we choose to add another answer.

"That mission was commenced with the intention of making Cape Palmas, not the principal field of its labor, but a mere stepping stone, from which to reach some part of Central Africa. There was then no other mission there. The Board was urged to embrace the colonists, as well as the natives, in the field of its labors; but being chartered for the specific purpose of missions to the heathen, thought itself restrained from sending missions to Christian colonists. It was the policy of the colony to amalgamate the interests of the natives with their own. The policy of the mission, then almost as strong as the colony, and expending all its labors for the benefit of the natives, naturally tended to raise up a native interest, distinct from the colonial. This was the true root of the difficulty. All the unpleasant collisions of the missions of that Board with the colony, are to be traced ultimately to this source. The two communities were not well constituted for working together in a feeble colony, and in a district of small extent. It is within the knowledge of your Committee, that some of the principal officers of the American Board became convinced of this, and feared that if present difficulties were settled, others would arise from

the same cause. Meanwhile two other missions had been planted there, and three missions could not be expected to labor permanently in such close contiguity, without collision with each other. Meanwhile, also, an opening was found at the Gaboon river, a thousand miles nearer the point which the mission was intended to reach. It was occupied, and soon found so favorable, that the Board resolved to remove its whole establishment to that place. In all this, there is nothing to prove that missions, conducted on a plan adapted to the state of the country, cannot flourish. even at Cape Palmas ; while the increase of other missions there, proves that they can.

“It is said by some, that the colonies are prejudicial to missions, because the example of irreligious colonists corrupts the natives ; but such objectors surely cannot know what the natives were before they felt the elevating influence of the colony. Blind adherents of the most degrading idolatry, polygamists, kidnappers, and some of them cannibals from time immemorial, and having been for nearly three centuries under the exclusive tuition of European slave traders and pirates from whom they had thoroughly learned all the vices of civilization which savages are capable of learning, they were incapable of being demoralized. Numerous attempts were made to plant missions among them, and every one failed. And besides all this, the treaties before alluded to show conclusively, that notwithstanding the bad examples of some colonists, (which are not so bad as the slave-trading specimens of Christianity which the colony has driven away,) the natives know that the Christian system is better than theirs, and produces a better state of society ; and therefore the balance of influence is immensely in its favor.

“The resolution concerning the increase of trade and the establishment of packets, the committee have not had time to consider.

“Respectfully submitted for the committee.

JOSEPH TRACY,
Chairman.”

On motion of Paul T. Jones, Esq., the report was accepted.

On motion of the Rev. J. B. Pinney, the report was adopted.

Elliott Cresson, Esq., from the committee on the present state of the cause in this country, made a report, which,

On motion of Mr. Tracy, was accepted; and, after some amendments was laid on the table ; (and at the close of the proceedings was again taken up, further amended and adopted, and will be found in its proper place.)

On motion of Mr. Jones, the Board adjourned to meet at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning.

January 18, 1844.

The Board met agreeably to adjournment. The minutes of the meeting yesterday morning were read and approved.

The committee appointed to examine the Treasurer's account, and the financial transactions of the Executive Committee, made the following report:—See account current for 1843, on page 21.

On motion of Rev. John Davis, this report was accepted and adopted.

On motion of Mr. Davis, the Board adjourned to meet at 5 o'clock this evening.

5 o'clock, P. M.

The Board met agreeably to adjournment. The minutes of the morning's session were read and approved.

DR. CUYLER, Chairman of the Committee on the records of the Executive Committee made the following Report:

"The committee on the records of the Executive Committee, beg leave to report:

"That those records show that the duties of the executive committee have been numerous, difficult and important, and have been performed with a degree of industry, fidelity and intelligence, for which that committee well deserve our thanks. Time has not allowed us in all cases to examine the grounds of their decisions, so as to give an opinion of their correctness; but we have noticed nothing which appears to demand a re-examination or reversal.

"We would suggest the inquiry, whether there may not be, during the year now commencing, a more extensive and effectual presentation of the claims of this society before public bodies, both legislative and ecclesiastical, and indeed, before the whole country. The details of the plan of operations for this purpose, must of course be arranged from time to time by the executive committee. Much may be done by correspondence; and the Secretary and Treasurer, and other suitable agents, if such can be found, may attend important meetings, visit influential individuals, and impart information, courage and activity to our friends in various parts of the country.

"Respectfully submitted, in behalf of the committee.

"COR'S C. CUYLER, *Chairman.*"

On motion of Mr. J. B. PISSEY, this report was accepted.

Hon. W. C. RIVER, appeared and took his seat as a Delegate from the Virginia State Colonization Society.

Hon. R. C. SCHLESCK, appeared as a Delegate from the Ohio State Colonization Society and took his seat.

On motion of Mr. Jones the report was adopted.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, the Board adjourned to attend the public meeting in the Capitol, and to meet again to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

January 19, 1844.

The Board met. Present Messrs. Cuyler, Phelps, Harrison, Davis, Rives, Cresson, Tracy, Jones, Gillett, Stewart, Clark, Ellsworth, Gurley, and McLain.

The minutes of the evening session were read and approved.

On motion of Mr. Jones, it was resolved that we now go into an election of members of the Executive Committee.

On motion of Mr. Stewart, it was resolved that a Committee of three be appointed to make a nomination.

Messrs. Gillett, Tracy and Davis, were appointed said Committee.

Mr. Gillett, from the above Committee made a report.

"The committee appointed to nominate members of the Executive Committee, beg leave to report the following names, viz :

"Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, Hon. M. St. Clair Clarke, Hon. W. W. Seaton, H. Lindsly, M. D., Hon. C. B. Penrose, Hon. A. O. Dayton, Rev. C. B. Davis.

"A. D. GILLETT, Chairman."

On motion of Mr. Stewart, this report was laid on the table.

And, on motion of Mr. Phelps it was resolved, that it is expedient for the Board to elect a Corresponding Secretary of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Stewart, it was resolved that the Board now proceed to the election of Corresponding Secretary.

Whereupon, the Rev. R. R. Gurley was elected.

On motion of Mr. Jones, the report of the Committee on nomination of members, of the Executive Committee was taken up, and on motion of the same, it was adopted.

After which Mr. Gurley, formally tendered his resignation of the office of Corresponding Secretary, and expressed his good feelings for the cause and his fervent wishes for its future prosperity.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, it was resolved that, the resignation of Mr. Gurley be accepted.

And, on motion of Mr. Phelps, it was resolved that the thanks of this Board are due, and are heartily tendered, to our late Corresponding Secretary, Rev. R. R. Gurley, for his long continued and valuable services, and and that while, in the kind wishes for the prosperity of the cause, and good feelings toward the members of the Board, expressed by him in resigning his office, we find assurance of his future friendly influence, we

assure him that this Board and its individual members reciprocate the feelings and that our good wishes will follow him in subsequent life.

On motion of Mr. Tracy, it was resolved that we proceed to the election of a Corresponding Secretary.

Whereupon, Rev. W. McLain was unanimously elected.

On motion of Mr. Pinney, it was resolved that Executive Committee be authorized to appoint a Treasurer of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Phelps, the report of the Committee on that part of the Annual Report, relating to the state of the cause in this country was taken up, amended, and adopted and is as follows:

"The committee appointed on that part of the Annual Report, which relates to the state of the cause in this country, beg leave to report:

"That in relation to the financial interests of the Society, the committee, in view of the reduced state of our income, feel assured of the imperative necessity of strict economy in the expenses at the seat of Government, and therefore recommend their immediate reduction, to a sum not exceeding \$2000, per an., viz:

" For Corresponding Secretary	-	-	-	-	\$1500
" Rent	-	-	-	-	200
" Office expenses	-	-	-	-	300

— \$2000

"With this evidence of a determination to make an economical disbursement of the funds intrusted to our care, we believe that men of a high order of usefulness may be obtained, to advocate the claims of the American Colonization Society, and to swell the amount of its funds. It is only by rendering the cause popular and securing the love of the citizens at large, that we can hope to operate successfully upon our republican government, which always follows, and never leads public sentiment and action. Meanwhile, we shall be happy that the local and State societies, should invoke the co-operation of the individual State Governments, and recommend this course of action.

"All of which is respectfully submitted,

ELLIOT D. CRESSON,
PAUL T. JONES."

On motion the Annual Report was referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

And, on motion of Mr. Jones, the Board adjourned, to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1845.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Twenty-seventh Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society was held in the Capitol on Tuesday evening, the 16th ult., when the Hon. John C. Herbert, the first on the list of V Presidents took the chair.

Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Laurie. The Report of the Executive Committee of the Society was read by the Secretary, Mr. Gurley.

On motion of Rev. R. T. Berry, the following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That the Report of the Executive Committee just presented, be accepted and referred for consideration and publication to the Board of Directors.

On motion of the Rev. C. M. Butler,

Resolved, That in view of the past success and present prospects of the American Colonization Society, its friends are called upon to exert cheerful and continued efforts in its behalf; and that in the vigorous prosecution of the plan of African Colonization, is to be found the best means of arresting the slave trade, and of preparing a way for and promoting the cause of Christian missions in Africa.

On motion of the Hon. J. R. Ingersoll,

Resolved, That in the opinion of this meeting, the friends of this Society in every part of the Union, should more and more appreciate the grandeur of their enterprize, as involving very materially in its ultimate consequences the dearest interests of two races of men, in two of the largest quarters of the globe.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Cuyler,

Resolved, That in the decease of the venerable Dr. Proudfit, a Vice President of this Society, and long the devoted and efficient Secretary of the New York Colonization Society, this Institution has sustained a heavy loss, and that the memory of this eminent Christian philanthropist will ever be cherished by the members of this Institution, and by all the friends of Africa.

On motion of the Rev. J. B. Pinney,

Resolved, That in the judgment of this meeting, the advances of the Colony of Liberia in agriculture, commerce, and other public improvements has equalled all reasonable expectations; and that, although the progress of such improvements in such a colony, is at first necessarily slow, they have already been such as to demonstrate the general industry and enterprize of the people, and the vast resources of the country.

On motion of the Rev. J. N. Danforth,

Resolved, That the moral, civilizing and Christian influence exerted by the people of Liberia over many African tribes, and the earnest efforts of its ministers of the gospel, and many of its citizens to enlighten the minds of the neighboring heathen with the great truths of Christianity, should excite the sympathies and confidence of all the friends of missions, and induce the clergy and churches of every name to extend to this colony a more constant and liberal support.

On motion of M. St. Clair Clark,

Resolved, That this Society will cherish an affectionate remembrance of the Hon. William Halsey, for several years very earnestly and successfully engaged in the promotion of the cause of African Colonization in the State of New Jersey.

On motion of the Hon. Mr. Morehead, it was

Resolved, That the Society hold another public meeting in this hall on Thursday evening the 18th inst.

After which the Society adjourned to meet in the Colonization Office at 10 o'clock, A. M. to-morrow.

At a meeting of the Society, at the office of the same on Wednesday morning the 17th at 10 o'clock, the Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair.

The Secretary, Mr. Gurley, moved the appointment of a committee to nominate the President and Vice Presidents of the Society.

The following gentlemen were appointed on the committee: Messrs. A. G. Phelps, Pinney, Jones, Tracy, and Davis.

Mr. Phelps, from the committee, after retiring for a short time, made the following nomination which was approved:

Honorable HENRY CLAY, *President*.

Vice President,

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 John C. Herbert, of Maryland, | 33 James Garland, of Virginia, |
| 2 General John H. Cooke, of Virginia, | 34 Rev. Thomas Morris, Bishop of the |
| 3 Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts, | M. E. Church, Ohio, |
| 4 Charles F. Mercer, Florida, | 35 Rt. Hon. Lord Bexley, of London, |
| 5 Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn., | 36 Wm. Short, of Philadelphia, |
| 6 John Cotton Smith, of Connecticut, | 37 Willard Hall, of Delaware, |
| 7 Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New York | 38 Rt. Rev. Bishop Oney, of Tenn |
| 8 Louis McLane, of Baltimore, | 39 Gerald Ratton, of London, |
| 9 Moses Allen, of New York, | 40 Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, N. J., |
| 10 General W. Jones, of Washington, | 41 Dr. Holkins, of London, |
| 11 Samuel H. Smith, of Washington, | 42 Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Dedham, |
| 12 Joseph Galea, of Washington, | Massachusetts, |
| 13 Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop | 43 Thos. R. Hazard, of Providence, R. I., |
| of Virginia, | 44 Dr. Thos. Mabee, of Tye River Mills, |
| 14 Alexander Porter, of Louisiana, | Virginia, |
| 15 John McDonough, of Louisiana, | 45 Gen. Alexander Brown, of Virginia, |
| 16 Geo. Washington Lafayette, of France, | 46 Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, Washington, |
| 17 Rev. James O. Andrew, Bishop of the | 47 Rev. Thos. B. Hunt, D. D., N. York, |
| Methodist Episcopal Church, | 48 Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., N. J., |
| 18 William Maxwell, of Virginia, | 49 Samuel Wilkeson, of New York, |
| 19 Elisha Whittelsey, of Ohio, | 50 A. P. Uphur, of Washington, |
| 20 Walter Lowrie, of New York, | 51 L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey, |
| 21 Jacob Hornett, of Ohio, | 52 James Rusk, of Mississippi, |
| 22 James Darling, of New Hampshire, | 53 Rev. George W. Bethune, D. D., of |
| 23 Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Mississippi, | Philadelphia, |
| 24 William C. Rives, of Virginia, | 54 Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., of Phila., |
| 25 Rev. J. Lenoir, D. D., of Washington, | 55 Elliot Cresson, Esq., of Phila., |
| 26 Rev. Wm. Howley, of Washington, | 56 Anson G. Phelps, Esq., New York, |
| 27 Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi, | 57 Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Andover, |
| 28 James Burman, of New York City, | Massachusetts, |
| 29 Henry A. Foster, of New York, | 58 Jonathan Hyde, Esq., Bath, Maine, |
| 30 Dr. John Kay, of Mississippi, | 59 Rev. J. P. Hartin, D. D., Carlisle, Pa., |
| 31 Robert Campbell, of Georgia, | 60 Rev. Beverly Waugh, Bishop of M. E. |
| 32 Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey, | Church, Baltimore. |

Mr. Gurley rose and spoke of the long continued and important services of Cal. W. L. Stone, and moved that he also be appointed a Vice President, which motion was adopted.—Rev. J. B. Pinney rose and offered the following preamble and resolution.

WHEREAS, In the origin of the Colonization scheme, the aid and protection of the General Government was expected to be extended to the Colonies—And,

WHEREAS, The work of extending, governing and providing for their interests, has grown almost beyond the means of voluntary association—And,

WHEREAS, The present interests and future welfare of the Colonies in Africa, need

the fostering care of some friendly State; and, Whereas, by reason of Constitutional and other obstacles, such care and protection has not been obtained from the Government of the United States, and is not likely to be extended; Therefore,

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to consider the wisdom and propriety of ceding said colonies to some European power—or of securing their friendly protection for the colonies, and also to report the measure proper for such action.

This resolution, after some discussion in which Messrs. Pinney, Tracy, Cuyler, and Gurley, participated, was, on motion of Dr. Cuyler, referred over for consideration to the Board of Directors. After some further remarks from Messrs. Harrison, Cresson, and Gurley, on motion of the Rev. Mr. McLain, a committee was appointed by the Chairman to make arrangements for the public meeting to be held to-morrow evening at the Capitol, consisting of Messrs. Cresson, Harrison, and McLain.

The Society then adjourned until to-morrow evening at 7 o'clock.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Jan. 18th, 1844.

The Society met agreeably to adjournment. The Rev. Dr. Laurie, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair. The minutes of the preceding meetings were read.

The Hon. Mr. Morehead presented and ably advocated the following resolutions, which were adopted.

Resolved, That since the colony of Liberia is powerfully contributing to the suppression of the African slave-trade, and the protection and increase of American commerce on the African coast, as well as to the cause of African civilization, it be recommended to the Board of Directors and to the several State Colonization Societies to continue their applications to the general government, for such aid, by the direct appropriation of funds, and the co-operation of the United States squadron on that coast, as shall enable the Colony of Liberia to acquire entire jurisdiction over the whole line of that coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas.

Resolved, That in view of the vast benefits to mankind of the enterprize in which the Colonization Society is now engaged of planting a colony of colored freemen, on the coast of Africa, it is incumbent on the people of the United States to give to that Society a cordial and efficient support.

Elliot Cresson, Esq., addressed the meeting on the vast objects contemplated by the Society, and the advantage which the agricultural and manufacturing interests of this country would derive from their vigorous prosecution.

The Rev. Mr. Gillett offered and advocated the following resolution which was adopted.

WHEREAS, The Colonization Society belongs to no party in politics, to no one denomination of Christians, and to no one section of our beloved country—Therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of all philanthropists to promote its civil and educational prosperity, and of all churches to co-operate with its religious inhabitants in spreading among them and the contiguous native tribes, the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Tinsley, the Rev. Dr. W. B. Johnson, of South Carolina, was added to the list of Vice Presidents of the Society.

Paul J. Jones, Esq., addressed the meeting on the importance of increasing the contributions to the Society, and extending its operations both in this country and in Africa.

After which the Society adjourned to meet again on the third Tuesday of January, 1845.

Cr.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, From 1st Jan., 1843, to 1st Jan., 1844.

Dr.

The balances due to the Society per last report, \$3782 24, including cash balance in treasury \$120 12				\$1553 94
Receipts from Colonial store	-	\$3,902 33	By balances due by the Society per last Report	-
Donations and subscriptions	-	10,027 57	Colonial store, for goods sent	-
Legacies	-	17,526 37	Colony of Liberia, goods and salaries	-
African Repository	-	1,933 34	Emigrants' account for passage, provisions, &c.	5,966 46
Balances now due by the Society not including <i>old debts</i>	-	2,704 33	Contingent—salaries, office expenses, &c.	4,000 75
			Expense account—commis- sion to agents	4,499 45
			Profit and Loss by barque Renown, discount on uncurrent money, &c.	2,300 01
			African Repository—expenses	1,557 36
			Paid Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel, Col. Physician	2,209 17
			Do. Dr. J. L. Day	375 00
			Cash, balance in treasury	151 50
			Balances due the Society—collegiate	305 55
			Leger balances due the Society, supposed to be worthless and now charged to profit and loss—by order of the Auditing Committee of the Board of Directors 17th inst.	352 50
				3,394 78
		\$43,606 24		\$43,606 24

The undersigned committee appointed to audit the accounts of the treasurer and executive committee, from Jan. 1, 1843, to Dec. 31, 1843, have performed the duty assigned them, and find the above statement correct.

A. G. PHELPS,
PAUL T. JONES.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17, 1844.

N. B. From the above statement, it will be seen that the exact amount of the receipts of the Society during the year 1843, was \$32,191 61.

TWENTY-EIGHTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

✓
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

AND OF THE

SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING,

JANUARY 21, 1845.

WASHINGTON:

C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,

SEVENTEENTH STREET.

1845.

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TWENTY-EIGHTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

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JANUARY 21, 1845.

WASHINGTON:

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SEVENTEENTH STREET





OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT:

HON. HENRY CLAY.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

(VIDE PAGE 27.)

SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

REV. W. McLAIN.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

HON. H. L. ELLSWORTH,
HON. M. ST. CLAIR CLARKE,
HARVEY LINDSLY, M. D.,
HON. H. O. DAYTON,
REV. C. A. DAVIS,
JOSEPH H. BRADLEY, Esq.,
REV. DR. BACON.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS:

REV. D. L. CARROLL, D. D.,	<i>New York State Col. Society.</i>	
A. G. PHELPS, Esq.,	"	"
REV. A. D. GILLETTE,	<i>Pennsylvania</i>	"
DR. JOHN BELL,	"	"
REV. JOSEPH TRACY,	<i>Massachusetts</i>	"
REV. S. K. LATHROP,	"	"
REV. A. D. EDDY, D. D.,	<i>New Jersey</i>	"
HON. L. Q. C. ELMER,	"	"
HON. W. S. ARCHER,	<i>Virginia</i>	"
HON. G. W. SUMMERS,	"	"
HON. J. W. HUNTINGTON,	<i>Connecticut</i>	"
HON. C. W. ROCKWELL,	"	"
REV. J. B. PINNEY,	<i>Pennsylvania, Life Director.</i>	
ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq.,	"	"
HON. S. WILKESON,	<i>New York,</i>	"
HON. THOMAS W. WILLIAMS,	<i>Conn.,</i>	"
REV. L. BACON, D. D.,	<i>Conn.,</i>	"
FRANCIS GRIFFIN, Esq.,	<i>Miss.,</i>	"
GEN. JOHN H. COCKE,	<i>Virginia,</i>	"
THOMAS R. HAZZARD, Esq.,	<i>R. I.,</i>	"
REV. E. BURGESS, D. D.,	<i>Mass.,</i>	"
JOHN McDONOGH, Esq.,	<i>Lou.,</i>	"
JONA. COIT, Esq.,	<i>New London, Conn.,</i>	"

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

ANOTHER year in the history of colonization has passed away, and in commencing a review of its varied events, we are called upon to discharge the mournful duty of recording the death of some of its valued friends. The Honorable *Alexander Porter*, of Louisiana, the Honorable *Abel P. Upshur*, of Virginia, and *Colonel W. L. Stone*, of New York, three of the *Vice Presidents* of the Society, have ceased from their labors.

Judge Porter had long been known as a zealous advocate and liberal patron of the Society. Endowed with great natural abilities, a finished scholar, and a perfect gentleman, residing in the extreme south, his example and influence were of vast advantage to this cause.

Mr. Upshur, though more recently numbered among our active friends, was not less true in his devotion, nor energetic in his efforts. The noble and important part which he took in conducting the correspondence be-

tween the Executive of the United States and the British government, in behalf of Liberia, will long be remembered with gratitude to his memory. From his high station and commanding influence, and his great anxiety to see the colony flourish, and rise to greatness, we had reason to anticipate great good from his continued labors.

Of the general character and influence of Colonel Stone, it is not in our power adequately to speak. All, however, who have been familiar with the columns of the "Commercial Advertiser," know how continued and ardent was his attachment to this scheme of benevolence; how powerful were his appeals in its behalf; and how cutting were the rebukes, and convincing the arguments which he dealt out to those who were disposed to decry its pretensions, or oppose its progress. He had a large and benevolent heart, a vigorous and well-disciplined mind, and he was frank and fearless in the

Triumvir of Respect to the memory of Hon. R. M. Sherman and Dr. Wesley Johnson.

avowal of his opinions. To the enlarged views of a philanthropist, he added the expansive benevolence and fervent hope of a Christian. The combination of all these noble traits of character, gave to his advocacy of this cause, a consideration and an influence which few men are so fortunate as to acquire. He considered it as pre-eminently a scheme of philanthropy, designed to carry civilization and establish Christianity in a land all lost and ruined, and irredeemable by any other process of benevolence. Hence, while he explained its principles, demonstrated its practicability, and enforced its importance, he drew from the great treasury of Christian love, motives broad and deep as the woes of man, and vast as eternity, to excite the careless and selfish to give it their support.

But he has been called, in the vigor of his intellect and the strength of his faculties, to a higher sphere! While we weep over his tomb, may we emulate his virtues and sacredly cherish the memory of his worth!

In addition to these, we have also to pay a tribute of respect to the memory of the Honorable *Roger Minott Sherman*, President of the Connecticut State Colonization Society, who but recently departed this life. In him colonization has ever enjoyed a

warm and devoted friend, a ready and able counsellor and bountiful contributor. He was intimately and thoroughly acquainted with its origin, progress and achievements. Some of the purest and strongest feelings of his generous heart clustered around it, and he never ceased to cherish the firm belief that it would ultimately triumph over every towering obstacle, and accomplish the grand results which it contemplates. Among the last efforts of his pen, was a letter which he addressed to the Secretary, in regard to the best method to be adopted to secure the attention and command the patronage of all the churches and citizens of his own state, extracts from which appear in another part of this report. We cannot but deplore and deeply feel the loss of one whose influence and exertions were so eminently devoted to the interests of this institution. His name shall be honored among Africa's distinguished benefactors, and his benevolence be held in affectionate and perpetual remembrance.*

We have also to record the death of Dr. *Wesley Johnson*, who several years ago went to Bassa Cove, as colonial physician, under the direction of the New York and Pennsylvania colonization societies, while they maintained a separate organization. After residing in the colony for

*While writing this report we have learned that he left by his will a bequest to this Society of \$4,000.

some time and making himself generally useful, his health failed him, and he returned to New York, his native state. He, however, had formed such an attachment for the colony, and felt such an ardent desire to make himself useful in promoting its welfare, that he again returned to it as superintendent of the high school on Factory Island, under the patronage of the Ladies' Liberia School Association of Philadelphia.

In their last annual report, the managers of that association thus speak of his usefulness, and their and Africa's loss in his death:

"We have also to mourn the loss of our excellent friend and helper, *Dr. Wesley Johnson*. In the death of this estimable Christian, we have lost an invaluable teacher, and Africa a devoted friend and martyr.

"The failure of his health, which necessarily suspended the high school of Liberia, about a year since, was to us a source of deep solicitude; still we trusted that his life might be spared many years. He returned to New York last May, in cheerful hope that his complicated disease was not incurable, that strength and time would still be granted him for further labors in the cause of human improvement.

"But, in the designs of an all-wise Providence, it was ordered otherwise. He lived but a few days after reaching the home of his childhood.

"To the piety, zeal and talents of *Dr. Johnson*, our society is mainly indebted for its success in founding the high school in Liberia. He watched with unceasing care over the erection of the building, organized the school, and proved by experience that its plan was practicable, and promised the best results.

"He had in the school about twenty-five scholars, who were received on condition of their paying 75 cents per week for their board, in labor, cash, lumber or provisions.

"*Dr. Johnson*, just before his death, observed, that he never regretted going to Liberia, for he hoped, in the erection of the

high school, *there* was one bright spot that would shed its influence far into the interior of Africa.

"Governor Roberts, during his late visit here, bore warm testimony to the estimate the colonists place on the school. He was very anxious to have it re-opened as soon as possible, it being, as he termed it, 'the hope of the colony.'""*

While we record these instances of mortality among the friends of the cause in this country, we are happy in being able to state that the past year has been one of unusual health among the citizens of Liberia. And it is now an admitted fact, that newly arrived emigrants suffer less in their acclimation, than the inhabitants of the northern sections of the United States do, on their removal to the extreme south or the far west, and that after a residence of a year in the colony, they will find the climate more congenial to their constitutions than that of America.

Immediately after the last annual meeting of the Society, the Executive Committee concerted measures for despatching an expedition from New Orleans. It being impossible for the Secretary to perform this duty in person, the services of *Wm. A. Bartlett & Brother* were secured, who attended to chartering a vessel, receiving and taking care of the emigrants, purchasing provisions and trade-goods, and doing every thing necessary in the premises, under full and explicit instructions from us. And it is due to them to say that they deserve great credit for their promptness, efficiency and

*The friends of the school will be glad to learn that another teacher has been obtained for the high school, *Ishmael Lock*, a colored man, well qualified for the station.

Meeting of the Free people of the Colony held on 14th Dec. Duncanson and Rev. Zebulon Butler.

accuracy, and have inspired us with the fullest confidence in their honesty, industry, and business character.

The brig "LINE ROCK," chartered for this expedition, sailed from New Orleans for Monrovia and Simon on the 10th of March. She had on board ninety-two emigrants, of whom seventy-two were sent out by Dr. Duncanson and the Rev. Zebulon Butler, of Mississippi. Fourteen were from Flemingsburg, Ky., liberated by the will of the late Thos. Wallace; and six were free people of great respectability from the city of New Orleans. They were well supplied with provisions, and all the articles necessary for their comfort and happiness in the colony. A correspondent who visited the brig just before she sailed, wrote us as follows:

"I have this day visited the Line Rock, as she lies at anchor in the river just below the city, in company with three clergymen, each of whom took part in securing the most interesting excursion I have had the pleasure of witnessing for some time past. The emigrants appeared very well, and are much quite happy in anticipation of going."

The expense of sending out these ninety-two people amounted to \$5,394 80, viz: charter of the brig, \$3,500; provisions for the passage, and six months in the colony, \$1,588 82; water, fuel, berths, and other small items, \$305 98. This makes the expense for each emigrant \$58, and does not include house rent, medicine, medical attendance, nursing when sick, and other small expenses to be paid in the colony. We also sent in the vessel between sixteen

and seventeen hundred dollars worth of goods, to be expended in the purchase of territory, and carrying on the various improvements in the colony: making a total expenditure on account of this expedition of \$7,080 21.

The Line Rock anchored at Monrovia on the 6th of May, after a passage of fifty-five days. Two of the emigrants died on the passage. Nineteen of them stopped at Monrovia, and the others went down to Simon, and settled in the Mississippi colony, in the same neighborhood with those sent out a year before by Dr. Duncanson and Mr. Butler. Gen. Lewis, of Monrovia, who accompanied these people to their new home, gives the following description of the appearance of the settlement, and of the meeting of the two companies of the same family:

"Yesterday I had the pleasure, in company with Dr. Lewis and Captain Auld, of the 'Line Rock,' of visiting the settlement up the river, where the poor unfortunate of the 'Rerown' were placed. I was much more pleased with the appearance of them than I was with the appearance of those of the 'Line Rock.' It was truly a gratifying sight to see what improvements had been made in so short a time by a people who had nothing but their own industry to depend upon. Every man and woman in the settlement is living on their own lands, and nearly all their houses are built of timber. They are contented and happy, and would not, they say, exchange their homes under any circumstances. They live in a free land—what more can they desire?"

"The moment the news of the 'Line Rock's' anchoring reached the settlement, the people hurried down in congratulation and welcome their friends and relatives to their new home. The meeting was truly worth witnessing. They collected and kissed each other, and could only say, 'Is it possible—thank God—did we ever expect to meet this side of the grave—the Lord is truly good and merciful.' They wept on each other's necks—they shed tears of joy and gladness—not a cloud in

Condition of the Settlement at Greenville.—Expedition by the *Virginia*, from Norfolk.

tervened to damp the ardor of their feelings ; it was truly a happy time, and my feelings flowed in unison with theirs."

Capt. Auld, master of the *Lime Rock*, in a letter of 26th July, makes the following allusion to the same thing :

"Dr. Lugenbeel, his student, General Lewis, Mr. Murray, and myself, visited the new settlement up the river, where the Renown's emigrants had located, and were agreeably disappointed. Notwithstanding the destitute situation they were in, after losing every thing they possessed, when cast away, they had built themselves comfortable houses, and had an abundance of every thing growing in a thriving condition, such as corn, potatoes, cassada, beans, peas, &c., fruit of various kinds, such as water-melons, cucumbers, cantelopes, pine apples, bannanas, plaintains, &c. All those improvements have been done in the space of ten or eleven months."

The emigrants by the *Lime Rock* all passed through their acclimation with very little sickness. Dr. Lugenbeel remarks of them—

"I spent three months at Greenville, during which time all the emigrants who were landed at that place, sixty-eight in number, experienced one attack, or more, of acclimating fever; but, with the exception of two small children, whose death was caused by the effect of worms in the alimentary canal, they all recovered, and I left them in nearly or quite as good health as when they first arrived. Several of them had their lands cleared and their houses nearly built before I left."

The next expedition sailed from Norfolk, Va., on the 14th June, with fifty-eight emigrants, in the ship *VIRGINIA*. This company were generally well prepared for emigration; many of them had been well instructed, and maintained uniformly good characters. They were all supplied with every thing necessary to render industry and economy sources of comfort and plenty. The bare outfit of one company of twenty-two

of them cost upwards of eighteen hundred dollars, which was paid by the executor out of the estate. They were liberated by the will of the late Hardinia M. Burnley, of Hanover county, Va., and have been under the management of John H. Steger, Esq., who has acted a most liberal part toward them. He also liberated one of his own best servants, that she might accompany her husband, who was one of the above number.

Four others were from Richmond, Va. They were liberated by Mrs. Sarah Brooke, to whom they were left by her sister, Mrs. Catharine Ellis, deceased, with the request that she would send them to Africa. She also made a bequest to the Female Colonization Society, which, however, was void, the said society not being incorporated. These people have been under the care of John B. Young, Esq., of Richmond, who deserves much praise for the interest which he has shown in their welfare.

One was from Fredericksburg, a young man of fine appearance and good character, liberated by Wm. M. Blackford, Esq., and furnished with the conveniences necessary to render him useful and happy.

Seven of them were from Washington county, D. C., liberated by our fellow citizen, Wm. G. Sanders, Esq., and provided with tools, clothing, and furniture, requisite to their comfort in commencing life in a new country.

Eighteen of them were from St. Charles, Missouri, having been liberated by the will of the late Thomas Lindsay, and provided with a very expensive outfit, under the direction of G. C. Sidney, Esq. As an evidence of their good character and industrious habits, it is worthy of remark that while they were detained in Norfolk, having arrived some six weeks before the *Virginia* sailed, they supported themselves by their own labor, and won for themselves the confidence and respect of the good citizens of that borough.

Three of them were from Nansemond county, Virginia, liberated for the purpose by the will of the late Mr. Kelly, having for some time been under the direction of Hugh H. Kelly, Esq., of Suffolk, and hired out for their own benefit. They were able-bodied young men, and took some money with them.

One was from Augusta county, Va. He had purchased himself, and had been very anxious to purchase his wife also, but was obliged to leave her behind, intending, if life and health were spared, to return for her.

One was a free man from Smithfield, North Carolina, who had been anxious to see the colony for himself. He paid his own passage out, and if he is pleased with the place and his prospects there, will return or send over for his family.

It has been said that when slaves are liberated to be sent to the colony, their masters are governed by selfish motives; that none are set free unless they are old and worthless, or young and vicious, and then only to avoid the trouble and expense of keeping them. Would that every person who has entertained such a suspicion could have seen this company as they were ready to sail. It would most undoubtedly have corrected their impressions, and convinced them that those who are seeking the removal to Africa of the colored race are governed by the most benevolent and philanthropic feelings!

The *invoice* of goods sent to the colonial store by this vessel amounted to \$2,222 02. For that part of the ship occupied by the emigrants and their provisions, &c., we paid \$1,740. Their provisions, water, fuel, berths, and other fixtures for the passage out and support six months, cost \$1,395—being a total expense for each one of \$54 05, not including house rent, medical attendance, &c., in the colony. Adding the freight on the goods sent to the colonial store, \$210, insurance, \$41 50, and some other small expenses, \$88 20, it makes a total expenditure on account of this expedition, of \$5,976 72.

The *Virginia* arrived at Monrovia on the 31 of August with the emigrants all well, who were safely landed and comfortable houses appropriated to their use. At our latest

Acclimation of Emigrants.—Expedition by the *Chipola*.—Receipts.

dates, 23d October, Gov. Roberts was making preparations to locate them on the St. Paul's river. He remarks :

"Dr. Lugenbeel has been exceedingly successful in carrying them through the acclimating fever. Of the two companies, but five have died, one only of that number being an adult."

Dr. Lugenbeel, under date of 22d October, remarks :

"Nearly all of the last company (by the Virginia) have experienced one attack or more of acclimating fever. None are on the sick list at present; and, with the exception of occasional slight attacks of intermittent fever, they are all enjoying good health. About one-third of them have been going to school during most of the time since their arrival, and several of them have made considerable progress in learning to read and write.

"From my experience and observations, I am fully satisfied that forty-nine persons in fifty, if not ninety-nine in one hundred, who come from the United States to Liberia, might pass safely through the acclimating fever: provided their constitutions were not much impaired by previous disease, and they could be prevailed on to exercise that prudence which is necessary."

The only other company of emigrants sent out this year sailed from Baltimore on the 18th November, in the brig *Chipola*, chartered by the Maryland Colonization Society.

They were twenty-one in number, having been liberated by Joseph H. Wilson, Esq., of Wilsonville, Ky., and furnished by him with a liberal outfit. To the indefatigable agency of the Rev. J. B. Pinney we are indebted for bringing these people from Kentucky and fitting them out for their voyage. The whole expense attending their departure, their passage out, and support six months, is \$1,425 38, not including house rent, medical attendance, &c., in Liberia,

being an average cost of \$67 87 for each one.

Thirty-seven of the other emigrants who sailed in the *Chipola* were from Virginia, and had been offered to this Society; but not having the means to send them, they went out under the patronage of the Maryland Society, and will be located at Cape Palmas.

We have been under the necessity of declining to send out a great many persons who have been anxious to emigrate the past year. The resources of the Society have been entirely inadequate to meet the demands upon it. These difficulties in the way of persons obtaining a passage to Liberia, have a tendency greatly to check the spirit of emigration, and to discourage a great many masters who have been hoping to send out their slaves. How important, therefore, that our friends should all bear this in their memories, and greatly enlarge their contributions the coming year!

From the accompanying financial report of the Treasurer, it will be seen that the whole amount of the receipts of the Society the past year was \$33,640 39. The whole expenditure was \$38,237 52, being an excess of the receipts of \$4,597 13.

The expenses of the office in this city have fallen below the amount appropriated by the board at their last annual meeting, being only \$1,910 56.

Receipts—1843.—Purchase of Territory.

The receipts from subscribers to the Repository exceed the expenses of its publication by upwards of \$700, and would be greatly increased if subscribers would generally be more punctual in making their remittances.

No payments of consequence have been made on the old debts of the Society. The Committee found it impossible to meet the indispensable engagements, and perform the indispensable business of the year with their limited resources. They consider it an object of the first importance that the Society should be entirely relieved from debt. There is about \$6,000 of the old debt yet unpaid, and about \$7,642 97 of other debts.

To meet these we have debts due the Society amounting to \$3,062 70, together with \$4,000 due from several legacies, that will probably be paid in the course of another year or two.

We have also debts due the colonial store, and goods there for sale amounting to about \$6,000. We, however, do not expect to receive any immediate assistance from the colony to aid us in paying our debts in this country. Gov. Roberts is under instructions to prosecute the purchase of territory as rapidly as possible, and to appropriate all the available resources to that purpose.

One of the most prominent objects for which we have made special efforts to raise money, has been the

purchase of territory. Every arrival from the colony convinces us more and more of the indispensable necessity of obtaining possession of all the territory lying between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas, a distance of about three hundred miles, of which about one hundred and fifty is now owned by the Society. It is thought that the remainder can be purchased for about \$20,000. One important tract has been secured the past year. Alluding to it, Gov. Roberts says:

"You will see by the accompanying document that I have succeeded in purchasing from the natives a fine tract of land in the Little Bassa Territory—embracing about ten miles of sea-coast. In this purchase we have secured to the colony the principal landing-place in that country, and nothing but the want of funds prevents the Society from owning very soon the entire coast of the Little Bassa country, King Barguay, Salt Water, and Prince, the proprietors of the remaining section of that country, have expressed a willingness to sell. They own about fifteen miles of sea-coast, and I believe the only unpurchased territory between this place and Grand Bight Port. This tract they propose to sell for six hundred dollars. I shall lose no time in bargaining with them."

Other tracts of land are also offered at present, on advantageous terms.

In his last annual message to the Legislature, Gov. Roberts makes the following statement, viz:

"I have to report to you that, during the past year, I have concluded a treaty of alliance, amity, and trade, with several of the native tribes both in the interior and on the coast. And, notwithstanding but little momentary advantage may be expected to result from the conclusion of this compact, by those treaties, still they will have the effect of bringing the natives into a closer connection with the colony—enable them to identify our interests with their own, and will be calculated ultimately have the happy effect of showing them from their present condition of barbarism and idolatry."

Efforts to buy New Cesters.—Treaty with the Kroos.

try to the blessings of civilization and Christianity. Tribes far beyond us are now making application for citizenship, and to be identified with us in laws and government. I have not failed, in my intercourse with the native chiefs, particularly those on the seaboard, to introduce to them the subject of colonial jurisdiction, and to obtain from them an expression in regard to the purchase, by the Colonization Society, of the entire coast from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas. In almost every instance, the question has been favorably received; and if means had been within my reach, instead of securing only ten, I could have purchased more than one hundred miles of sea-coast the past year. The resources of the Society, however, have not been sufficient to enable them to make an adequate appropriation for the purchase of territory. They are, nevertheless, fully awake to its importance, and are now making strenuous efforts to raise twenty thousand dollars, to be applied to that especial purpose."

It is of great moment to the present welfare and ultimate prosperity of Liberia that its jurisdiction should be extended over an unbroken line of coast.

In his last despatch to us of 22d October, Gov. Roberts says:

"I have just been informed that the King, chiefs, and head-men of the New CESTERS Territory are disposed to sell their country to the Americans; and as no time should be lost in acquiring it—as two great objects will be gained, viz: that of extending our territory along the coast, and extinguishing forever the *slave trade* between *Monrovia* and *Cape Palmas*—I have this day sent a commissioner to treat with them for the purchase of their territory, and wish him success with all my heart."

Surely, in whatever light we view it, the purchase of that territory is an object of commanding importance, well calculated to stir all the deep and tender feelings of our natures, and to draw from the benevolent and philanthropic their very largest contributions.

We regret to say that the receipts of the past year for this object have fallen far below our anticipations.

During the summer a plan was proposed by a gentleman in New York to raise \$15,000, by pledges of \$1,000, payable when the whole amount should be subscribed, and promising himself to be one of the number. Since that time three other pledges, of \$1,000 each, have been given, and we have strong hopes that several others will be added shortly.

An important Treaty of peace and friendship has been made with the Kroos, by which they bind themselves to abstain from all participation, direct or indirect, in the slave trade, "*that no foreign officer, agent or subject, except of the colony of Liberia, or the American Colonization Society, shall purchase, have, or in any way, by sale, lease or gift, obtain right to, or claim upon, the Kroo territory.*" They also bind themselves to foster and protect the American missionaries.

This Kroo country possesses many important commercial advantages; and foreign traders, and *nations*, have shown special desire to obtain possession of it. The Kroomen are the pilots of the coast, and their services are almost indispensable to foreign vessels. They have never been engaged directly in the slave trade, but have always been of great service to the slave ships, in assisting them to get their slaves on board. If they should strictly adhere to the terms and obligations of the treaty, it will subject the slavers to a very great delay, and thus render them more subject to capture.

The influence of the United States squadron on the African coast has been of vast advantage to Liberia. It has given the native tribes a better idea of the American character and resources, and has tended to quell their turbulent feelings, and caused them to seek a more intimate acquaintance, and a closer connection, with the commonwealth of Liberia.

Lieutenant Governor Benedict, in a letter under date of September 10, says:

"The United States squadron has been of much benefit to us; the officers generally seem to manifest the most friendly feelings and social disposition towards us. Commodore Perry, together with Captains Mayo, Tatnall, Abbott, and Craves, will ever be gratefully remembered in Liberia."

The relations of the colony with the native tribes have been of the most friendly character, during the year. Peace has been steadily maintained. This has resulted, as Governor Roberts remarks:

"Generally from a conviction that we consider them almost a part of ourselves, and cherish with sincerity their rights and interests. The attachment of the natives is gaining strength daily, and will amply requite us for the justice and friendship practiced towards them. They continue to refer to the authorities of the colony, for the adjustment of all their important disputes; and I believe in every instance, we have succeeded in settling them amicably; thereby preventing wars, and the great casualties that would necessarily follow."

A very remarkable instance in proof of the powerful influence exerted over the most warlike tribes by the government of Liberia, is cited in the case of a dispute which threatened to involve the whole *Goulah* country in a cruel war with the *Condos*. It was referred to the *Legislature* of Liberia by *Ballanada*, a *Goulah* chief,

and was happily settled, and the two tribes have continued to live in peace and harmony ever since. That the influence of the colony is extending rapidly into the interior and along the coast, there cannot be a doubt.

The commerce and trade of the colony have been steadily on the increase. According to the official returns, the imports for a single quarter, exceeded \$40,000, and the exports were about the same. The country has immense resources. It only requires industry and indomitable perseverance to develop them.

It is worthy of remark in this connection, that the receipts into the colonial treasury, chiefly from import duties, were sufficient to meet the current expenses of the commonwealth. These receipts would be vastly increased if all the sea coast was under the jurisdiction of the colony, by which smuggling and the introduction of goods free of duty would be prevented.

While we have these assurances of the growing interests of the commerce of the colony, we are happy in being able to state that the *spirit of trade*, which has been so rife, is subsiding, and that a growing interest is felt in *agriculture*. Dr. Lugenbeel, in whose statements the fullest confidence may be reposed, alluding to this subject, remarks:

"You need not be apprehensive that a 'thirst for trade' will induce any of them (the last company of emigrants) to take up their residence in the Metropolis; for I am happy in being able to assure you, that the trading mania is vastly on the decline. Some who are now engaged in trading, have already found out that fortunes are

Internal prosperity of Liberia.—Gov. Roberts' message.—Education.—Improvements.—Court House.

not now so easily acquired, as formerly, in that way. I rejoice that the citizens of Liberia, generally, are convinced that the true source of wealth is in the soil—that in order to the maintenance of themselves and families, and the preservation of their standing as a free and independent community of people, endowed with the 'unalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness,' they must cultivate the land; and to a greater extent than formerly, live on the fruit of their own planting."

In his last annual message to the Legislature, Governor Roberts says:

"I feel particular satisfaction in remarking that an interior view of our country presents us with grateful proofs of its substantial and increasing prosperity. Agriculture is in a steadily progressive state, and continues to be a subject of much interest to many of our citizens. It is calling up in a greater degree than formerly the attention of men of capital; and when such improvements have been introduced, as the present system requires, it will doubtless become a general source of affluence."

This important and able document (the message of Governor Roberts) makes a most satisfactory exhibition of the present condition and prosperity of Liberia. The laws are respected—peace prevails—plenty is in all their borders—religion is in a healthful state, education is increasing, agriculture is advancing, and contentment and happiness every where prevail. It exhibits most conspicuously the beneficial tendencies and the happy results of colonization.

The **LIBERIA HERALD**, speaking of this message, says:

"The Colonial Council assembled on the 4th March, in the neat and commodious room prepared as a permanent place of meeting of the Legislature, over the court room in the new Court House. From the spirit manifested by some, and the known ability of others of the members, we argue something beneficial.

"Governor Roberts delivered the Annual Message. It is an able and interesting document, and does great credit to its author. It is to be published. It will manifest what every Liberian must be proud of,

that our trade, our strength, and our population are all on the advance."

The meetings of the Legislature were all marked with great decorum, and their proceedings would do honor to many similar assemblies in much older countries.

Increasing attention has been given to the education of the rising generation. The colonial council are concerting measures for establishing a general system of public schools, in which efficient and competent teachers shall be employed, and a thorough course of instruction be given.

The spirit of improvement has been abroad in the colony. The *Liberia Herald* says: "The number of buildings at present going up in the colony, as well as those undergoing repairs, is truly cheering." A large *stone jail* has been erected in Monrovia. Also a most substantial, well constructed and commodious Court House has been completed. This edifice is built of the stone with which Cape Mesurado abounds. It stands on a site which commands a beautiful view of the lower part of the town—overlooks the bay and anchoring ground, the bar and entrance into the river, Stockton creek, Mesurado river, and a vast extent of the interior country. It is thirty feet by forty in the clear. The first story which is occupied as the court room is twelve feet four inches high, from the floor, which is brick, to the ceiling.

The second story is fitted up for a council chamber. It is a large airy room, reached by two flights of stairs

gion, may illuminate and invigorate the most distant extremities of that immense continent."

We have received in the course of the year a *census* of the colony—also a *statistical history* from the arrival of the first emigrants in 1820 down to September, 1843, which is full, minute, and definite, and contains nearly all the information that can be desired on all important points. Governor Roberts, in his letter accompanying it, gives the following description of its contents :

"It is in two parts : The first contains a roll of all emigrants that have been sent to the colony by the American Colonization Society, and its auxiliaries ; showing their ages—state from which they emigrated—whether free born, purchased their freedom, or emancipated in view of their emigrating to Liberia, and by whom—where located—extent of education—profession—if dead, time and cause—if removed, to what place—showing, of course, the number still living in the colony.

"A recapitulation, showing the number of emigrants from each state—the number of recaptured Africans that have been sent to the colony by the United States government, &c., &c.

"Recapitulation—showing the total number of emigrants that were free born, number that purchased their freedom, number emancipated in view of emigrating to Liberia, cause and number of deaths in each year, number of removals from the colony, &c., &c.

"The second part contains a census of the colony, showing the age, time of arrival, connections, profession, extent of education, health, &c.

"Recapitulation—showing the number in the colony this day, that have arrived in each year since 1820 ; number of children now living, born of American parents, number born of American and native parents, and number of native children adopted into the families of colonists.

"Recapitulation—names of heads of families, occupations, classification of age and sex, number of idiots and paupers in the colony.

"Agriculture—names of farmers, description and number of buildings on each farm, description of crops, quantity of land owned and number of acres under cultivation, where located, number of cattle and

other live stock, with an estimate of the value of each estate.

"Commerce—names of merchants and traders, description of buildings they own, number of vessels owned in the colony, their tonnage, whether colonial or foreign built, amount of commission business transacted in the colony for the year ending 30th August, 1843, amount of stock employed in trade, an estimate of the value of property owned by merchants.

"A table showing the number of foreign vessels that have visited the different settlements during the two years, ending 30th September, 1843. The kind and amount of merchandise imported into the colony by each vessel. Amount of imports and exports of each port of entry.

"Schools—names of teachers, where located, number of children of each sex, distinguishing between American and native, by whom supported, &c., &c.

"Institutions for religious improvement, the number of churches in the colony, location, description of buildings, number of communicants, distinguishing between American and native.

"Statement of crime, names of culprits, whether Americans, captured Africans, or natives belonging to some of the contiguous tribes, number of convictions for murder, kidnapping, burglary, grand larceny, petit larceny, &c., date of trial, court and punishment awarded, and lastly a map of Liberia. The principal object of this map, is to give you some idea of the course of the rivers between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas ; particularly the rivers St. Paul and Junk, as explored last season, and to fix the location of a number of native towns visited during that time, and others that have not appeared on any map, to my knowledge, before. There are still a number of native towns and villages in the vicinity of the American settlements, that could not be entered for want of space. At some future time I will try to send you one on a larger scale, embracing all."

We forbear in this place and time, making any extracts from this interesting document, believing that the whole of it ought to be printed and laid before the country as an irrefragable, unanswerable argument in favor of colonization, and hoping that means will be furnished to print and publish it as an *appendix* to this report, the estimated cost of which is \$1,166.*

* This Census and accompanying documents will shortly be published and ready for distribution.

The Cause is a flourishing institution in the U. S. — Increased circulation of Repository — Pulpits opened.

The cause of colonization is believed to be in a healthful and flourishing condition in this country. The number of its friends has greatly increased during the past year. The number of subscribers to, and readers of the African Repository, has been considerably enlarged. Many of the daily and weekly newspapers of the country, that formerly were silent on the subject, have opened their columns to communications, and have come out themselves strongly in favor of the Society. A number of new auxiliary societies have been formed, and old ones which had been suffered to languish, have been revived. Many clergymen who for years had been silent on the subject for various reasons, have come to the conclusion that they would be doing wrong longer to conceal "their light under a bushel," and have delivered discourses in favor of the cause, which have met a hearty response in the breasts of their people. Many churches, long shut, have been opened for a presentation of the claims of the Society. Ecclesiastical bodies that have for years thought it inadvisable to have the cause mentioned among them, for prudential reasons, are now anxious that the Society should come and take rank with the other great benevolent institutions of the day, and share in the contributions of the churches.

As a specimen of the changes that are taking place in favor of the Society, we insert the following letter. Dr. Tenney and Mr. Tracy are not

gentlemen who are apt to be deceived in such matters. They are cool and dispassionate observers of men and things, who always examine the reasons and found their opinions on the most substantial evidence. The fullest confidence may therefore be placed in their deductions.

" COLONIZATION OFFICE.

Boston, October 11, 1844.

" REV. AND DEAR SIR:—You are aware that the Rev. C. J. Tenney, D. D., has for some months past, been acting as agent for the Massachusetts Colonization Society, in different parts of the state. I have just received a letter from him, containing some evidence of a change in public sentiment, which may be interesting to you, and perhaps to your readers.

" Dr. Tenney sends me a list of twenty-two parishes, where he has lectured, or has made arrangements to lecture at some future time, on colonization. Two of these lectures have been delivered, and one is to be delivered, in pulpits which have always been open for our use, even in times of the most excited opposition. He has lectured in six pulpits, and has obtained the use, at a future time, of thirteen others, into which admission could not have been obtained three years ago. He has also obtained, for other persons to lecture, the use of three pulpits, at least, formerly inaccessible, which I do not find in his list.

" In some of these parishes, the pastors have formerly thought unfavorably of our enterprise. In others, and probably in a majority of cases, they have shut their pulpits against the agents of all societies which have any bearing on slavery, from the conviction that by opening them, they should only involve their people in bitter and hurtful quarrels, without any good result. Both in closing and opening the pulpits, the pastors have very generally been sustained by their people, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, it has been done by the united voice of pastor and people. There are still many parishes where nothing can be done but by calling on individuals, without any public movement.

" Dr. Tenney remarks:

" The bitterness of opposition from the abolitionists has greatly abated since they have adopted political action. There is much less sensitiveness in our churches on the subject of slavery. The facts, showing the influence of the colony on Christian missions, and the general prosperity of the colony, are carrying conviction to the can-

Increase of friends in Massachusetts.—Tracy's letter.—The Receipts show increasing prosperity.

did and pious, of the great importance of the colony to Africa. There is most decidedly, a reaction in public sentiment, respecting colonization; although the amount given by individuals is not increased in equal proportion; still, several who had discontinued their donations for three or four years, have renewed them. I feel persuaded that next year we ought, anew, to bring our enterprise before associations and ecclesiastical bodies.'

"This last sentence may need explanation. Nearly all the pastors in Massachusetts, of various denominations, are members of associations, meeting usually four times a year, and each on a different day from the others. Agents of various benevolent societies practice attending those meetings, to lay their claims before the pastors, and make arrangements for addressing their congregations. In some communions, ecclesiastical bodies of other names, answer a similar purpose. For some years past, even our friends in the several associations would have regretted the presence of an agent of our Society, as an occasion of unpleasant and unprofitable excitement. By another year, Dr. Tenney thinks, they may hope to be generally welcome; which is as much as to say, that colonization may then take its place among the benevolent enterprises which our churches generally think it their duty to sustain. This, however, you must understand not as a promise, but as the present opinion of one well qualified to judge. The facts, I think, give a fair sample of our past depression, and of the rate at which we are emerging from it.

Very truly yours,

JOSEPH TRACY.

REV. WM. McLAIN."

In a letter of later date, Mr. Tracy gives some extracts from a communication received from another clergyman in the state, of which the following are a sample :

"I inclose you two dollars as the first fruits of my labors in this county, in behalf of the colonization enterprise.

"The people seemed to be heartily ashamed of this small contribution; but they came together supposing that nothing could be said to justify their giving at all. The facts, however, which were communicated, changed all their views on the subject, and they promise to do better next time.

"The places which Dr. Tenney regarded as accessible, I found to be closed, because the time devoted to taking collections for this Society, had gone by, and other objects of charity must have their turn.

"I have stated the facts, so far as I know them, in reference to the claims of the Colonization Society, to our——association; and, with two or three exceptions, all are in favor of giving the cause a hearing before their people, and of allowing me to address them as soon as circumstances permit. The month during which, heretofore, collections have been taken, is that of July; and I do not expect that, till then, much can be done, except to prepare the way by scattering light and truth on the subject, among the ministers and churches. I am amazed at the ignorance of some of our best ministers, as to what the Colonization Society has done for the benefit of the African race during the last half a dozen years. They seem to have got the impression that this Society was dead and buried long ago.

"This change in their views, I think, may be expected to give us collections next summer, in twenty or twenty-five congregations from which we have hitherto been excluded. The first collections will probably be small; but if our affairs go on well abroad, will increase from year to year."

We might give many facts, connected with the operations of the secretaries of the New York and Pennsylvania colonization societies, showing changes of public sentiment, and unfolding new openings to the churches, similar to those exhibited in the above extracts, all evidencing that the cause is becoming increasingly popular in the country.

'The same thing is exhibited in the receipts of the past year. Every reflecting person is aware that the intense excitement which prevailed throughout the country during most of the year, in regard to the presidential election, so absorbed the public mind as to render it almost impossible to call attention to any other object. Almost all the great charities suffered in their receipts in consequence. And yet the contributions from the churches, and from private individuals, to this Society, considerably exceed what they were

See Annex to the past year.—New Agents appointed.—State Societies, and officers.

the year preceding. This is certainly a most encouraging fact, especially when it is considered that, for a considerable part of the year, (notwithstanding the efforts made to engage them,) not a single agent was employed by the Society. Captain Barker has labored for this Society, and in connection with the African Repository part of the time, and the balance of the time for the Massachusetts colonization society. The Rev. J. B. Pioney performed a temporary agency of three months in Kentucky and Ohio, during the summer, for this Society, and was very successful in raising funds. Excepting these, no agent has been employed by this Society until since the presidential election. We have appointed H. L. Hosmer, Esq., in Ohio, Rev. A. M. Cowan, in Kentucky, and Rev. J. B. Crist, in Tennessee and Alabama, who have just entered on their labors with flattering promises of success.

The Rev. D. L. Carroll, D. D., has been appointed by the New York state colonization society their secretary, and he has made his arrangements for vigorous efforts the coming year.

The Rev. S. Cornelius has labored part of his time in Connecticut, as the secretary of that state society, and part in New Jersey, as the general agent of that society; and in both these states his efforts have been very successful.

The Rev. J. B. Pioney still continues his important services as secretary of the Pennsylvania state

society, by which he was made a life director of the American Colonization Society by the contribution of \$1,000 just before the close of the year.

The Rev. Joseph Tracy continues secretary of the Massachusetts colonization society. He has lately published an able and very important argument in favor of the missionary character of colonization, under the following title: "*A historical examination of the state of society in Western Africa, as formed by Paganism and Muhammedanism, Slavery, the Slave Trade and Piracy, and of the remedial influence of Colonization and Missions.*" It is a pamphlet of forty pages, and it is not too much to say that, from the facts which he has recorded, an incontestable argument is deducible in favor of African colonization! He places it in one single light, that is, *as it influences Africa*, in which none but a dark and prejudiced mind, or a malicious heart, can perceive it to be ought else than *one of the noblest and most benevolent works of the present or perhaps any other century.*

The Missouri state colonization society has lately been reorganized, and has secured the services of that firm and long-tried friend of the cause, the Rev. R. S. Finley, who hopes to be able to add much to the resources of the Society during the coming year.

It is known to our friends that we enjoyed a visit from the able and

Visit of Gov. Roberts to this Country.—Opinions of Doctors Lugenbeel and Hall.

talented Governor of Liberia last summer. His presence among us was attended with the most happy results. The communications which he made to various public assemblies, and the information which he imparted to the many influential gentlemen with whom he had intercourse, tended greatly to inspire new confidence in the stability and growing importance of the commonwealth of Liberia. He was introduced to the PRESIDENT of the United States and *Heads of Departments*, who received him with great respect, and were much interested in his statements relative to the colony.

Gov. Roberts may be considered as the first ripe fruits of Liberian culture and training. As such, he stands forth at once an evidence of the capabilities of his race, and of the practically benevolent spirit of colonization, as it necessarily rouses up and evolves faculties of mind, which, in a state of slavery or freedom in this country, or in Africa, must have remained torpid and dormant forever!

The question was repeatedly asked him, whether he considered the colonists capable of self-government, if now left entirely to themselves? And his uniform answer was, that he believed that if the Society were no longer to render them any aid or counsel, the colony would live and prosper, if they were not interfered with by any foreign nation.

Dr. LUGENBEEL, alluding to the meeting of the colonial legislature last March, says:

"No unprejudiced individual could have attended the meetings of this body, and listened to their deliberations, without being convinced that the citizens of Liberia are capable of self-government."

Dr. JAMES HALL, who, during his long residence in the colony, became intimately acquainted with all its settlements, and whose perfect candor and integrity, accuracy of observation, and soundness of judgment, impart to his opinions great weight and value, says:

"The Liberians have shown a capacity for maintaining a free and independent government, a capacity and disposition for a fair degree of moral and intellectual improvement. The soil of Liberia is one of the most productive in the world, and capable of yielding all the varieties of vegetables, and all the staple commodities of the tropics. The climate of Africa is one that will prove as favorable to the American emigrant as does the climate of the western States to the New Englander. In fine, all that is necessary to favor and perpetuate, on the coast of Africa, an independent Christian government, is an increase of the number of *select* emigrants, an increase, for a certain period, of the appropriation to each individual on his arrival, and a general protection from the Government of this country."

Early in November last, letters were addressed to the secretaries of the state societies, and to other distinguished friends of colonization, making various inquiries in regard to the present state of the cause in their various sections of the country; the number and warmth of its friends; the efforts made the past year, and the obstacles in the way; and as to their opinion of the best measures to be taken, to give increased energy and efficiency to its operations, at the beginning of the approaching year.

The various answers to these inquiries which have been received,

Extracts of letters from the Hon. Judge Burnet and R. M. Sherman.

present many facts and truths touching the present and prospective condition of our enterprise, in a manner more satisfactory than could otherwise be done. As we cannot, however, present them entire in this report, we shall make such extracts from them as seem requisite to illustrate the subject.

The Hon. Judge BURNET, of Cincinnati, Ohio, says :

"A large proportion of the people in the Miami valley are friendly to the colonization cause, and if called on, would willingly contribute more or less to sustain it.

"The chief difficulty is in the want of a local agent to keep the subject constantly on the public mind, and to solicit contributions in the sparse as well as the more dense settlements of the country. One agent, such as Mr. Pinney, would effect more than all the organized societies in the Ohio valley, and in fact, it requires such an agent to keep the societies alive.

"A large part, probably three fourths, of your contributions are made in small sums, the collection of which requires much time, and great patience and perseverance. Men engaged in business cannot spare the time necessary for this purpose; nor do they possess the information necessary to accomplish it. A man with the proper qualifications could obtain more in one month than an ordinary collector could in two, and might approach successfully many persons who would not listen to an ordinary applicant.

"Heretofore, but very little aid has been received out of our cities and towns. The great body of farmers and others residing in the country have not been sufficiently attended to.

"The colonization cause has many warm friends in Ohio, but they require to have their attention occasionally raised, and their feelings a little warmed by such communications as an agent ought to be able to give.

"It is much to be regretted, that the African Repository is not more generally circulated. That invaluable periodical, if it could be kept and read by the whole nation, would produce a very beneficial influence on the public mind, if not an entire revolution. I doubt if there be more than one in a hundred in the western States who has a correct knowledge of the condition and prospects of the colony, much less

of the influence it is destined to have, and is now producing on the native tribes in its vicinity, in the suppression of the slave trade, and on the commerce of our own country, as well as of the world. This knowledge would be obtained from that publication, were it universally read; and at the same time such an extended circulation might be made to contribute largely to your funds."

The following extracts are from the letter of the late Hon. ROGER MINOTT SHERMAN, to which allusion has been made in this report :

"In this village, (Fairfield, Connecticut,) the Congregational Society have seven annual contributions for religious and benevolent objects, of which this Society is one; and I supposed it was receiving regular aid, in a similar form, in other places. But upon inquiry, I am much disappointed to find that there is not another church in this association which gives this a place among its charities. In some, the influence of abolitionism is the great obstacle. A clergyman is not willing to hazard the peace of his parish by exciting that reckless, turbulent spirit. But in most instances, the neglect is owing to the fact, that the attention of the clergy has not been turned to the subject. A majority would, I apprehend, be ready to adopt a regular system of collections in their respective parishes, if the great success of the enterprise, and the interesting objects which it embraces, were but sufficiently understood. In order to get the aid of the people, their *Pastors* must press it on their consideration in their respective parishes. Without *their* aid, we can do comparatively nothing, and with it, much may be accomplished. From the inquiries which I have made, I think the clergy in this part of the State may be excited to action, except in those places where they are deterred by the fear of the abolitionists. All we want is revenue. This can be obtained in this State in no considerable amount for the aid of colonization, unless the clergy will introduce and sustain normal contributions in their respective parishes, which shall be *permanent*.

"I will endeavor, as I have opportunity, to promote the establishment of this system of regular periodical contributions in this part of the State. What the success of the attempt may be, can be ascertained only by the experiment.

"Could the attention of the clergy of the various denominations be called to the subject, they would certainly be able, and I believe disposed, to enlarge, to a very considerable degree, the amount of our annual

Opinions of Professor Lee, Hon. E. Whittlesey, Professor Greenleaf, Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D.

remittances. I hope the attention of our most influential men may be arrested, and if this can be done successfully, I shall look for an increase of patronage. Your 'Address to our Friends and Patrons,' lately published in the Journal of Commerce, and Commercial Advertiser, is well calculated to arrest attention, by an impressive presentation of the influence of the Colonization Society and its wants.

"Accept, dear sir, my grateful acknowledgments for your important public services, and the assurances of my personal respects, &c."

RICHARD HENRY LEE, Professor in Washington College, Pennsylvania, says:

"The opinions of the people of this part of Pennsylvania are very generally favorable. *Abolitionism* has made no great progress here. The calm and patriotic in this region see plainly that colonization has afforded them the most effective arguments and facts against its visionary and agitating schemes.

"With regard to the present position of our cause here, it is still strong. In this county and Fayette there must be between twenty-five and thirty auxiliary societies. Many others might be formed by an active agent.

"I can think of no surer means of increasing the energy of our friends and societies than the employment of agents. I can speak from much experience in this matter, that, whenever political excitements are abated, the subject of colonization becomes the most interesting to the people at large; but this interest must be roused into activity by the frequent bringing of the subject before their minds. I would suggest, then, that you prepare an address, for the end of this, or the beginning of the next year, urging a renewal of the attention of the friends of the cause, after the political excitement has passed away. The increasing prosperity of the cause—its enlargement of operations—its soothing influence on the political and religious interests and passions, &c., might be urged as motives and reasons for renewed attention and energy."

The Hon. ELISHA WHITTLESEY, of Ohio, says:

"The intelligent part of the people in this section of the State, who are not abolitionists, are generally friendly to the cause of colonization. Very many who were formerly its friends, have become its bitterest enemies, by uniting with and becoming abolitionists, taking, however, more

recently the designation of 'Liberty Men.' Nothing has been done for some time past to revive the colonization societies. The friends of the cause here have hoped, by retiring from all grounds of controversy, that the exertions of the abolitionists would be less vigorous and successful. In this, I think, they were mistaken. LESTER KING, their candidate for Governor, resides in this county, and he has been, with most of his supporters, very active during the past year. The friends of colonization have been very unwilling to have the cause mingled with politics, and, therefore, the efforts of the abolitionists have not been resisted or counteracted. The decision of public sentiment prevents clergymen from taking an active part in favor of colonization when they are its friends; and when they are abolitionists, they lecture and preach on the subject everywhere.

"As to future operations, I think the State Society should be resuscitated. I shall go to Columbus, and if possible assist in its reorganization."

Professor SIMON GREENLEAF, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, says:

"I have reason to believe that the violence of political abolitionism in the north has already created some change of feeling and opinion in favor of colonization, and that the present is a favorable season for renewed action on the part of its friends. Since abolitionism has assumed a separate political organization, I think it has lost much of the sympathy of the real friends of the African race, and that it will soon follow the fate of political anti-masonry, from a similar cause—the want of a true political foundation, and a departure from that of good morals and honesty of purpose.

"I should think, in the present state of the public mind, that a calm but energetic address or circular to the real friends of Africa and her children, would be very favorably received. Such an address, freely circulated through the northern States, I think, could not fail of being of great service to the cause."

The following extracts are from the letter of the Rev. PHILIP LINDSLEY, D. D., of Nashville, Tennessee. They bring to view an entirely different class of difficulties in the way of colonization. He says:

"I duly received your communication of November 1st, but was at that time too ill to attend to its contents. It was a season, also, of extraordinary political excitement.

Opposed by Dr. James Bay, Joseph Tracy—Continued in November following.

And, unfortunately, the colonization cause had become so generally misunderstood, in the popular mind, with such misnomers, that it was not uncommon among certain dissenters to denounce the advocates of the Society, as aiming at the latter. We illustrate thousands of colonization, were frequently advised, nay, entreated, during the summer and autumn, to remain silent and inactive. We were assured that nothing could then be accomplished; that we should only incur popular odium; that we must wait until the election was over, &c., &c. Well, the election is over, and I fear the prospect is not much improved.

"Nevertheless, my own deliberate opinion on the subject is, that a wise, discreet, judicious agent who could render faithful, to every capacity, the broad lines of distinction between colonization and abolition, would dispel more of the darkness and prejudice which prevail; and that among the honest multitude to exist under our banner. Our friends are numerous in this State, but scattered, unconscious of their strength, and therefore somewhat timid and irresolute.

"It will ever afford me pleasure to aid the good cause in any way practicable, and especially to sustain such agent as you may send to labor among us."

DAVID M. REESE, M. D., of New York city, says:

"The cause of colonization never presented so strong claims upon the American people as now, nor did it ever before, give so great promise of auspicious results to benevolent efforts, or call so loudly for strenuous and united exertion. The number of its friends in this region is undiminished, though their warmth in its support has fallen off, I fear, to a great extent, from a variety of causes. The greatest obstacles are the hostility of the Abolitionists in many parts of this State, and the impossibility of removing the prejudices which that faction have created against the cause, and all who advocate it."

The Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, of Boston, Mass., says:

"To understand the present position of colonization in this State, we must look at its past position. And, as to that, I am more and more convinced that the merits of our enterprise were never understood here, by any considerable number of our people. Twelve or fifteen years ago, it was generally viewed with favor by that class of men on whom foreign missions depended for support. Their favor, as I am now per-

suaded, was extended to it charitably, rather than coldly. They wished it well, and were willing to help a little, because they thought its contents and managers to be well-meaning and amiable men, who probably understood their business, and would make a good use of the funds committed to them, and not because they had studied and measured the merits of the enterprise. In this state of things, Mr. Garrison's war on the Society commenced, and has been carried on for ten years, or so, at an expense of several thousand dollars, annually; every cent of which has been against us more effectually than if opposition to us had been its avowed and only object. A state of feeling prevailed, in which a calm and profitable consideration of our cause became impossible. We were shot out from almost every pulpit in the State. By hearing continual assertions against us, and nothing in our favor, great numbers of good men came to regard colonization as a moral felon, detected, condemned, executed, and buried, beyond the possibility of a resurrection.

"But since last spring, access has been gained to nearly fifty pulpits. I think it safe to expect that by July next the number may be double.

"The number of our friends is considerable, and is increasing. 'Their warmth,' with few exceptions, is rather below blood-heat than above it. A gentleman in this city told me 'he had not been much indoctrinated in our enterprise.' He likes to have our publications, to know what we are doing, and is willing to give us \$5, or less, now and then; and that is all. He is an intelligent, liberal and energetic promoter of all our benevolent efforts, and were he 'indoctrinated,' would not think of giving us less than \$100 a year. He is a fair specimen of very many of our friends, except that he knows why he has no zeal, and they do not. They are friendly; but are not 'indoctrinated,' as Yankees must be before they become zealous.

"The obstacles in our way are the state of mind already described, and especially the erroneous impression that colonization and missions are hostile to each other.

"Our principal efforts have been by newspaper discussion, circulating our annual report, and Dr. Tenney's agency.

"As for myself, I have spent a considerable part of the past season in executing the first of an intended series of attempts to 'indoctrinate' the good people of Massachusetts. The result is, an octavo pam-

phlet of some forty pages, which is now in the press, and will reach you almost as soon as this letter. Its object is, to secure the intelligent support of the friends of foreign missions. I have aimed to exhibit the argument on this point with as much fullness of detail as I could in a pamphlet of a readable size.

"To 'give increased energy and efficiency to the cause,' we must keep Dr. Tenney in the field; or if winter drives him within doors, as I fear it will, get a good substitute, if we can: but a good one, or none. 'Circulate the documents,' as politicians say. Work with the Repository. Diffuse information through the newspapers, and in other ways, as found practicable. Make arrangements, as far as possible, for parochial contributions next July. Carefully avoid all spasmodic efforts; all attempts to get up a 'vigorous movement,' as the old expression is, at some particular time. Our future patrons are yet too ignorant, and conscious of their ignorance, to be wholesomely moved in that way."

The Rev. D. L. CARROLL, D. D., of New York, says:

"The answers which you seek to these inquiries are of great moment, and ought to be given intelligently, and with the utmost candor.

"I do not understand you as asking my opinion of the cause of colonization in general, or in the abstract; but my opinion of its position within the more immediate sphere of my knowledge. My opinion of this general cause has long been known. The spirit, the conception, the execution, of the enterprise of African colonization, exhibit some of the loftiest qualities—the noblest combinations of thought, and the grandest and most august benevolent action that pertain to fallen human nature! But this is not the general estimate of the cause in the 'Empire State.' I therefore proceed to 'define its present position' here. It is not as flourishing as it should be in this large and flourishing portion of the north. A number of causes have contributed to this result. *Abolition* excitement became so tumultuous and alarming, some years ago, that the friends of colonization cowered before it, and, for the sake of peace, ceased to defend, or do any thing to promote, the cause. Our late most worthy and venerable secretary, Dr. Proudfit, for three or four years previously to his death, ceased to speak of colonization publicly, and from the pulpit, or to impart information, or to give impulse to the cause in this way; so that it has measurably 'fallen out' of the popular mind to make way for other things that

have been more exciting, and that have been prominently urged upon public attention.

"Some of the obstacles which have stood in the way, are, utter want of information respecting the present condition of the enterprise; total misapprehension of the real nature of the cause; violent prejudices, excited by the misrepresentations, falsehoods, and untiring vituperations of abolitionism!—the grand throes and agony of political excitement; the lingering effects of the late prostration and pecuniary pressure of the country.

"In regard to future measures, one thing, it seems to me, will be indispensable, and that is, *to diffuse information on the subject*. Wherever I have obtained the ears of people, and communicated the facts respecting the present condition of the enterprise, I have conciliated favor to the cause, and increased the number of its friends. So that the colonization interest in this State is now a little on the increase, and the cause begins to look up from its deep depression with a commingling of smiles and tears on its face! If some good, never-tire agent for the Repository could be procured to traverse the States and *thrust* that periodical upon people as other publications are crowded in, this would be a great desideratum. Another thing that ought to be, and *must* be done, to give increased energy to this cause, is, *to induce pastors to consent to have it brought back to the pulpit, from which it has been most iniquitously exiled, as a mistaken concession and costly peace-offering to the fiery and inexorable Moloch of Abolition!* The secular and religious press, too, ought to be laid under contribution to our cause to a greater extent than hitherto. Some means ought also to be used to diffuse more courage and determination in the friends of this cause. If a general convention could be appointed at such time and place as to secure a good attendance of the friends of colonization, and be addressed by some of the most distinguished speakers that could be obtained for the purpose, this might have a salutary effect in creating a new interest, and infusing a new and indomitable energy in this cause. The fact is, we want something more of the fierce and unconquerable spirit of determination, in this cause, which politicians manifest in theirs. *Inflexible determination and unfaltering perseverance*, are the two great elements of success in every human enterprise! The truth is, we must make a mighty aggressive movement for the conquest of new influence and resources. There are so many objects of engrossing, not to say *maddening* excitement, pressed upon the popular mind in this country, that

Continued from Report—Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.

colonization will be settled out, unless it can be invested with a new glow of heat, that will bring it up some where near to the degree of temperature—the 'point of combustion,' at which other surrounding objects are!"

The preceding extracts are sufficient for the object we had in view. They furnish a mass of concurrent testimony in favor of this great cause which cannot be gainsayed, or resisted. In view of them, it is impossible to doubt that colonization has a deep seat in the affections, and a strong hold on the benevolence of the great body of our countrymen who have given to it the slightest attention. They also fully show that a cause so admirably designed to benefit our own country, and so adapted to dispense the richest blessings to the whole African race, *can* be sustained and rendered effectual in accomplishing the great ends contemplated!

It is true, there are obstacles in the way; there are difficulties to be surmounted. But are not our friends ready to buckle on their armor? Is there any shrinking among them? Any irresoluteness? Any doubt that the work can be accomplished?

Surely not. They all speak the language of confidence—of determination, and of perseverance, until the nation is awakened—until a moral and Christian influence in favor of this Society has reached every heart in our country; and until the colony is erected into an everlasting monument to the praise of American justice and benevolence!

Rise, then, ye friends of humanity! ye statesmen and orators, join all your eloquence, and your exalted powers in this noble cause. Animated by the encouragements to be drawn from the past, fully impressed with the magnitude of the work to be accomplished in the present, let us press forward under the cheering prospects of the future! The God of heaven is with us! The enterprise is undoubtedly His, and His richest blessings have been upon it. He has brought it safely thus far, and He will pursue with a steady and uniform course, and complete, with a splendid and glorious triumph, whatever and every work which His wisdom has devised, and His hands have begun!

Extracts from the Proceedings of the twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
January 21, 1845.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY met according to adjournment. In the absence of the PRESIDENT of the Society, the Hon. L. Q. C. ELMEN, one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair, and the Rev. A.

D. Eddy, D. D., opened the meeting with prayer.

W. McLain read extracts from the annual report; after which—

On motion of the Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, it was—

Resolved, That the report be referred to the Board of Directors for their action.

Resolutions offered by Messrs. Schenck, Carroll, Eddy, and Gurley.—President and Vice Presidents.

On motion of the Hon. R. C. SCHENCK, it was—

Resolved, That the degree of success which has attended the operations of this Society, in the effort to found a colony and build up a free and civilized nation in Africa, should be encouraging to the heart of every Christian and philanthropist; and that the results of the work, thus far, will compare most favorably with whatever is seen to have been accomplished, with equal means, and in the same period of time, elsewhere or in any other age, in the history of colonization.

On motion of the Rev. D. L. CARROLL, D. D., it was—

Resolved, That in the great principles to which the enterprise of colonization appeals, we see the evidence of its permanency and ultimate triumph.

On motion of the Rev. A. D. EDDY, D. D., it was—

Resolved, That, in view of the increased favor manifested towards this Society by the philanthropic and Christian community, and the unusual success which has attended its operations during the past year, its friends and directors should feel encouraged to prosecute, with increased energy and hope, their efforts in the cause of African colonization, relying upon the blessings of God for the full attainment of its benevolent designs.

On motion of the Rev. R. R. GURLEY, it was—

Resolved, That this Society express its profound regrets at hearing of the decease of the several distinguished individuals mentioned in the *Report*, and that, while we bow with submission to the divine decree, we will cherish their memory with feelings of gratitude for the important services which they have rendered to this cause.

On motion of the Rev. J. B. PINNEY, the Society adjourned, to meet in the Colonization Rooms to-morrow at 9 o'clock.

Adjourned.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,

January 22, 1845.

The Society met agreeably to adjournment, the Hon. MR. ELMER, in the chair.

Messrs. Eddy, Phelps, and Tracy were appointed a committee to nominate a President and Vice Presidents of the Society. They reported the following persons, who were unanimously elected, viz:

PRESIDENT:

HON. HENRY CLAY.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

- 1 John C. Herbert, of Maryland,
- 2 General John H. Cocke, of Virginia,
- 3 Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts,
- 4 Charles F. Mercer, Florida,
- 5 Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.,
- 6 John Cotton Smith, of Connecticut,
- 7 Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New York,
- 8 Louis McLane, of Baltimore,
- 9 Moses Allen, of New York,
- 10 General W. Jones, of Washington,
- 11 Samuel H. Smith, of Washington,
- 12 Joseph Gales, of Washington,
- 13 Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia,
- 14 John McDonogh, of Louisiana,
- 15 Geo. Washington Lafayette, of France,
- 16 Rev. James O. Andrew, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church,
- 17 William Maxwell, of Virginia,
- 18 Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio,
- 19 Walter Lowrie, of New York,
- 20 Jacob Burnet, of Ohio,
- 21 Joshua Darling, of New Hampshire,
- 22 Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Mississippi,
- 23 William C. Rives, of Virginia,
- 24 Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of Washington,
- 25 Rev. William Hawley, of Washington,
- 26 Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi,
- 27 James Boorinan, of New York city,
- 28 Henry A. Foster, of New York,
- 29 Dr. John Ker, of Mississippi,
- 30 Robert Campbell, of Georgia,
- 31 Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey,
- 32 James Garland, of Virginia,
- 33 Rev. Thomas Morris, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Ohio,
- 34 Rt. Honorable Lord Bexley, of London,
- 35 Wm. Short, of Philadelphia,
- 36 Willard Hall, of Delaware,
- 37 Rt. Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tenn.,
- 38 Gerald Ralston, of London,
- 39 Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, N. J.,
- 40 Dr. Hodgkin, of London,
- 41 Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Dedham, Massachusetts,
- 42 Thos. R. Hazard, of Providence, R. I.,
- 43 Dr. Thos. Massie, of Tye River Mills, Virginia,
- 44 Gen. Alexander Brown, of Virginia,
- 45 Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, Washington,
- 46 Rev. Thos. E. Bond, D. D., N. York,
- 47 Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., N. J.,

V. President.—Adjourned.—Proceedings of Board of Directors.—Dedicated.—Report referred to Committees.

- 48 Samuel Williams, of New York,
- 49 L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey,
- 50 James Kelly, of Mississippi,
- 51 Rev. Geo. W. Bellows, D. D., of Philly,
- 52 Rev. C. C. Carter, D. D., of Phila.,
- 53 Elliot Cresson, Esq., of Philadelphia,
- 54 Anna G. Phelps, Esq., New York,
- 55 Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Andover, Massachusetts,
- 56 Jonathan Hyde, Esq., Bath, Maine,
- 57 Rev. J. P. Doherty, D. D., Columbia, Pa.,
- 58 Rev. Bevaner Woods, Pastor of the M. E. Church, Baltimore,
- 59 Rev. Dr. W. M. Johnson, S. C.,
- 60 Moses Sherman, Baltimore,
- 61 Jonathan Cook, Connecticut,
- 62 John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.,
- 63 Hon. D. Webster, Worcester, Mass.,
- 64 Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio,
- 65 Rev. Dr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.,
- 66 Rev. P. Lumsby, D. D., do.
- 67 Hon. J. R. Underwood, Ky.

After which the following preamble and resolution were adopted :

Whereas, the cause of African colonization is obviously one of commanding importance, and in its present state requiring the concentrated wisdom of its friends in various parts of this country, therefore—

Resolved, That it is expedient to elect, from time to time, honorary and corresponding members of the Board of Directors of this Society.

[The Society then elected fifteen honorary and corresponding members, in different parts of the country, whose names will be announced at a future time.]

And after the transaction of some other business, the Society adjourned to meet on the 3d of January, 1846, at 7 o'clock p. m.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

The Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met at the Colonization Rooms, in the City of Washington, January 22, 1845.

The Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey, was called to the Chair, and the Rev. A. D. Eddy, of New Jersey, was appointed Secretary.

Testimonials of the appointment of the following delegates, were then read.

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|---------------------------|------------------|
| Rev. D. L. CARROLL, D. D. | } N. Y. S. C. S. |
| A. G. PHELPS, Esq. | |
| Rev. A. D. GILLETTE, | } Penn. S. C. S. |
| Dr. JOHN BALL, | |
| Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, | } Mass. S. C. S. |
| Rev. S. K. LATHROP, | |
| Rev. A. D. EDDY, D. D. | } N. J. S. C. S. |
| Hon. L. Q. C. ELMER, | |
| Hon. W. S. ARCHER, | } Va. S. C. S. |
| Hon. G. W. SUMMER, | |
| Hon. J. W. HUNTINGTON, | } Ohio S. C. S. |
| Hon. C. W. ROCKWELL, | |

The Rev. J. B. Pinney, and Elliott Cresson, Esq., were present as Life Directors.

Hon. H. L. Ellsworth, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Esq., H. Lindsly, M. D., and Rev. C. A. Davis, were present as members of the Executive Committee. And Rev. W. McLain, as Secretary of the Society.

Messrs. Tracy and Phelps, were appointed to examine and audit the accounts of the Treasurer for the last year.

So much of the annual report, already submitted to the Society, as relates to the emigration of colonists, was referred to Messrs. Pinney and Carroll.

So much of the report as relates to the state of the cause of colonization in this country, was referred to Messrs. Cresson and Davis.

Report of Committee on the state of the Cause in this Country.

So much as relates to the present state of the colony, was referred to Messrs. Pinney, Huntington, Bell, Tracy, Ellsworth, Summers and Archer.

Messrs. Tracy and Phelps, were appointed a committee to examine and report upon the concerns of the African Repository.

Messrs. Pinney, Eddy and Dr. Carroll, were appointed to nominate members of the Executive Committee, and a Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer.

On motion, adjourned to meet tomorrow morning, at half past 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY MORNING,

Half past 9 o'clock.

The Board of Directors met according to adjournment. The minutes of the last meeting were read and accepted.

The committee on that part of the annual report which relates to the emigration of colonists, made a report, which report was re-committed, and the committee were instructed to prepare and present resolutions in accordance with the first and third subjects embraced and recommended in said report.

The committee on that part of the report which relates to the cause of colonization in this country, made the following report:

"Your Committee beg leave, respectfully, to report, that they find much cause for congratulation on the general aspect of our affairs in this country, and in their management during the last year, but we believe that enlightened economy will dictate an

appropriation of the additional sum of \$400 to the office outlay of \$2,000, for the coming year, so as to afford the aid of an assistant, for the relief of our able and indefatigable Secretary, and accordingly recommend the grant of that sum.

"We note with great regret, the inadequacy of our funds to meet the many cases where benevolent slave holders have offered the gratuitous emancipation of their people for settlement in our colonies; and that your Executive Committee has been compelled to reject these proffered trusts, on the sole ground of pecuniary inability. We are well aware of the difficulty of procuring suitable agents; but with full confidence in the benevolent feelings of American philanthropists, and in their readiness to contribute towards the moral regeneration of Africa, and the restoration of her long exiled children to her bosom—when made acquainted with our wants and their exigencies—we cannot doubt that important service would be rendered to the cause, by calling forth the volunteer labors of our friends in the different States. We would therefore suggest that the Executive Committee, be instructed to present some of the most striking cases where large bodies of valuable slaves, trained specially for future usefulness in Africa, have relapsed into hopeless bondage, from our inadequate receipts; and to invoke the co-operation of our friends in calling forth the requisite funds for preventing similar catastrophes, as well as for the completion of our territorial purchases between Capes Mount and Palmas, now, perhaps, the most important duty devolving upon the American Colonization Society, in view of the claims of three millions of unfortunate fellow creatures, upon the best sympathies of the American people.

"Our own observation happily corroborating the views of the annual report, in relation to the growing interest manifested by various religious bodies, towards this truly Christian and constitutional mode of blessing the African race, we would further suggest the selection of some of the most affecting cases of slaves reverting into bondage, to be embodied in a circular to the clergy, asking their active services in preventing the recurrence of similar circumstances.

"All of which is very respectfully submitted.

"ELLIOTT CRESSON,

"Chairman."

The committee to whom the accounts of the Treasurer were referred, made the following report:

From 1st January, 1844, to 1st January, 1845.

To balances due the Society per last report, . . .	\$352 50
to which add error, since discovered, . . .	11
Due and since collected, on an old debt not brought into the last year's statement, . . .	693 24
Cash in hand, as per last report, . . .	305 55
Received from the Colonial store, of which \$7,759 09 was the profit on its business for the year, . . .	8,094 81
Received from Donations, . . .	12,781 70
Received for passage of Emigrants, and freight on goods carried out for others, . . .	7,122 87
Received from Legations, . . .	2,495 18
Received from subscriptions to the African Repository, Balances now owed by the Society, not including "old debts," . . .	1,794 43
	7,612 97
	<hr/> \$41,283 36

By balances owed by the Society per last report, . . .	\$7,613 96
Cash paid for passage of Emigrants, Provision, &c., . . .	6,911 90
Cash paid for goods consigned to the Colonial store, . . .	4,623 25
Cash paid for Improvements, Purchase of Territory, Salaries of Governor and Colonial Secretary, and other expenses in Liberia, . . .	10,243 59
Cash paid Officers' expenses, viz: Salary of the Secre- tary, \$1,500; Rent, \$200; Clerk hire, \$119; Sta- tionery, Lights, Fuel, &c., \$91 56, . . .	1,910 56
Cash paid Postage, Contingent Expenses due at last Report, &c., . . .	540 60
Cash paid Salaries of Agents, and other expenses at- tending Collection of Funds, . . .	2,035 10
Cash paid old debts, Discount, Exchange, &c., . . .	678 75
Cash paid for Paper and Printing African Repository, Balances due the Society this day, . . .	1,062 70
Cash paid expenses on the Expedition by the Renown, \$72 08, and by the Virginia, \$2,584 94; which amounts have not yet been charged to the respec- tive accounts, . . .	3,645 84
	<hr/> 2,637 02
	<hr/> \$41,283 36

From the above statement it will appear that the total receipts of the Society, during the year, (including the cash in hand at last report, \$305 55,) were \$43,640 39; and that the total expenditures were \$48,237 52; leaving a balance against the Society of \$4,597 13. The same being the difference between the amount which is due the Society and the amount which the Society owes this day, (not including "old debts.")

W. McLAIN.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,
Washington City, Jan. 1st, 1845

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.

JOSEPH TRACY, }
A. G. PHELPS, } *Auditors.*

JANUARY 23, 1845.

Report of Committee on Liberia.—Election of Ex. Committee and Cor. Secretary.—Important Resolutions.

The committee on the present state of the colony made their report:

"The Committee to which was referred the subject of the state of the colony, report—

"That the colony of Liberia exhibits in all its aspects, whether as regards the extension of agriculture and commerce, the increase of buildings, and all the evidences of material prosperity or the continued salutary workings of its municipal laws and educational and religious institutions, a state of things every way gratifying to the Society and the friends of the colored race every where.

"January 23, 1845."

The committee to nominate members of the Executive Committee, Secretary and Treasurer, reported the names of Hon. Messrs. H. L. Ellsworth, and M. St. Clair Clarke, Harvey Lindsly, M. D., Hon. H. O. Dayton, Rev. C. A. Davis, Joseph H. Bradley, Esq., and Rev. Dr. Bacon, as members of the Executive Committee, and the Rev. W. McLain, as Corresponding Secretary.

The aforementioned gentlemen were unanimously elected to the offices for which they were respectively nominated.

Resolved, That the whole expense of the office at Washington, be limited for the ensuing year to a sum not exceeding twenty-four hundred dollars.

Resolved, That the appointment of a Treasurer, be referred to the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to inquire into the expediency of memorialising Congress, that measures be adopted to foster and protect the American commerce on the western coast of Africa, and to give encouragement to the commonwealth of Liberia, and to take into consideration the disposal of the census of Liberia, and whatever may relate to the American commerce on the African coast.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to confer with the subscribers to the \$15,000 fund, for the purpose of purchasing territory in Africa—on the importance of entering upon immediate negotiation for such purchase, and to see if the terms of such subscription may not be so modified as to allow donations to be applied at once to such purchase of territory.

The following resolutions were presented by Dr. CARROLL, and unanimously adopted, viz:

Resolved, That the very nature, the objects, and the great ulterior aim of colonization preclude *indifference* and impose upon every patriot, philanthropist and Christian, the imperious duty of actively and zealously patronizing this cause, or of presenting satisfactory reasons for withholding from it that countenance and support due to a professedly great and important enterprise.

Resolved, That it is expedient and desirable that a series of district meetings, or conventions, should be held during the approaching spring and summer, with direct reference to enlisting the great body of the clergy more zealously in this enterprise, and to induce them to bring it back again to their several pulpits, and give at least one annual collection in aid of the funds of the Society.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to review the proceedings of the Society and of this Board, and to publish such portions of their minutes as they may think proper.

The committee on the African Repository, made a verbal statement of the condition of said publication, which was satisfactory to the Board.

The committee on Emigrants, whose report was recommitted, made their report, which was referred to the Executive Committee for such action upon the subjects therein contained as they may deem expedient.

The annual report was referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board of Directors are due and are hereby tendered to the Corresponding Secretary and the Executive Committee of the last year, for the faithful and efficient manner in which their duties have been performed.

A vote of thanks was also passed to the Hon. Mr. Elmer, for his valuable services at the present meetings of the Board, and for presiding as Vice President over its deliberations.

The Board of Directors adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1846, at 12 o'clock, M.

ABSTRACT

OF THE CENSUS OF LIBERIA, SEPTEMBER, 1843.

Year.	Arrivals.	Deaths the last year.	Deaths of former years.	Sum of both.	Emigrants of each year since the last year.	Deaths of each year since the last year.	Total current population.	Children of freed year since the census.	Total population.	Mortality among the estimated emigrants.
1820	85	15		15	8	35	36		36	per cent.
1821	33	4	3	7	6	8	51		51	8.39
1822	37	7	7	14	9	5	72	3	75	12.96
1823	65	13	2	15	15	8	114	6	120	2.60
1824	103	16	5	21	34	8	188	3	200	4.16
1825	66	13	8	21	16	3	230	6	248	4.00
1826	182	40	8	48	58	6	358	3	379	3.22
1827	234	20	9	29	63	14	549	6	576	2.37
1828	301	97	40	137	98	24	699	12	638	6.91
1829	147	37	30	67	49	25	751	20	813	4.70
1830	324	75	35	110	123	25	945	20	1,021	4.30
1831	145	32	51	83	71	12	1,008	30	1,117	4.98
1832	655	92	37	129	289	83	1,451	13	1,573	3.31
1833	639	170	47	217	193	122	1,751	44	1,917	2.98
1834	237	70	70	140	87	31	1,817	33	2,016	3.65
1835	187	17	65	83	95	32	1,885	48	2,132	3.27
1836	205	51	91	145	105	13	1,936	47	2,230	4.40
1837	76	37	104	141	50	6	1,865	58	2,217	4.66
1838	205	50	135	185	102	12	1,873	56	2,281	6.08
1839	56	6	129	135	35	10	1,784	55	2,217	5.65
1840	115	52	128	180	33	6	1,713	40	2,216	5.69
1841	86	21	79	100	45	9	1,790	78	2,271	3.56
1842	229	25	66	91	169	15	1,813	35	2,429	2.90
1843	19	6	79	85	11	2	1,745	29	2,390	4.33
Total,	4,454	966		2,198	1,715	514		645		

Churches, 23; Communicants, American, 1,014. Recaptured Africans, 116, African, 353; Total, 1,483.

Schools, 16; Scholars, American, 370, African, 192; Total, 562.

Convictions; Murder, 9; Kidnapping, 11; Burglary, 17; Grand Larceny, 107; Petit Larceny, 184; Other offences, 47.

Imports in two years, \$157,829; Exports, do. \$123,694; Stock in trade, \$58,760, Real estate of Merchants, \$39,550; Commission business annually, \$50,500; Vessels, 9.

Coffee trees, 21,197; Acres sugar cane, 54; Acres in rice, 62; Do. Indian corn, 105; Do. Ground nuts, 31; Do. Potatoes and Yams, 306; Do. Cassava, 325. Acres owned, 2,534; Under cultivation, 948. Cattle, 71; Sheep and Goats, 214, Swine, 285; Ducks and Hens, 119 doz.; Total value owned by farmers, \$21,775.

CONSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

ARTICLE 1st. This Society shall be called "The American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States."

2d. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed, is to promote and execute a plan for Colonizing (with their own consent) the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

3d. Every citizen of the United States, who shall have paid to the funds of the Society the sum of one dollar, shall be a member of this Society.

4th. There shall be a Board of Directors, composed of delegates from the several State Societies, and Societies for the District of Columbia, and the Territories of the United States. Each Society contributing not less than one thousand dollars annually, into the common treasury, shall be entitled to two delegates. Each Society having under its care a Colony, shall be entitled to three delegates; and any two or more Societies uniting in the support of a Colony, composing at least three hundred souls, to three delegates each. Any individual contributing one thousand dollars to the Society shall be a Director for life.

5th. The Society and the Board of Directors shall meet annually at Washington, on the third Tuesday in January, and at such other times and places as they shall direct. The Board shall have power to organize and administer a General Government for the several Colonies in Liberia; to provide a uniform code of laws for such Colonies, and manage the general affairs of Colonization throughout the United States, except within the States which planted Colonies. They shall also appoint annually, the Executive Committee, to consist of seven, with such other officers as they may deem necessary. Any two members of the Executive Committee, with the chairman, shall form a quorum for the transaction of ordinary executive business; but all appropriations of money, or measures involving the expenditure of funds, other than for the payment of debts previously contracted by order of the Executive Committee, shall be approved by at least four members of the Executive Committee. The officers of the Society shall be *ex officio* members of the Board of Directors, and shall have a right to speak, but not to vote. The said Board of Directors shall designate the salaries of the officers, and adopt such plans as they may deem expedient for the promotion of the Colonization cause. It shall be their duty to provide for the fulfillment of all existing obligations of the American Colonization Society, and nothing in the following article of the amendments shall limit or restrain their power, to make such provision by an equitable assessment on the several Societies. When ever a meeting of the Board of Directors shall be regularly called, and there are not at least six members in attendance, in such case five members of the Executive Committee, the chairman being one, with such Directors, not less than two, as may be present, shall constitute a Board, and have competent authority to transact any business of the Society; provided, however, the Board so constituted shall carry no question unless the vote be unanimous.

6th. The expenses of the General Government in Africa shall be borne by the several associated Societies, according to the ratio to be fixed by the Board of Directors.

7th. Every such Society which has under its care a Colony, associated under the General Government, shall have the right to appropriate its own funds in the Colonization and care of its emigrants.

8th. The Board of Directors shall have the exclusive right to acquire territory in Africa, to negotiate treaties with the native African tribes, and to appropriate the territory and define the limits of the Colonies.

9th. The President and Vice Presidents of the Society shall be elected annually by the Society.

10th. It shall be the duty of the President, (or in his absence the Vice President, according to seniority,) to preside at meetings of the Society, and to call meetings when he thinks necessary.

11th. The Board of Directors and the Executive Committee shall have power to fill up all vacancies occurring in their respective numbers during the year, and to make such By-Laws for their government as they may deem necessary; provided the same are not repugnant to this Constitution.

12th. This Constitution may be modified or altered, upon a proposition to that effect, by any of the said Societies, transmitted to each of the Societies three months before the annual meetings of the Board of Directors; provided such proposition receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at their next annual meeting.

13th. The representatives of the Societies present at the annual meeting, adopting this Constitution, shall have the power to elect delegates to serve in the Board of Directors, until others are appointed by their Societies. The delegates shall meet immediately after their election, organize, and enter upon their duties as a Board.

14th. All sums paid into the Treasury of the American Colonization Society shall be applied, after defraying the expenses of collection of the same, and a rateable portion of the subsisting debts of the Society, to the advancement, use, and benefit, of the Colony of Monrovia; and the Agent of the Society, or Governor, shall reside therein.

TWENTY REASONS FOR THE SUCCESS OF LIBERIA.

1. The African is there placed in a new and most favorable position—the very position which calls forth the energies of man, makes him respect himself, and causes him to be respected.

2. The enterprise has the favor, and will realize the aid, of the civilized world—especially of the people of the United States.

3. It has the benefit of the greatest wisdom and most eminent virtue of this country, to guide its counsels and to sustain its interests.

4. Common and universal education is made a leading object.

5. They are a very moral and religious people.

6. The political and civil polity of Liberia is securely established, in successful operation, and modeled after the best of English and American law.

7. The design of this enterprise is to develop *African* character, and to give full scope to its action, independent of the rivalry of the European race.

8. This great and single aim will be prosecuted, as we trust, with increased vigor, by the patronage of this nation in the United States.

9. It will be seen, therefore, that be fatal impediment to the improvement and elevation of the African race, which Europe in superiority has so long interfered in the juxtaposition of the two races, is forever, and at last, out of the way, in this interesting experiment.

10. Their past miseries and present prospects are sufficiently auspicious to augur a successful and triumphant result.

11. The commonwealth of Liberia embodies all and the very elements essential to its success. They are a people living and working for themselves and their posterity, with a sense of the importance of their privilege, and the value of their hopes.

12. The very difficulties of their beginning, and the difficulties they have encountered, instead of being a discouragement, are an earnest and the security of their ultimate success.

13. The success of this undertaking, under *American* counsel and patronage, is indispensable to our domestic tranquility and future prosperity, as a nation.

14. Africa, after all, is one of the richest and best countries in the world, and Liberia may now be regarded as the eye and key of the continent on the west.

15. The natives *cannot* oppress, and the civilized world *will not*.

16. They are secure of the increase of their numbers and of the extension of their jurisdiction, indefinitely, by emigration from the United States, and by the incorporation of native tribes.

17. The United States and Great Britain will be rival competitors for their commerce, and are likely to be so as patrons and guardians.

18. Religion and philanthropy are both combined in their behalf.

19. The Christian world will feel the debt they owe to Africa, for the wrongs they have done her, long enough, at least, to attain this great end.

20. The civilization of Africa is indispensable to important political and commercial interests of the civilized world.

What, then, has civilization done? It has laid the foundation of an empire in the commonwealth of Liberia. *There it is*—on the coast of Africa, a little north of the equator, in the central region of African barbarism, and of the slave trade. *There* are four colonies and twelve Christian settlements, dating a coast of about 300 miles, extending their course, by the navigation, back into the interior and along the Atlantic shore, the whole incorporated into a federal republic, after the model of our own, with like institutions, civil, literary, and religious, and composed of Africans and descendants of Africans, most of whom were emancipated from bondage in this country for the purpose, some of whom were recaptured from slave ships, and a small part of whom are adopted natives that have come in to join them. *There* is Christian civilization and the government of law; *there* is a civil jurisprudence and polity; *there* are courts and magistracies, judges and lawyers; *there* are numerous Christian churches, well supplied with ministers of the gospel; *there* are schools, public libraries, and a respectable system of public education; *there* is a public press and two journals, one weekly, and one semi-monthly; *there* are cities, towns and villages; *there* are the useful trades and mechanic arts; a productive agriculture and increasing commerce; in their harbors are to be found ships trading with Europe and America, and the exports are increasing from year to year; and all this the creation of one, what has been twenty years—an achievement of which there is no parallel in history. Not one of the first settlements of our new country, at the year or so, ever accomplished so much in so short a time, not one of them that did not suffer more in its early history by sickness, and famine, and war, and other calamities incident to colonization. In a word, they constitute the germ of a rising and powerful, and prosperous, of a mighty empire. And, though *late*, yet not *late*, they have done more for the suppression of the slave trade than Great Britain with her *Spencer* treaty, and all the world put together. They have done much in this regard; they found the right way, while all else that has been done, by all the world, is literary waste or nothing. And *these* deeds are the product—the work of the American Colonization Society.

TWENTY-NINTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

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AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

AND OF THE

SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING,

JANUARY 20, 1846.

WASHINGTON:

C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,

SEVENTEENTH STREET.

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TWENTY-NINTH

ANNUAL REPORT

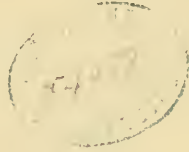
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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Death of Rev. W. Hawley—Death of S. H. Smith.

IN commencing a review of the most prominent events which have occurred in the history of colonization during the past year, we are called upon to pay a tribute of respectful remembrance to the "noble dead."

Just at the close of our last annual meeting, the Rev. WILLIAM HAWLEY, of this city, was called from the field of his labors here, to the scene of his reward on high. For nearly thirty years he had maintained among us an unblemished reputation as a minister of the Gospel, and had been ever active and zealous in the promotion of every benevolent institution. For many years he was one of the most earnest and laborious managers of this Society. He stood by it, with faith and hope, in its most dark and trying periods, cheering the sanguine, and encouraging the doubting, by his never-wavering confidence in its ultimate success. He was one of the Vice Presidents of this Society, and was its ardent friend and patron to the last. But

he has ceased from his labors, and "his works do follow him."

More recently, another of the Vice Presidents, also a resident of this city, departed this life. We allude to SAMUEL HARRISON SMITH. Of his high moral worth, his unsullied reputation, and his general influence as a member of civil society, it is not necessary for us to speak. He was *known* in this community. Being the friend of the friendless, and ever ready to succor the needy, his sympathies were early enlisted in behalf of the colored race. He was the early friend of this Society, and was long one of the Board of Managers, punctual in his attendance, upright in the discharge of his duties, and zealous in his advocacy of the cause.

As an evidence of his warm attachment to the Society, and his great benevolence and liberality in its support, we mention with gratitude the fact that he left it a legacy of two HUNDRED DOLLARS.

Seldom has it occurred that the

Death of J. Cotton Smith—Death of Daniel Waldo.

Society has been called to mourn the loss, in one year, of two such friends and fellow-helpers, both having been managers of its affairs and residents of this city. We would gratefully cherish their memory, imitate their virtues, and commend their liberality.

Among the oldest of the Vice Presidents at the last annual meeting, stood the Hon. JOHN COTTON SMITH, of Connecticut; he also has rested from his labors. In a good old age, "as a shock of corn fully ripe," he has fallen. Many are the friends who mourn his loss. He had filled, with honor to himself and profit to the community, many high places of trust and power. He was wise in council, discreet in judgment, and resolute in action. The advocacy of *such* a mind was of vast value to our great enterprise. The community were accustomed to repose large confidence in his opinions, and to regard with favor whatever benevolent scheme he presented to their consideration.

Though of late years his age and infirmity incapacitated him for rendering any active service to the cause, yet are we greatly indebted to him for his friendship, counsel, and patronage, when the Society was in its infancy and needed helpers such as he; and, though now he is numbered among the "honored dead," his name still lives and shall live, while his influence shall widen and extend and onward flow, until the latest generations!

We are also called upon to record the death of another of the Vice Presidents of the Society. During the past year the Hon. DANIEL WALDO, of Worcester, Mass., has been called to his rest in the skies. Few men have been taken from any community, who were more generally known and more universally respected: and no one could have been taken, whose death would be more extensively, and deeply, and permanently deplored. He was a true patriot, an intelligent philanthropist, and a profound Christian. The peace and good order of society, and the prosperity and happiness of his country, were objects of his constant thought and untiring devotion. Almost every benevolent institution can mention numerous tokens of his affection, and has cause to rejoice in the largeness of benefactions. His interest in all well directed efforts, to enlighten the ignorant, and relieve the wants of the destitute, and promote the moral and social welfare of all, was active and untiring, and his charities were as munificent and free as they were discriminating and unostentatious.

"The name of WALDO is intimately associated with many of the religious and charitable institutions of the country. . . . Deeply imbued with religious faith, and feelingly impressed with a sense of all Christian obligation, in the liberality of a cultivated and enlightened mind, he devised things *liberally*, and with a view to extended good. He looked far beyond *sect or party*, and strove to learn from the instruction of his great teacher and master, how to regard duty to the whole race of his fellow-men, and the aim of his life, was its faithful and acceptable performance."

Death of Elizabeth Waldo—Death of Oliver Smith.

"Thus has passed the long and useful life of this good man. He has been borne to the tomb, full of years, and in honored remembrance. The tears of bereaved relatives and friends bedew the green sod of his fresh-made grave, but the deeds of public munificence and of private benevolence which he has wrought, will survive all temporary affliction, in the cherished memory and lasting influence of his exemplary character and virtues."

Among the various objects of benevolence to which he was devotedly attached, this Society held a very high rank. For many years, he has been a regular and liberal contributor to its funds. As soon as it was proposed to raise \$15,000 for the purchase of territory, in \$1,000 subscriptions, he became one of the number; and soon thereafter paid the amount, although it was conditional upon the whole sum being made up. And he left by his will to the Society the munificent bequest of TEN THOUSAND DOLLARS, which has been promptly paid into the treasury by his executors. It will thus be seen that we have good cause to remember him with gratitude, both for his friendship and assistance while living, and his rich legacy when dying.

"Peace to the memory of a man of worth,
"Of manners sweet, as virtue always wears."

Soon after his decease, died also his sister, ELIZABETH WALDO: a worthy sister of such a brother. We cannot pay any adequate tribute to her worth, or sketch the various excellencies of her character. Suffice it to say, that she was a Christian, most devout and zealous, whose whole spirit was imbued with divine

benevolence, and whose every delight was found in doing good. She was one of our best friends. She was always liberal and systematic in her contributions to this Society; and if at any time we were in special need of funds for any particular object, we had only to make known to her the facts, in order to obtain assistance.

She with her sister, subscribed one thousand dollars towards the purchase of territory, and paid it in anticipation.

She made this Society one of her residuary legatees, from which source it will ultimately receive about TWELVE THOUSAND DOLLARS.

We believe that of her it may be said, with emphatic truth, "she hath done what she could." Truly "the blessing" of the poor African "ready to perish," will come upon her!

Since writing the preceding paragraphs, we have received intelligence of the death of another devoted friend and liberal patron, and we are compelled to

"Add to the list another
Gone to the silent dead."

OLIVER SMITH, Esq., of Hatfield, Mass., who died recently, was an ardent friend of this Society. He was one of the persons who subscribed \$1,000, each, toward the purchase of territory, of which he paid \$500. Among his numerous bequests to charitable institutions, one of \$10,000 to this Society. Much of his very large estate

The American Colonization Society out of debt!

for charitable purposes, and a large amount for benevolent and philanthropic objects.

Thus have passed away, in one year, six of the most valued friends and patrons of this Society: two of whom had, for many years, been members of the Board of Managers: four of whom were enrolled among the number of Vice Presidents: three of whom were contributors to the \$15,000 fund for the purchase of territory; and three of whom left, each, a legacy of \$10,000, or upwards, to the Society.

While we mourn the loss of these efficient and illustrious patrons, we would acknowledge, with emotions of profound gratitude, the goodness of God, in bestowing upon them so much of this world's goods, and in giving them a heart so to use it for the advancement of His kingdom in the earth. And we would unwaveringly confide in Him to raise up others for the reinforcement of our ranks, and for the means necessary to carry forward and consummate our enterprise.

In recounting the labors and transactions of the past year, we begin with the efforts which we have made to relieve the Society from debt, as this is a matter of the chiefest importance. Our friends are aware that, for many years past, the Society has been exceedingly embarrassed by an old debt which was resting upon

In 1839, a compromise was made with the creditors, by which the Society agreed to pay 50 cents

on the dollar. This was considered by the Society as a measure indispensable to its future existence, and by the creditors, or at least by a majority of them, as a very advantageous arrangement, there being very little prospect of their ever realizing the whole amount. At the last annual meeting there were yet due on these compromised debts, \$6,477 33. This amount has since all been paid, with the exception of \$775 27, due creditors who have refused to accept of the terms of the compromise, and the committee have not felt themselves authorized to make a distinction in their favor by paying them on any other terms than have been acted upon in settling with other creditors in like circumstances.

The other debts due by the Society at the last annual meeting have all been paid; while the current obligations of the year have been met and discharged.

We are thus permitted to announce the pleasing fact, that the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY IS OUT OF DEBT! (with the above exception.) To all our friends in every part of the country, this will be cheering intelligence. The Society now stands firm, free and unembarrassed, ready to appropriate its entire resources and devote all its energies to advance the legitimate work of colonization. It is out of debt; it has a credit as good as six years of punctual payment of all its notes, drafts, and obligations, without a single failure, can warrant,

Harmony among friends—Prospects in Illinois and Indiana.

and it has in the treasury at the present time, \$11,159 43, to pay the expenses of the expedition to sail this day from New Orleans.

It is with feelings of the most profound satisfaction that we contemplate this result. None but those who have been engaged in managing the financial affairs of the Society, can ever know or understand the trouble and embarrassment which these old debts have caused the Society. Now, to be relieved from them, with a surplus in the treasury, and a public interest in the country on which to depend for future means, is a state of things of the most gratifying character.

During the past year, many things have transpired, which have placed the cause of colonization on a firmer and more promising basis than it has hitherto enjoyed. Among these we may enumerate the great increase of harmony among the various friends of the enterprise. From the North to the South, and from the East to the West, there is now believed to be but *one* sentiment on this great subject. There has been the most free interchange of opinions; minor preferences and occasional prejudices have been yielded up; the policy of the Society is firmly established and well understood, and many new and substantial friends have been made. A large number of Auxiliary Societies have been organized, and through their operation a great mass of useful intelligence has been diffused. The seed has thus been sown

in many fields never ploughed before, from which we have a right to expect an abundant harvest in the future.

In ILLINOIS, a State Society has been formed, which embraces among its officers and members, a large number of the most talented, influential and distinguished men in the State. The services of a State agent have been secured, who has been successful in raising funds, and has formed between thirty and forty Auxiliary Societies. Heretofore, very few efforts have been made in that State, and of consequence, the cause there was in a very inactive condition, if indeed it could be said to have any existence at all.

The State Society of INDIANA has been reorganized, and an agent appointed, who purposes devoting himself wholly to the work of raising funds. He has associated with him some wise counsellors, and warm friends, whose co-operation will be of immense advantage to him. Most of the newspapers in the State have opened their columns to communications on the subject, which will tend greatly to awaken public attention. We are assured, from many sources, that the State will come up nobly to the work. One ground on which this assurance is based, is found in the public sentiment which entertains in regard to the *free negroes* within their bounds. There is a very earnest desire expressed, that their condition should be improved, and a general hopeless-

Reports on Ohio, Missouri, and Kentucky—Expedition from New Orleans.

ness of ever effecting any thing for them in this respect, while they remain under the shadow of the whites.

Among the colored people, also, there is an inquiry awakening in regard to Liberia. Several families have applied for a passage there. They contemplate sending out one of their number to look at the country, and return and report the facts to them.

In Ohio, no very thorough efforts have been made during the past year. The State Society has but a feeble life, if indeed it can be said to live at all. The agent on whom we depended, has been prevented, by sickness and other causes, from making general collections through the State. Still we have many warm friends in that State, who have rendered good service. Several Auxiliary Societies, also, are very efficient, and do not fail to send us their annual collections.

The State Society of Missouri under the efficient influence of their agent, has been actively engaged in diffusing intelligence during the year. They have held many important public meetings. About three hundred copies of the Repository have been sent to the clergy of the various religious denominations. From the results of these labors, they anticipate a large increase of funds the coming year.

In KENTUCKY the cause has assumed an entirely new aspect. A short time before the last annual meeting, we secured an agent for that State, who has been laboring faithfully during

the past year, and with wonderful success. His cash receipts have been \$1,929 09, while, in addition to this amount, he has obtained upwards of \$5,000, in subscriptions, for the purchase of territory! He early in the year proposed the plan of raising the means to purchase a tract of land for the use of emigrants from that State. And no sooner had he made the proposal, than it became popular with the citizens. They were anxious to see some practical results of their labors. They believed colonization essentially adapted to benefit the free people of color in their own bounds, and were anxious to have in Liberia a place to which they might be sent, and where they might be located together. Pledges were given to them by this Society, that they should have such a place, say a tract of land, forty miles square. And Gov. Roberts has been instructed to lay off, on the north side of the St. Paul's river, such a tract, and locate on it all emigrants from that State, and to call the settlement KENTUCKY. A number of the colored people were anxious to go to Liberia this winter, and be the pioneers of this new settlement.

We have accordingly made arrangements for a vessel to sail from New Orleans *this day* with them, and some from Tennessee, a few from Ohio, and some from Mississippi, if they get ready in time.

The sailing of these people from Kentucky, it is believed, will give a new impulse to the cause in that

Tennessee—Mississippi \$6,000—Louisiana—Alabama—Georgia—South Carolina and North Carolina.

State. An effort will be made, during the present session of the legislature, to get them to make an appropriation to aid in the transportation of their free colored population, and of such slaves as may be set free for the purpose. And from the many encouraging assurances which we have received, from different parts of the State, we cannot doubt that such an appropriation will be made. But even if this should not be done, we have no fear for the prosperity of the cause of colonization in that State. Our agent there is zealous and efficient, and universally acceptable to the people; and he has around him a company of advisers and fellow laborers who are not accustomed to faint or fail in any laudable enterprise which they undertake.

Early in the past year we made an effort to establish an agency in TENNESSEE, but with no encouragement of success. The agent who undertook the labor very soon became disheartened, and, in counsel with some devoted friends of ours in the State, became convinced that the way was not yet open for any advantageous efforts, and therefore declined further operations. There is something in this position of the cause in Tennessee, which we cannot understand. There are many friends of colonization in the State. We have applications from many of the colored people for transportation to Liberia. Many slaves have been manumitted for the purpose of being sent there, and yet little or no money can be raised for the advancement of the enterprise.

In MISSISSIPPI we have many warm and devoted friends. The State Society, though without any regular agent, has succeeded in raising considerable funds from various sources. They deserve great credit for their noble and systematic efforts. Our agent, the Rev. J. B. Pinney, made them a short visit last spring, and while there received six subscribers, at \$1,000 each, towards the \$15,000 fund for the purchase of territory. So that Mississippi stands at the *head* of the *list* of *states* in the effort to complete the purchase of territory. For their noble generosity, and their unexampled liberality in this particular, they deserve unbounded praise.

In LOUISIANA less has been done than in Mississippi. Excepting in New Orleans, we have very few friends in that State who take any particular interest in the cause. There has never been any thing like a regular systematic effort to bring its claims before the great mass of her population. And from the peculiar state of society there, little can be expected from them until great diligence, labor and pains are taken to inform them of the past achievements, present position, and future obligations of colonization.

In the other Southern States little has been done the past year. There is no State Society in either Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, or South Carolina, and there has been no agent in them for many years past. In many places, considerable interest is manifested in the operations of the Society, and there are some liberal

Progress in Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York.

contributors to its funds. But owing to the fact that no agent has called upon them, and that the pastors of the churches have neglected to bring the subject before their people, we have received but small additions to our funds from those States.

In VIRGINIA there is much interest in the cause. But there have been, the past year, but few efforts made to turn it to good account. We have not been able to secure for the State any agent of qualifications suitable to the emergencies in the case. Whenever any efforts have been made to raise funds, they have been successful to an encouraging degree. Many of the pastors of the churches have preached on the subject and taken up collections. Most of the funds which we have received from the State have been raised in this way. To all such pastors we are greatly indebted, and we rejoice to have such coadjutors.

The STATE SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA still continues its operations with encouraging success; and although their former active and indefatigable agent, the Rev. J. B. Pinney, has been engaged most of the past year in other parts of the country, we have received from them substantial aid. It is very desirable that they should secure some talented agent, who would visit every part of the State, to cultivate and enlarge the warm interest already taken in the enterprise.

The NEW YORK STATE SOCIETY has also rendered us important assistance. They entered upon the year with flattering hopes of success. In their

annual report, made in May last, they say:—

"In the labors of the past year, and in their results, the Board have gratifying and encouraging evidence of a reviving interest and a returning confidence in the cause of colonization in this State. When the magnitude of the enterprise at the commencement of the year, and the peculiar political excitement of the year, are taken into consideration, it is not to be reasonably expected that any great success would magnify the labors of that period. The fact that during most of the previous year there was no Corresponding Secretary, and no regular and well-qualified agents in the work field, no remuneration by lectures or publications diffused amongst the people, together with other causes previously operating against it, will readily account for an almost total annihilation of interest and sympathy in the cause of colonization. But, notwithstanding these obstacles, the cause of colonization has been perceptibly advanced within the last twelve months, and is now looking up from its former depression with a commingling of smiles and tears on its face!

"During the last summer and autumn, most of the towns and cities on the great line of travel from this place to Buffalo, have been visited by the Corresponding Secretary. Access has been gained to pulpits on the Sabbath, and an opportunity thus afforded of exhibiting to large congregations the great evangelic aspect and bearing of colonization on Africa, and of urging the claims of this enterprise, as a medium of sustaining Christian missions there, on the sympathies, the prayers and liberality of all those who consistently desire and labor for the conversion of the whole world. Numerous lectures were delivered during the week, adapted to correct misapprehensions on this subject, and intended to explain the nature and legitimate aims of the enterprise, and to diffuse information respecting the present condition of Liberia in its social, political and religious relations. Much interest appeared to be excited by a simple statement of the undeniable facts in the present prosperous and growing condition of the colonies, many doubts as to the practicability of the enterprise dissipated by the unparalleled success of the commonwealth of Liberia, as attested by credible witnesses on the spot, and many new friends and patrons gained to the cause.

"That the amount of funds collected during the year has not been proportioned to the exertions made and to the intrinsic

Dr. Carroll—New Jersey—Dr. Alexander's History—Connecticut—Rhode Island.

merits and pressing wants of the cause, is very true."

But these flattering prospects have not been realized. We, in common with the officers of the Society and friends of the cause in that State, anticipated great things from the labors of their Secretary, the Rev. D. L. Carroll, D. D., and we doubt not our most sanguine expectations would have been fully realized, if he could have continued his labors. But early in the summer his health failed, and though he still kept on with vigor and determination, he was at last obliged to yield. He has gone to the south, in the faint hope that its healing breezes may invigorate his failing powers, but we fear there is but small reason to expect, even should his life continue, that he will ever be able to resume his efforts in connexion with that society.

In NEW JERSEY we are not aware that any particular change of sentiment has occurred on this subject. We have ever had a strong body of friends and patrons in that State. Their society is under a good organization, and has a large number of annual contributors, and the community are generally well informed in regard to its operations and designs.

We however anticipate a great increase of interest in that State, as well as in other portions of the country, from the forthcoming *History of Colonization*, by the Rev. Dr. ALEXANDER, of Princeton. The work has been prepared with great labor and care, and issuing from *such*

a source, it cannot but have a very important influence in arousing the attention of the community to the transcendent importance of the cause it advocates.

The CONNECTICUT State Society is acting with its usual vigor. From many of the pastors of the churches, we have received during the past year, accounts of a growing interest on the subject among their people. The sentiment is rapidly obtaining, that colonization should be admitted to a rank with the great religious and benevolent institutions of the day, and that it has a just claim to an annual contribution from the churches. In Connecticut, however, it is hard to effect *any* change in their accustomed ways of doing their benevolent deeds; and it is especially difficult, in regard to this subject, owing to the strong opposition to be overcome. But notwithstanding this, the work is going forward steadily, surely, and to a certain triumph. It is well known that wherever authentic information is diffused, palpable good is accomplished. Wherever the bearings of colonization, in the extinction of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa, are properly exhibited to the thinking, calculating minds of Connecticut, a salutary impression is made, and contributions, in aid of the cause, are the happy result.

In RHODE ISLAND there does not seem to be any State Society. We are unaware of any good reason for this. We have many friends in that

Prospects in Massachusetts—Agents employed—Ladies and Friends.

State who are zealous for the cause and liberal in their contributions. But there has been no regular agent in the State, and of consequence the receipts have not been large. Little has been done to make new friends. It would probably be found that the number of those who made donations three or four years ago, was about the same as at the present time: that about the same interest was felt then as now: and about the same opposition was made then as now. This state of things is not to be found in any field where an agent has labored faithfully, or where the pastors of the churches have conscientiously brought the subject annually before their people. If the whole State could be cultivated as thoroughly as one or two spots have been, there is not a doubt but that we should receive a larger amount of means from it than we have received from some larger States. May we not anticipate something more favorable and efficient in that State during the coming year? A little timely exertion by *somebody* would secure it.

The MASSACHUSETTS State Colonization Society has been operating with increasing energy and success. At their last annual meeting they reported receipts more than double those of the preceding year. In their report they attribute this increased prosperity to the following six causes:—

"1. The first is a more efficient system of agencies.

"2. The definite and encouraging ac-

counts from Liberia, given in the annual report of last year, and in other publications, have contributed to our success.

"3. We have also derived advantage from the termination of all difficulties between Colonization Societies and Boards of Missions.

"4. The bearings of colonization on the evangelization of Africa have come to be better understood.

"5. We have derived important advantage from the extrication of the society from the false position which it had been made to occupy in many minds, in respect to slavery.

"6. In this connection it would be unjust as well as ungrateful not to mention the liberality of a few distinguished friends."

The following remarks which they make, in regard to the employment of *agents*, will be found true, if we mistake not, in regard to almost every State in the Union:—

"Our expenditure for agencies the past year, including the secretary's salary, has been about \$1,300. For the year to come, and perhaps still longer, a judicious economy will require it to be increased rather than diminished. If our whole field could have been as thoroughly cultivated the past year as some parts of it have been, it is a moderate estimate to say that our receipts would have been twice as great. And it seems a duty to keep up a vigorous system of agencies, till the claims of colonization have been brought distinctly and intelligibly before the minds of the whole governing population of this commonwealth. When this has been done so effectually that those who think well of our enterprise will remember and aid us without solicitation, we may dispense with agencies.

"Meanwhile, we hope our decided and well informed friends in different parts of the State, will do what they can to relieve us of this expense. We hope that many pastors will bring the subject before their congregations, and take up collections.

"Individual friends, of either sex, may easily render us important aid, by diffusing information and collecting funds in their own immediate neighborhoods. A gentleman or lady who collects and forwards to us twenty-five or fifty dollars, not only saves us a sum equal to the salary of an agent while raising that amount, but also leaves the agent at liberty to raise an equal or perhaps a greater amount elsewhere; so that, while we are obliged to employ agents at all, the pecuniary advantage of raising

Prospects in Vermont, New Hampshire, Delaware, Maryland, and Maine.

funds by the voluntary efforts of individuals, rather than by the visit of an agent, is equal to the whole amount thus raised.

"Of the mode of proceeding best adapted to each place, our friends residing there are the best judges. In some places, it may be advisable to form auxiliaries. In others, a few friends may meet and agree to act in concert, without a formal organization. In others still, a single individual, self-moved, will prove the most efficient agency."

From the following remarks we perceive that they entered on the present year with hopes of ever increasing success:—

"With the aid afforded in these and similar modes, we may hope that our receipts will not fall off for the year to come, even if we should receive no large donations, such as have swelled the amount for the year now closing. We hope, however, that the liberal will not cease to devise liberal things, and that many, whom the Great Dispenser of wealth has made responsible for its judicious employment in promoting human welfare, will appreciate the opportunities for doing good, which our enterprise presents. Of the intentions of some, we have already been informed."

From VERMONT, we have received very encouraging accounts of the prospects of the cause. Their agent says he is encouraged not so much by the present amount of his receipts, as by what he considers "a rising interest in the subject." Their last annual meeting was one of unusual interest. We have not yet received a copy of their annual report. They resolved, however, to raise \$1,000 the present year, which is an advance on the receipts of any preceding year.

The NEW HAMPSHIRE State Colonization Society has been reorganized with encouraging prospects. For the want of an agent who could devote his whole time to the business, the agent of Vermont has been invited to labor in New Hampshire, and he has

already made some efforts to raise funds, and has done much for the circulation of the African Repository. He hopes by this means to induce many of the pastors of the churches to make collections among their people in the course of the present year. He says, that there is manifestly an increasing willingness among them to have the cause presented to their people, although many of them are not yet prepared to make the presentation themselves.

In DELAWARE there has been no special effort made the past year to raise funds, or to diffuse information. The *State Society* lately held its annual meeting, and after some stirring addresses resolved to raise one thousand dollars. Several influential gentlemen have taken the matter up in earnest, and we doubt not will succeed in obtaining the amount.

The MARYLAND Society, acting on the principle of independent State action, still continue their operations with commendable zeal and success. They enjoy the benefit of an annual appropriation from the State of ten thousand dollars. Their colony at Cape Palmas is remarkably prosperous.

In MAINE there is no *State Society*, and, having no agent in the State, we have been compelled to rely mainly upon the voluntary offerings of private individuals. Of their generosity, we have no cause to complain. From some of them we have received very encouraging communications, showing that they have a deep and

Black men ought to consider the claims of Colonization—Cause prosperous.

tender sympathy with us in all our operations. Some of them have pledged themselves to the performance of some special service the present year, for the purpose of raising funds from among the present friends, and inducing them to engage with fresh ardor in the work, and, if possible, to enlist new friends, and call forth the resources of those who have hitherto lent us no aid. We trust that at the close of another year it may be said of them, "they have done what they could." There are gentlemen in that State whose resources are abundant, and whose hearts are large. They are now immersed in politics, engrossed with their business, and find little time, as they suppose, to consider new objects of benevolence which may be presented to them. Could they once be brought to consider the unspeakable importance of the great scheme of African Colonization to the welfare of our own country, and the salvation of Africa, they could not fail to render it their liberal support. Compared with its magnitude, they would see that most of the objects of public excitement

"Stand discountenanced, and like folly show."

They would perceive that in order to meet the most urgent and solemn obligations of the *law of love* to their neighbor, they must render to this Society a hearty and liberal support.

From this hasty review of the facts in the history of colonization for the past year in the various sections of the country, it is apparent

that the cause is in a healthful and vigorous condition. There are in almost every State a large body of intelligent and influential citizens, who are so wisely attached to this Society, that they will not rest unless they believe it is prospering. The real merits of the cause are generally appreciated, and are gaining favor exactly in proportion to the efforts which are made to establish them in the affections of the people. As far as our knowledge extends, it has not been said by any one, after having properly turned up the fallow ground and scattered upon it the seeds of truth, "I have labored in vain." Our agents have said, "I find this year an advance on the public favor of last year." Pastors of churches have written us, "My people never were so much affected by the presentation of the claims of the Society as they were last Sabbath; it has now become with most of them a matter of principle to contribute to it."

"I consider the colonization scheme as one of the most important and useful of any which distinguishes this age. Unless I am mistaken, it is rapidly gaining the confidence of the people in this region, as well as all through the north."

The great work of christianizing *Africa*, is believed to devolve on American enterprise and American Christians. And the people begin to appreciate the value of colonization, as a means in the reach of American Christianity, by which to diffuse it—

Amount of Receipts \$53,233 18—The \$20,000 for Territory secured.

self through those habitations now so full of "horrid cruelty." It therefore must rise in their regards, as they rise in benevolent feeling. It has its home in their hearts. They have come to a deliberate judgment in its favor, after a dispassionate consideration of all the premises and conclusions in the case. Time and new achievements will only tend to strengthen this decision.

From the accompanying financial report it will be perceived that the receipts of this Society during the year now ending, have been \$53,233 18. In addition to this amount, we have obtained *reliable* subscriptions, to be paid during the coming year, amounting to several thousand dollars. It will be perceived that of the receipts of the past year, only a small sum is from the trade with the colony. This has resulted from the fact that we have sent out but few goods, and that they have been mainly expended in carrying forward our operations there.

In this view of the subject, and regarding liberality as an evidence of favor; large donations, indicative of large interest; the past year has been one of great prosperity and encouragement.

The plan proposed by A. G. PHELPS, Esq., of N. York, to raise \$15,000 for the purchase of territory, has not been lost sight of. At the last annual meeting \$4,000 were pledged toward the amount. Since that time we have received eleven pledges of a thousand dollars each, making a to-

tal of \$15,000. We have also received subscriptions in smaller sums, amounting to upwards of \$5,000. So that we have now secured the whole sum of \$20,000, which we desired to complete the purchase of the entire coast between Cape Mount and Cape Palmas.

All the \$1,000 subscriptions were made conditional on our raising the whole amount. But so confident were our friends that we would make up the sum, that about half of them paid their subscriptions in anticipation. We have already sent upwards of three thousand dollars to Liberia for the purchase of territory. The last \$1,000 subscription was received only a few days since.

We cannot express the deep sense of gratitude which we entertain for the great liberality which our friends have shown for this particular object. It is one of vital importance to the welfare of Liberia; and one which we have been most intensely anxious to secure, and we now can say

"Joy! Joy forever! The task is done."

We would respectfully recommend that each of the contributors be made a LIFE DIRECTOR of the Society.

A larger number of emigrants have been sent to Liberia the past year than during the preceding year, but still a much smaller number than, we could have desired, and, were anxious to go. We considered it an object of the first importance to relieve the Society entirely from debt. To do

"Roanoke" and her Emigrants—Liberia and Chesapeake Packet.

this, and carry forward other indispensable objects, left not a large amount of money to be applied to the transportation of emigrants.

"The fine ship *Roanoke*, of Baltimore, chartered by this Society for the purpose, sailed from Norfolk, Va., for Monrovia, Liberia, on the 5th of November, with one hundred and eighty-seven emigrants and a large supply of provisions, goods, &c.

"Of these emigrants, one hundred and six from King George County, Va., liberated by the will of the late Nathaniel H. House; ten were from Prince William County, Va., liberated by the Rev. John Towles; five were from Petersburg, liberated by the Rev. Mr. Glenn; seven were from Essex County, of whom ten were liberated by the will of the late Edward Rawzen, five by Miss Harriet F. C. Rawzen, and one by the heirs of Edward Rawzen; eleven were from Frederic County, Va., liberated by Margarette Robinson, Prop. of Philadelphia; fourteen were from Southampton and vicinity, Va., some of whom were free, and others were liberated for the purpose of allowing them to accompany their friends to Liberia; thirteen were from Halifax, N. C., liberated by the will of Thomas W. Lester; two were from Fredericksburg, Va., liberated by the will of the late William Bridges, of Stafford County, Va.; one was a free man from Petersburg, Va.; one, also free, from Charleston, S. C.; and seven from Medina, Orange County, N. Y.

"Many of them were persons of much more than ordinary fitness for citizens of Liberia. Many of them could read and write, and had been accustomed to taking care of themselves and their interests, and were industrious and prudent. Great liberality has been shown by the masters who have voluntarily set their servants free, that they might go and improve their condition and their children's in Liberia.

"The whole company were well supplied with provisions, &c., for the passage and for six months after they arrive in the colony. Nearly the whole of this was done at the expense of the Society; only two of them having paid the full price. Many of them could pay nothing at all, and for others only a part was paid.

"On their arrival in Liberia, we furnish them houses to live in for six months, give them a piece of land for their own, supply them with medicine and medical attendance when they are sick, and with all things necessary for their comfort during their acclimation. This gives them a fair chance for health and happiness.

"Upwards of seventy who had applied to go in the *Roanoke*, were left behind. Some of them could not get ready in time. Legal difficulties were thrown in the way of others. One family would not go because the husband and father had not been able to raise money to buy himself. While for some, we could not afford to pay the expenses, at the present time."

An effort has been made to establish a regular Packet to run between this country and Liberia, to be called the "*Liberia & Chesapeake Packet*," and to be owned by colored men. The company has been chartered, and the stock, \$15,000, has all been taken. The *American* and the Maryland Colonization Societies are jointly interested in it, by engaging to give it a certain amount of business annually. The building of the vessel, however, is for the present delayed, awaiting the adjustment of the present unsettled state of affairs in this country.

In the condition and history of Liberia during the year that has just closed, there has been what might appropriately be called a mingling of prosperity and adversity: of prosperity in every thing internal and depending on the character of its citizens; of adversity as respects some of its external relations and the disposition of some other powers manifested toward it.

Liberia still presents itself to the view of the civilized world, as a bright and lustrous spot on Africa's dark border. It is the brightest star of promise which kindles its light in her black horizon. It is the most apparent means of her deliverance and salvation. It possesses elements

of moral power which do not appertain to any other scheme of benevolence. No candid person, we are persuaded, can compare the state of Liberia and its immediate neighborhood, with the rest of Africa, and not be convinced that it is a successful enterprise, fraught with innumerable benefits, unattainable in any other way. It has met and overcome all the peculiar evils under which the African race are suffering, and has rendered apparent every means which need be employed for their redemption!

Slavery and the slave trade and piracy, have ceased wherever the influence of Liberia has been felt. While law and order, civilization and Christianity, with all their attendant blessings, have been substituted. As in the land of Egypt, of old, darkness and plagues desolated all its borders, save only where Israel dwelt, and *there* was light and mercy: so moral darkness and seven-fold plagues curse all Africa's coast, save only where the colonist abides, and there blessings abound and safety dwells!

"I rejoice," says Dr. Lugenbeel, the colonial physician, in a letter published in the *Christian Advocate and Journal*, "that the standard of Christianity has been erected on the shores of Africa, and that the banner of the Cross of our Emanuel is now waving in triumph over many places, which, a few years ago, were the sites of the barracks of the abominable slave trade, or of the slaughter-house of human sacrifices. With heartfelt delight, I have beheld companies of the rising generation, assembled in the schools of CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES, and attentive audiences sitting under the sound of the Gospel of Christ. But, on the other hand, I have seen exhibitions of the debasing influences of the grossest superstitions, operating alike on the child-

ish tyro, and the venerable and patriarchal looking 'sire,' tottering on the brink of eternity, without God and without hope in the world."

In this light we have contemplated, with feelings of peculiar satisfaction, the advancement which Liberia has made "in every good word and work," during the past year.

Governor Roberts, in his last annual message to the *legislative council*, remarks:—

"It affords me great pleasure to congratulate you, that the affairs of the commonwealth are, in all important respects, in a prosperous condition, and the most devout acknowledgments are due to our Divine Benefactor, for the bounties of Providence, and the general health and tranquillity which at present prevail throughout the commonwealth. It is also a subject for grateful remark, that through the interposition of this government, the cruel and inhuman wars that have existed for the last five years, and furnished so many cargoes of human beings to be transported across the Atlantic into perpetual slavery, and which have almost annihilated the trade of these colonies with the northeast section of the interior, have happily been brought to a close—and we are permitted to rejoice in the prospect of returning intercourse with the tribes of that section of country."

Uninterrupted peace has been enjoyed by Liberia with all the allied tribes. Some troublesome disputes which had existed between the various chiefs and head men of the Little Bassa country, have been happily settled by the intervention of the Liberian authorities. But for the existence and influence of Liberia, a most bloody and desolating war would have raged among these kindred tribes. But now they are all at peace; their difficulties are adjusted, their quarrels are at an end, and their whole territory is put under the government of the commonwealth of Li-

Purchase of Bah Gay's land—Purchase of New Cess—Eleven Settlements in Liberia.

beria. In February last, the whole of the territory over which Bah Gay is king, was purchased by authority of the government of Liberia. The king subscribed the constitution and laws of the commonwealth, thereby incorporating himself and his people with the citizens of Liberia, entitled to its care and protection, and to share its privileges and immunities.

In the same month, Governor Roberts effected a final settlement with the Sisor people, by which they ceded to Liberia the whole of their territory.

These purchases give the Society an unbroken line of sea coast from Digby, on the N. W., to Grand Bassa Point, on the S. E., and from Blue Barre to Tassoo.

Of the beneficial influence resulting from them, Governor Roberts says:—

"The prospects of the people in Grand Bassa, those of Edina and Bassa Cove particularly, I think were never better than at the present time. They are turning their attention, with but few exceptions, almost exclusively to agriculture. The culture of coffee they have commenced in real earnest, and in a few years will be able, no doubt, to export some considerable quantity. Mr. Moore is now gathering in his crops, and notwithstanding he expects to loose at least 25 per cent. for the want of force and machinery to gather and clean it, still he will save several thousand pounds of clear coffee.

"This (the Sisor purchase) may be considered quite an acquisition to the colony, and we hope soon to conclude a purchase for the Grand Butau country, now in progress, which will give us an unbroken line of sea coast of some forty miles from the S. E. end of the Blue Barre country to the N. W. extremity of the Little Butau country—and I hope will secure us from any further interruption from foreign traders, at least within that line of coast."

It is deeply to be regretted that the effort to purchase the New Cess

country has thus far been unsuccessful. It embraces the only slave factory remaining on the 300 miles of sea board which we hope to possess. In regard to it, Governor Roberts says:—

"I am sorry to inform you that an effort in regard to the purchase of New Cess failed. The slaver established there has not failed to exert himself in every possible manner to foil all our attempts, and so far has succeeded. He has for some time been dealing out, and continues to deal out large presents to their chiefs and people, and tells them he will pay for the country, if they insist upon selling it, one thousand dollars more than we are willing or able to pay. So long as he continues this lavish of his means, we shall not be able to do anything."

The Governor however thinks that the prospect of making other purchases is very fair. He says, under date of April last:—

"If we had the funds, I have no doubt that in less than one year we could effect a purchase of almost the entire coast between this and Cape Palmas. Several important points, viz: Nuanakroo, King Willey Town, and Tassoo, are now offered, but we have not the means."

Since that date, we have sent him the means to make additional purchases, and have instructed him to prosecute them with all possible rapidity.

There are now ELEVEN settlements in Liberia. Of these, MONROVIA is the largest, and the seat of Government. It contains about 1,000 inhabitants.

On the St. Paul's river there are three settlements, Caldwell, Millsburg, and McDonogh. The first about ten miles, the second about twenty, and the third about eighteen miles from Monrovia. On an arm of the St. Paul's river, called Stockton creek, is New Georgia, the set-

General Education in Liberia.

tlement of recaptured Africans. At the mouth of the Junk river is the settlement of Marshall, about thirty-five miles by sea south of Monrovia. On the St. John's river are the settlements of Bassa Cove, Edina, and Bexley, about seventy miles from Monrovia. Farther down the coast, at the distance of about 130 miles by sea from Monrovia, at the mouth of the Sinou river, is the settlement of Greenville, and up the river about six miles, is the settlement of the people liberated by the late Mrs. Reed, of Mississippi.

Some progress has been made in the effort to educate every child in these settlements. In his last message to the legislature, Gov. Roberts says:—

"I am happy to be able to inform you, gentlemen, that during the past year we have succeeded in establishing a primary school in each of the settlements of Marshall, Edina, and Bassa Cove. These schools, according to the reports of the committees, are well attended, and in a prosperous condition; they are, nevertheless, far from being adequate to the wants of the people; the limited means of the government will not allow, notwithstanding the legislature have done all in their power to meet the wants and wishes of the people in this respect, to employ such teachers as the advancement of many of the children require."

From the letters of other citizens of Liberia, we are assured that the most commendable efforts are making, not only to educate the children, but also to increase the intelligence of the already grown part of the population. Dr. Lugenbeel says:—

"There appears to be a growing interest among the citizens of this place (Monrovia) in regard to intellectual improvement. At present we have two flourishing lyceums, which meet weekly.

"In regard to the citizens of Liberia, I may state, that although many of them are ignorant, yet there is a considerable number whose intellectual acquirements are of a higher order than some of their opponents in the United States imagine it possible for any of their race to attain unto. And I may further state, that those among them who are most intelligent and influential, acquired most of their knowledge in this country.

"The majority of persons who are sent to Liberia are totally illiterate, most of them liberated slaves—persons who were never in the habit of providing for themselves; and some of them are not capable of appreciating the privileges of freedom. Consequently there are some persons in the colony who, instead of being of service to it, are obstacles to its prosperity.

"I think it is probable, however, that, independent of any further accession of numbers by immigration, *the colony would continue to prosper*, for the advantages which are enjoyed by the children and youth of Liberia in acquiring knowledge, induce me to believe that the little ship of state will never become a wreck for the want of competent officers to direct her in the proper course.

"One remark more in regard to the *young people* in the colony. In addition to what I have already stated in reference to the intellectual improvement of the rising generation, I may remark, that the physical systems of the second generation will be as well adapted to this climate as the aborigines are. This is certainly encouraging in relation to the future prosperity of the colony; for, even should the lives of adult emigrants be abridged by coming to this country, it ought surely to be a consolation to them to know that they are providing a permanent home for succeeding generations of their race—a home in which they will live in the enjoyment of health, happiness, and independence."

His opinion in regard to the advantages which Liberia presents as a home for the colored man, is contained succinctly in the following paragraph:—

"I am decidedly of opinion that, with honesty, industry, and economy, colored persons may live in Liberia more easily, comfortably, and independently, than they can in the United States. But it is folly for any person to come to this country with the expectation of living without working, or without making any effort to provide for themselves. I believe this is the only land

in which the proscribed descendants of Ham can be really and truly free. And were I a colored man, and not a slave, I should never think of breathing any other air than that which bears the fragrance of the flowers of my forefathers' home across the verdant landscape. I would live and toil and die in Africa."

The cause of religion has prospered much, both among the citizens of Liberia and at the missionary stations among the natives. The Methodist Board of Missions sent out a large reinforcement to their missions. Six missionaries sailed in the ship Roanoke, three white men and their wives, of whom, four were to be located in the neighborhood of Monrovia, the other two at Cape Palmas.

In order to present Liberia as it appears to an intelligent, disinterested person, we cite an extract from the "*Journal of an African Cruiser*," a book which was published last summer, written by an officer in our navy, who was on board one of our men-of-war during her cruise on the western coast of Africa. He visited, repeatedly, the various settlements; saw whatever could be seen; and heard whatever could be heard; and was well prepared to give an unbiassed opinion of all, as will be seen from the following extract from the preface:—

"A northern man, but not unacquainted with the slave institutions of our own and other countries—neither an abolitionist nor a colonizationist—without prejudice, as without prepossession—he felt himself thus far qualified to examine the great enterprise which he beheld in progress. He enjoyed, moreover, the advantage of comparing Liberia, as he now saw it, with a personal observation of its condition three years before, and could therefore mark its onward or retreating footsteps, and the bet-

ter judge what was permanent, and what merely temporary or accidental. With these qualifications, he may at least hope to have spoken so much of truth as entirely to gratify neither the friends nor enemies of this interesting colony."

The following is the conclusion of what he has to say of Liberia, the summing up of his opinion from the facts before him:—

"It is now fourteen months since our ship first visited Monrovia. Within that period there has been a very perceptible improvement in its condition.

"The houses are in better repair; the gardens under superior cultivation. There is an abundant supply of cattle which have been purchased from the natives. More merchant vessels now make this their port, bringing goods hither, and creating a market for the commodities, live stock and vegetables of the colonists. An increased amount of money is in circulation; and the inhabitants find that they can dispose of the products of their industry for something better than the cloth and tobacco which they were formerly obliged to take in payment. The squadron of United States men-of-war, if it do no other good, will at least have an essential share in promoting the prosperity of Liberia. After having seen much, and reflected upon the subject even to weariness, I write down my opinion, that Liberia is firmly planted, and is destined to increase and prosper. That it will do, though all further support from the United States be discontinued. A large portion of the present population, it is true, are ignorant, and incompetent to place a just estimate on freedom, or even to comprehend what freedom really is. But they are generally improving in this respect; and there is already a sufficient intermixture of intelligent, enterprising and sagacious men, to give the proper tone to the colony, and insure its ultimate success. The great hope, however, is in the generation that will follow these original emigrants. Education is universally diffused among the children; and its advantages, now beginning to be very manifest, will, in a few years, place the destinies of this great enterprise in the hands of men born and bred in Africa. Then, and not till then, will the experiment of African colonization, and of the ability of the colonists for self-support and self-government, have been fairly tried. My belief is firm in a favorable result. Meantime, it would be wiser in the Colonization Society, and its more zealous members, to moderate their tone, and speak less strongly as to the advantages held out by Liberia

Invaluable testimony in favor of Liberia—Sentiments of Colonists.

Unquestionably, it is a better country than America for the colored race. But they will find it very far from a paradise. Men who expect to become independent and respectable, can only achieve their object here on the same terms as every where else. They must cultivate their minds, be willing to exert themselves, and not look for too easy or too rapid rise of fortune. One thing is certain. People of color have here their fair position in the comparative scale of mankind. The white man who visits Liberia, be he of what rank he may, and however imbued with the prejudice of home, associates with the colonists on terms of equality. This would be impossible (speaking not of individuals, but of the general intercourse between the two races,) in the United States. The colonist feels his advantage in this respect, and reckons it of greater weight in the balance than all the hardships to which he is obliged to submit, in an unwanted climate, and a strange country. He is reclaimed from ages of degradation and rises to the erect stature of humanity. On this soil, sun-parched though, he gives the laws; and the white men must obey them. In this point of view—as restoring to him his long-lost birth-right of equality, Liberia may indeed be called the black man's paradise. It is difficult to lay too great stress on the above considerations. When the white man sets his foot on the shore of Africa, he finds it necessary to throw off his former prejudices. For my own part, I have dined at the tables of many colored men in Liberia, have entertained them on ship-board, worshipped with them at church, walked, rode, and associated with them, as equal with equal, if not as friend with friend. Were I to meet those men in my own town, and among my own relations, I would treat them kindly and hospitably, as they have treated me. My position would give me confidence to do so. But in another city, where I might be known to few, should I follow the dictates of my head and heart, and there treat these colored men as brethren and equals, it would imply the exercise of greater moral courage than I have ever been aware of possessing. This is sad; but it shows forcibly what the colored race have to struggle against in America, and how vast an advantage is gained by removing to another soil."

This testimony we consider invaluable. In view of it, who can doubt that the experiment of African colonization has been successful? Who is not convinced that when all the *facts* in the case are seen, and

all the circumstances are considered, there is every reasonable ground of encouragement in regard to the ultimate success of the enterprise, and the incalculable good to the colored race every where, which will accrue from it?

These views, we believe, are entertained by the great body of the citizens of Liberia. The editor of *Africa's Luminary*, a colored man, makes the following judicious remarks on the subject:—

"Without any particular advocacy of either the system or measures which the American Colonization Society has approved of, we assert, in the face of its friends and foes, that it has solved some important problems, the truth of which, but for this effort for our good, must have remained doubtful for centuries to come.

"In the *first* place, it has demonstrated that the people of color immigrating to the American colony of Liberia, with the usual success attendant upon industry, can be, not only *free*, in all the meaning which that significant word embraces, but *happy* to the same extent of meaning. It has demonstrated that we only require pecuniary power to place our various interests upon the footing of which they are obviously capable, and we need envy no man or nation of men on earth. We do not envy them now.

"In the *second* place, it has demonstrated, we think with sufficient conclusiveness, that the colored race, in common with other races of the same Creator's forming hand, possesses the faculty of *self government*.

"Theory and speculation have contested this point with great diversity of object in view, and with various degrees of successful argumentation; but it has remained for the American Colonization Society, in the nineteenth century, to give to the nations of the earth a practical demonstration.

"*Third*. It has demonstrated, in the great mortality of the whites, their admissions on this subject, and the success with which the labors of colored men have been attended—moral and intellectual qualifications being supposed—that the colored race is the proper medium through which to convert the swarming posterity of their ancestors.

"*Fourth*. It has demonstrated, with the clearness of a sun-beam, that an American colony is a most effectual antidote against either domestic or foreign slavery,

British interference, the only cause of disquietude in Liberia.

and all their co-complices within its jurisdiction. It cries that brat of the pit—the tattle in human flesh and blood—under the triumphant fact.

“True, being so, what more natural than that we, as a people, should respect an institution which has been instrumental in developing to the view of mankind so many things highly creditable to our race, and in procuring for us here a home, and a happy home too, and the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges belonging to men. Would we be to be expected, as a matter of course, then, that we should *love* that home, not so much, perhaps, on account of anything so very peculiar in itself, as far as the place is concerned, but it is a refuge from the most odious distinctions—distinctions that must discourage the efforts, dwarf the intellect, and bleed the heart of every thoughtful man of color. They sit upon the most persevering, aspiring mind like an incubus, till, overcome by their overpowering weight, it gains a level but little in advance of former generations, and servility submits to be oppressed. Besides, love is something in the circumstances affecting us here—our liberty, our political equality, our social rights and privileges, every man being a man among his fellows, and, above all, our expectation, at some future day, of being a people, not by revolution or revolution, but by *natural growth*, a nation among other nations. There is something in all this that gives a *peculiar character to our hope* as colored men. But more than this the human mind is confessedly a unit, but still divisible, in mental analysis, and for philosophical purposes, among other divisions, into *classes of feelings*, for the full development of which, it is said, they must be so situated to outward circumstances as to receive from them the requisite promptings to effort. Hence the white citizen of America, for example, pursues his upward career in the road to political or civil distinction, or to any other eminence for which tact and literary qualifications are required, with *ardor* and the spirit of a locomotive. Why? Because the road is open to him; and because it is some honor and eminence being attainable by him—he “seeing them clear off,” it may be, “being persuaded of them, and encouraging them”—they are, to all intents and purposes, the *proper emotions*; and they give exercise to feelings in his mind, in which there, before, when the road to eminence is still so closely guarded, or not opened at all, are entire strangers. They never had, or never will have, some of the feelings that impure his brain, and prompt to a higher degree of intellectual improvement.”

—We make these remarks for the pur-

pose of showing that, whatever else we might have possessed in the land that gave many of us birth, the way to many species of virtuous distinction not being open to us, we consequently did not have, and could not have, the delightful and improving promptings of many feelings which here we experience in common with the most free and happy of any nation. Not only, then, is our *hope* peculiar in its character, but we have *incitements* to at least mental and political activity which we never could have experienced to the same degree any where but in Liberia. Every thing considered, will any one *blame* us if we love our home? Will they ridicule that affection as either unnatural or inconsistent? While we say to all, without the least feeling of animosity, “enjoy your own opinion,” have we not a right to the same indulgence from those who think proper to differ from us? We think we have.”

The only cause of disquietude or alarm which has existed in connection with LIBERIA, has been the old difficulties with the British Government; originating in the seizure by the collector of Bassa Cove of certain goods valued at about \$300, which had been landed by a British subject, in violation of the revenue laws of the commonwealth.

Several years ago, and after the colony had purchased the supreme jurisdiction over the territory at Grand Bassa, in a civil and political respect, and had also purchased the territory itself, Capt. Dring, a British trader, landed his goods there, and refused to pay the duties required by the laws of the colony. In the proper execution of the laws, his goods were seized; and he still refusing to pay the duties, the goods were sold to pay them.

Hethen complained to his Government; and Capt. Denman, the then commander of the British Squadron on that coast, was instructed to demand indemnity of the colonial authorities on the ground, “*that factories have been maintained by British subjects at various points, and that for a long series of years, British vessels have been in the constant habit of prosecuting a free and uninterrupted commerce with the natives of Upper Coast, subject only to the customary presents to the native chiefs, and that more recently the right to trade and establish factories, had been purchased by a British subject*.”

Correspondence of Mr. Fox, Mr. Upshur, &c.

To this Gov. Roberts replied in substance, that Capt. Dring was *not the person* who had purchased the right to establish factories and trade with the natives—and that there was no evidence that this purchase, or the benefits of it, had been in any manner transferred to him, and that he was therefore entirely without excuse for violating the revenue laws of Liberia.

He also proved, in a manner that was considered conclusive, that the commonwealth of Liberia had purchased the territory itself, including right of soil and jurisdiction, *prior* to any contract with the native chiefs made by any British subject. Indeed it was asserted that there was no proof that Captain Spence, or any other British subject, had ever purchased Grand Bassa Point, or any part of the Bassa country, and Commandant Denman and Captain Oake, of the British Navy, were both challenged to produce any documents to prove the fact. And they were never able to do it! Under this view of the subject, the Governor very properly refused to grant any redress for the goods seized and sold to pay duties.

In this position the matter for some time rested; and it was hoped that no farther difficulties would grow out of it.

Soon after, however, as it seems from the letter of Capt. Oake, "it was submitted to the consideration of Her Majesty's Government."

Full statements of all the facts in the case were also laid before Mr. Fox, while he was British minister, together with a correct exhibit of the relations of Liberia to this country and to the American Colonization

Society, and of the extent of territory owned by it on the African coast.

The next thing heard on the subject was in a letter of LORD ABERDEEN to MR. EVERETT, in which are these significant words: "Her Majesty's naval commanders afford efficient protection to British *trade* against *improper assumption of power on the part of the Liberian authorities.*"

The inquiry immediately occurred, when or where have the Liberians *assumed* power which did not rightfully belong to them? In no instance did they even attempt to restrict British commerce except according to *laws* regularly established by the colonial council, sanctioned and approved by the American Colonization Society.—And never did they attempt to extend these laws over any territory except that which they owned, and for which they could show a good and sufficient title!

And yet Mr. Fox, in his despatch to Mr. Upshur, charges them with showing a disposition to enlarge very considerably the limits of their territory; assuming, to all appearances quite unjustifiably, the right of monopolizing the trade with the native inhabitants along a considerable line of coast, where the trade had hitherto been *free*; and thus "*injuriously interfering with the commerce, interest, and pursuits of British subjects in that quarter.*"

To this Mr Upshur replied:—

"It is believed that the colony has advanced *no claims* which ought not to be al-

Liberia not a colony of the United States.—British traders instructed not to pay duties.

lowed to an infant settlement just struggling into a healthy existence. Its object and motives entitle it to the respect of the stronger powers, and its very weakness gives it irresistible claims to their forbearance.

"It is not perceived that any nation can have just reason to complain that this settlement does not confine itself to the limits of its original territory. Its very existence requires that it should extend those limits. Heretofore, this has never been done by arms so far as I am informed, but always by fair purchase from the natives. In like manner, their treaties with the native princes, whether of trade or otherwise, ought to be respected. It is quite certain that their influence in civilizing and christianizing Africa, in suppressing the slave trade, and in ameliorating the condition of African slaves, will be worth very little if they should be restrained at this time in any one of those particulars. Full justice, it is hoped, may be done to England, without denying to Liberia powers so necessary to the safety, the prosperity, and the utility of that settlement as a philanthropic establishment."

In the conclusion of his despatch, Mr. Fox had said:—

"It is not for a moment supposed that the United States Government would, either directly or indirectly, sanction such proceedings; but, in case of its becoming necessary to stop the further progress of such proceedings and such pretensions, it is very desirable, in order, as before mentioned, to avert causes of future dispute and contention, that Her Majesty's Government should be informed whether the authorities of Liberia are themselves alone responsible on the spot for their proceedings; or whether, if they are under the protection and control of the United States Government, it is to that Government that application must be made when the occasions above alluded to may require it."

To which Mr. Upshur replied:—

"This Government does not, of course, undertake to settle and adjust differences which have arisen between British subjects and the authorities of Liberia. Those authorities are responsible for their own acts, and they certainly would not expect the support or countenance of this Government in any act of injustice towards individuals or nations. But, as they are themselves nearly powerless, they must rely, for the protection of their own rights, on the justice and sympathy of other powers."

"Although no apprehension is entertained that the British Government meli-

itates any wrong to this interesting settlement, yet the occasion is deemed a fit one for making known, beyond a simple answer to your inquiries, in what light it is regarded by the Government and people of the United States. It is due to Her Majesty's Government that I should inform you that this Government regards it as occupying a peculiar position, and as possessing peculiar claims to the friendly consideration of all Christian powers; that this government will be, at all times, prepared to interpose its good offices to prevent any encroachment by the colony upon any just right of extraction, and that it would be very unwilling to see it despoiled of its territory, rightfully acquired, or improperly restrained in the exercise of its necessary rights and powers as an independent settlement."

Here it seems all correspondence ceased. It is probable the British Government had obtained all the information they desired—viz: *that Liberia was not a colony of the United States Government.*

Soon after this the matter was again brought before the colonial authorities in a letter addressed by Commandant Jones, of Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Penelope*, dated September 9, 1844, in which he denies the right of the commonwealth of Liberia to exercise any of the powers appertaining to a sovereign independent state; denies that it has any authority to exercise jurisdiction over its own territory. If we may credit British traders, on the coast, this doctrine was authoritatively promulgated among them shortly afterward. A captain of a trading vessel told the collector that they were instructed *not to pay the duties*. And accordingly, Captain Davidson, of the English schooner "Little Ben," arrived at Bassa Cove, landed goods, and refused to pay the harbor dues, and assigned as the

The John Seys seized—Considered as a gross outrage.

reason, that Commandant Jones had notified the British traders that such charges were illegal, and should be resisted, and that the squadron under his authority was ready to protect them in their resistance. The collector seized goods of his, enough to pay the duties. He left, as he said, to report the case to Commander Jones.

A day or two after, the British man-of-war "Lily" came into the harbor and took possession of the colonial schooner "John Seys," belonging to Stephen A. Benson, having on board a cargo of trade goods valued at about \$5,000, and ready to proceed on a trading voyage to the leeward the following day. The captors refused to allow the captain to come on board, and when he made the attempt, they levelled their muskets at him and compelled him to desist. They offered no explanation of their conduct, and refused to hear any thing in regard to the character of the schooner.

There was every thing in the circumstances to induce the belief that the vessel was taken as a reprisal for the goods seized by the collector, and sold to fulfill the requirements of the law. There are but two other suppositions possible in the case: one of which is, that they *suspected* the "John Seys" of being engaged in the slave trade. This however is perfectly improbable and untenable. There was no reason in the world for such a suspicion.

Every body knew the John Seys as a regular lawful trader along the coast; she had nothing on board at the time which could be possibly construed as proof that she was a slaver. And in addition to this, her captors did not act as they always do when they *suspect* a vessel; they made no *search* of her, they instituted no enquiry about her, but seized and carried her off. They could not, and did not, then, take her on this ground.

The only other supposable ground for this *outrage* is, that it was intended to test the disposition and ability of Liberia to sustain itself. So long as it was supposed to be protected by the strong arm of *this* country, no attempt was made to interfere with its rights and privileges, although there was the very same reasons existing then as now. But the moment it is known that the Liberians must look to God alone for support, an order is sent out by the British Secretary of State for foreign affairs, directing that no port charges, light duty, or tariff, shall be paid by British vessels in any port of Liberia. It is not to be treated with as much respect and consideration, as the native savage tribes along the coast. A British officer, by authority of instructions from home, informs them that they are not an *acknowledged* nation; therefore, have no right to navigate the ocean, and that even along their own shores, their flag will not be respected! A vessel belonging to one of the colonists

The *John Seys* captured by the court at Sierra Leone—Opinion of Dr. Hodgkin.

is seized while lying in one of their own ports, and carried off as a prize!

In this view, this transaction seems like a premeditated exercise of inhumanity, injustice and oppression. While it was supposed that Liberia was a *colony* or *agency* of the United States, no attempt was ever made to interfere with their trading voyages. The *stripes and cross* were as well known along the whole coast from Goree to Cape Palmas, as were the *stripes and stars*, and were always as much respected.

But it is not so now. The *John Seys* was carried to Sierra Leone and there entered for adjudication in the Vice Admiralty's Court, on the charge of being engaged in the slave trade. But the charge could not be sustained; there was not the shadow of proof against her. The officer who captured her, committed suicide by cutting his throat, in consequence, as it is said, of chagrin, caused by the unenviable circumstances in which he had placed himself. After a delay of more than *three months*, the case was decided and the vessel was cleared; and Mr. Benson, the owner, was informed that he could have his vessel only on condition that he would pay the cost of the adjudication, amounting to about \$1,200. Such a decision we presume was never before heard of! One item in the long list of *costs*, is a charge of \$150 a day for the hire of an anchor, for 99 days, notwithstanding, when the schooner was

taken, she had on board two good anchors, with chain cables!

Mr. Benson declined this proposal of the court, and determined not to submit to such injustice. Of course, the vessel would be sold to pay the charges, and with the cargo, would be a total loss of from ten to twelve thousand dollars to the owner!

Under these circumstances, the question has very naturally arisen, what method can best be devised to secure Liberia from like interference in the future?

Dr. Hodgkin, of London, an eminent philanthropist, and a fast friend of Liberia, in a letter addressed to the Secretary, makes the following remarks: "This untoward circumstance (the seizure of the '*John Seys*') must not be contemplated as an isolated fact, but must be considered in *connection with occurrences antecedent and subsequent to it.*" He further on takes the ground substantially, that the only way to prevent such interference with the affairs of Liberia by British vessels is to obtain from England an acknowledgment of the independence of Liberia; that they are obliged to act on the maxim of the lawyers—" *De non apparentibus et non existentibus eadem est lex.*"

From the letter of Com. Jones, it is clear that the only remedy for the evils of the present controversies with the British, is to be secured by the prosecution on the part of the government of Liberia, of wise and vigorous measures to obtain from

Liberia has claims to peculiar regard—Relations to the American Colonization Society.

England and other countries a full recognition of all its rights and privileges as a free and independent sovereignty.

The claim which Liberia has to sovereign rights and authority is based on the fact that they are a community living on their own soil, owing allegiance to no other power or government under heaven, no other nation having, or claiming to exercise any government over them; and being themselves a political body, well organized, with good laws, tribunals of justice, all sanctioned by the legitimate authority and recognized institutions of Christianity. Thus situated they claim, from the obvious necessity, as well as the propriety of the case, the rights of self government, and demand, as an act of simple justice from all other nations, "*to be let alone!*"

They are a few true and noble men who have planted themselves there, with the hope of doing something for the elevation of their long oppressed race. They have met with great difficulties—have had to struggle against a thousand adverse influences, and yet they have been undismayed. They have risen to somewhat of importance—have established all the forms of government, and have done much for the welfare of themselves and their kindred. They have formed and supported Christian missions among the natives, after having suppressed the slave trade for several hundreds of miles along the coast! They may

thus be said to constitute the last hope of their race. If they cannot succeed, no human sagacity can devise any means for their moral and intellectual elevation!

Such is the appeal which they make to the sympathy of the civilized world! In view of it, we trust that every thing which is possible, will be done to continue their *internal* prosperity, by guaranteeing their *external* peace: and that a little reflection on the part of any who may have wronged them, will produce a salutary change of conduct and a happy recognition of their righteous authority.

It has been thought that the relation existing between Liberia and the American Colonization Society, imposed an insuperable barrier to the recognition, by any other government, of her independence. This is plainly intimated by Com. Jones. It is also inferred from the conversation of British officers with the Liberian authorities. Gov. Roberts remarks:—

"In conversation with Capt. Buckle, I endeavored to draw from him some expression that would give me some idea of the real object and intentions of the British government in respect to these colonies. He, however, was very guarded in his remarks—in fact told me he was not authorized to enter upon any discussion of the subject. He, however, gave me to understand *that his Government would not, so long as the colony remained dependent or subject to the Colonization Society, relinquish one foot of the ground assumed by Commander Jones.*"

Under these circumstances, it becomes necessary to consider the propriety of changing this relation, and thus removing every shadow of con-

Liberia must sustain the entire responsibility of its own Government.

stitutional objection, and every apparent ground of complaint.

It is well known that from the first organization of this Society, it has been a settled policy to place the colored man in circumstances the most conducive to the development of his natural faculties, and the elevation of his character; to invest him with all the responsibilities and immunities of his government and the maintenance of the institutions of religion and education; and finally, to place him upon an equality with the most favored governments of the earth.

The Society has retained the power of appointing the *Governor*, but the Lieutenant Governor has been elected by the citizens of the commonwealth, together with all the other officers. The Society has also retained a *veto* power, over the acts of the Colonial Legislature, but for years past, has not exercised it, in a single instance.

The legislature has from time to time enacted whatever laws they thought necessary to the welfare of the commonwealth; their laws are their own—the offspring of their own judgment and discretion; their government is substantially their own, and they have shown themselves competent to its stability and perpetuity, if they can only be left to

the exercise of their rights and privileges without molestation or interference from any external power, or incidental cause.

It has always been the intention of the friends of colonization to place in the hands of the citizens of Liberia, the entire responsibility of their own government, at such time as it seemed prudent to do so, or when circumstances demanded it.*

In the opinion of the majority of the *citizens of Liberia*, this time has now come.

The subject was brought before the legislature of the commonwealth at their last session, by the message of Governor Roberts. After much deliberation, a preamble and resolutions were adopted, and a committee appointed to communicate them to the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, with a full statement of their views. From them the following letter has been received, inclosing the resolutions accompanying:—

“MONROVIA,
January 15th, 1845.

“To the Board of Managers of the A. C. S.

“GENTLEMEN—We, the undersigned, appointed a committee by the present session of the legislature of the commonwealth of Liberia, to address you on a subject of vital importance to us, beg leave to ask your attention to the object of the communication we have been requested to make.

“When we recollect how much we owe to you as our best benefactors—how you have fostered and defected us—what sacrifices of time, and labor, and money, you have

* The following is the *second article* of the “*Constitution for the Government of the African Colony of Liberia*,” adopted by the American Colonization Society, 23 May, 1825.

“*Art. 2.* The Colonization Society shall, from time to time, make such rules as they may think fit for the government of the settlement, until they shall withdraw their agents, and leave the settlers to the Government of themselves.”

Action of Legislature of Liberia on their sovereignty.

cheerfully made for us—how you have with more than paternal solicitude watched over our interests, and at the same time regard the sentiments of deep gratitude and profound respect which agitate and swell our bosom, we feel confident that in laying our case before you we shall obtain more than ordinary sympathy and regard.

“We cannot easily conceive of any thing which would be more painful to our feelings than the knowledge of a suspicion entertained by you from whom we have received so much, and to whom we owe a debt of gratitude we can never cancel, that we entertain for you any sentiments but those of profound respect and unshaken confidence of a grateful heart in a tried benefactor, which emboldens our communication. The subject we have been charged to bring before you, is the claims which British traders have set up to points of coast included in our purchased territory. While these claims were urged by these individual traders only, we were not disposed to attach much importance to them. We supposed that no argument could be urged in favor of an individual claim that would not be good in favor of ours, and that even denying us national character and attributes, still, in a contest with an individual, priority of claim must decide. But by a political metamorphosis the nature of the dispute is sought to be entirely altered. The British Government has taken the place of these individuals, and having thus changed the character of one of the claimants, proceeds to deny to us the right to exercise authority in any degree affecting the interests of British traders, by declaring we have no sovereign and independent authority. We confess that this determination on the part of the British people has caused us great disquietude and alarm, seeing that this argument carried out to its consequences, would deprive us of the right of even self defence in any and every part of this our last asylum.

“If we were able to argue this grave question, trusting, as we most sincerely do, to your known and tried interest in our welfare, and your ability to grasp it in all its results; we would still think it but a tribute of that respect and deference which is due from us to you, to refer at once the matter to your consideration.

“We therefore think it unnecessary to do more than lay before you, as the best exposition of the sentiments of the legislature, the resolutions, which after long and anxious deliberations were adopted at its present session. These resolutions we have the honor to enclose.

“We need not say how anxiously we shall await your action upon this subject. We conceive it by far the most momentous

question we were ever called upon to deliberate, and therefore shall be prepared to enter with energy upon any course likely to avert the impending calamity which you may point out to us.

“We have the honor to be,

Gentlemen, your ob't serv'ts,
H. TEAGE, M. C.,
J. B. GRIPON,
H. P. DAVIS,
LEWIS CIPLES.”

The following are the resolutions alluded to above:—

“The committee having carefully and patiently examined the correspondence between the executive officers of this commonwealth and the British naval officers on this coast, on the vexed subject of our territorial limits and political authority over the territory claimed by us, and regarding it a question in which our very existence is involved, are of opinion that, as speedily as circumstances will admit, measures should be taken to have the question definitely and finally settled: and,

“Whereas, The British naval commander on the western coast of Africa, Commodore Jones, in a communication to the Governor of this commonwealth, has denied the right of the American Colonization Society to exercise authority in any degree affecting the interests of British traders, or even to acquire and hold territory on this coast, or to exercise any of the functions and rights usually exercised by sovereign and independent communities, and by parity of reason has denied the rights to us who profess to act under authority derived from said Society; and,

“Whereas, The same process of reasoning would not only wrest from our hands political jurisdiction over every part of our purchase, but also extinguish our claim to territory honorably purchased and paid for, seeing we have no right to hold what we have no right to purchase; and,

“Whereas, It is a matter of demonstration, that we cannot long continue to exist without not only territorial but absolute political jurisdiction over a certain extent of country; and,

“Whereas, We have in common with the rest of the great family, of a common parent, certain rights which cannot be impaired but by conventional agreement:

“Resolved, That the present crisis imperatively demands that we at once betake ourselves to that position where we may urge those claims which, while they would strictly accord with principles of a just demand, would also appeal to the sympathy of the world.

“Resolved, Therefore, that a committee

Remarks of Gov. Roberts, Proposed to alter the Constitution of the American Colonization Society.

of two members of this body be associated with His Excellency to present the views of this house to the American Colonization Society on this subject, and to solicit their cooperation in accomplishing this important object.

"LEWIS CHILES,
Chairman of Com. of Trade."

Governor Roberts, in transmitting the above letter and resolutions, adds:—

"The legislature consumed much of their time in considering the communication from Gov. Jones, respecting the rights of this Government in exercising political power and control. As this is a subject involving questions of vital importance to the future prospered prospects of the people of these colonies, I hope it has not escaped your attention."

The resolutions adopted at the last meeting of the Board of Directors, in regard to this subject, were sent to Governor Roberts. On the 2d of October last, he wrote in reply:—

"The subject, sir, is one of vital importance, involving questions of national importance, which demand the exercise of great caution and prudence; which should be considered with great judgment and discrimination; and I am happy to find that the people, in general, are aware of its importance and will not enter upon the subject rashly and unadvisedly. They seem, almost universally, to regret the crisis which has driven them to say such alternative, and did they not believe that it was absolutely necessary, the idea would not be entertained a moment.

"Immediately on the receipt of your letter, I laid before the Executive Council the preamble and resolutions. They advised that the subject lay over until the meeting of the next legislature, to assemble in January, when arrangements will be made to lay the subject formally before the people. In all probability some change will be resolved upon. I am persuaded, however, that nothing will be attempted conflicting with the wishes and the interests of the Society, or in any respect calculated to cripple or retard their operations."

The above is the last intelligence which we have received from Liberia. The legislature thereof is pro-

bably in session at the present time, and engaged in the consideration of this subject.

A proposition has been duly submitted to the various State Societies by the Massachusetts Society so to alter the CONSTITUTION of the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY as to enable the Board of Directors to change, in some important respects, the relations which Liberia now sustains to the Society, and to transfer the entire responsibility of their own government to the citizens thereof. The preceding statement of facts will be sufficient to bring the case fairly and fully before the Board of Directors and the friends of the cause in this country. They embrace a complete history of all the difficulties which have arisen in connection with the legislation of Liberia in regard to their commerce with other nations. In view of them the Board, and the friends of the cause generally, who are interested in the disposal of this vexed question, will be able to arrive at satisfactory conclusions, and adopt such measures as shall tend to the enlarged operations of the Society in this country, and to the peace, permanency and happiness of the commonwealth of Liberia.

Should measures be adopted to place Liberia in a position of entire self-dependence and self-government, it is believed that no serious evils will result from it, but on the contrary, that it will add strength to all the virtuous emotions which now

Concluding remarks.

they feel, and new power to the motives which tend to lift them up in the scale of humanity. Errors in legislation they may commit; mistaken courses of policy they may adopt. But age and experience will correct them all. The tiny hand of infancy may be unable to bend the bow of Ulysses, but strength will come as years roll by, and ultimately, and by almost imperceptible advances, he shall stand forth in the vigor and glory of ripened manhood! In the past career of its success, Liberia has indeed outstripped the most sanguine anticipations of its friends. In its future progress, who shall attempt to limit its influence, or to set bounds to the tide of civilization and Christian liberty which shall from it flow onward and flow ever! 'Through its agency, Africa shall regenerate herself, by her own sons returned, from their long exile, to her bosom. "The wilderness shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose: it shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing! The glory of Lebanon shall be given unto it, and the excellency of Carmel and Sharon."

The magnitude and grandeur of such an enterprise cannot be overestimated. It embraces the destiny of many millions of the present inhabitants of our globe, with their descendants for many generations to come!

Much praise is due to the brave and heroic colored men, who, inspir-

ed with a desire to enjoy the full blessings of liberty, left the land of their birth and early associations, and went forth to try the experiment of planting themselves in the most barbarous quarter of the globe. They embarked in a great undertaking, at the peril of life. Many of them never lived to see the fruits of their labors. But,

"Altho' no sculptured form should deck the place,
Or marble monument their ashes grace,
Still for the deeds of worth, which they have done,
Shall flowers unfading flourish o'er their tomb."

On those who still survive, rests an immeasurable responsibility. If Liberia is still to live and rise to a glorious nationality, they must rely mainly on their own awakened energy, their indomitable courage and perseverance, their industry and economy, and their *trust* in *God*. They must do for themselves, what no body else can do for them. They must accomplish for others, a result unattainable in any other way. Millions of their brethren, now bound by slavery, and shrouded by superstition, appeal to them for deliverance and salvation, to whose wondering eyes is to be exhibited the beautiful spectacle of towns erected, forests opened, temples of public worship built, schools established, and the superior advantages of that social and moral system, formed and moulded under the genius of our divine christianity, spreading its healing waters over the entire surface of society!

"Far off shall shine the unextinguished ray,
A mighty beacon, lighting glory's way,
Whose living lustre shall the world adorn,
And bless and save to ages yet unborn."

Annual meeting American Colonization Society—Election of officers—Officers.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the twenty-ninth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.

FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH,
WASHINGTON,

January 20, 1846.

THE American Colonization Society met agreeably to adjournment at 7 o'clock, in the First Presbyterian Church.

In the absence of the Hon. H. Clay, President, Gen. Walter Jones, a Vice President, took the Chair, and Rev. W. McLain acted as Secretary.

The Rev. James Laurie, D. D., invoked the Divine blessing.

Extracts from the ANNUAL REPORT of the Executive Committee were read by the Secretary, and on motion the Report was referred to the Board of Directors for their consideration.

The Hon. William P. Giles, of Baltimore, offered the following resolution, which he accompanied with an eloquent address on the subject:—

Resolved, That the beneficial influences, political, commercial, and philanthropic, of African Colonization, commends it to the liberal patronage of the wise and the good every where.

The Rev. E. N. Sawtelle, of New York, offered and earnestly advocated the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the scheme of colonization is fraught with incalculable good to that part of the colored race, now in this country, as well as to those in Africa.

The Rev. John Chambers, of Philadelphia, offered the following resolution, and delivered a fervid and impressive appeal in favor of the great principles of colonization:—

Resolved, That the great evangelic aspect and missionary bearing of colonization on Africa, urge its claims as a medium of sus-

taining Christian missions there, on the one hand, by the prayers and liberality of all who desire and labor for the conversion of the whole world.

These resolutions were all adopted, and the Society adjourned to meet in the Colonization Rooms to-morrow, at 12 o'clock M. Concluded with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Maclean, of Princeton.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,
January 21, 1846.

The Society met agreeably to adjournment, and elected the following officers:

PRESIDENT:

HON. HENRY CLAY.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

- 1 John C. Herbert, of Maryland,
- 2 General John H. Cocke, of Virginia,
- 3 Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts,
- 4 Charles F. Mercer, Florida,
- 5 Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.,
- 6 Theodore Frelinghuysen, of New York,
- 7 Louis McLane, of Baltimore,
- 8 Moses Allen, of New York,
- 9 General W. Jones, of Washington,
- 10 Joseph Gale, of Washington,
- 11 Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia,
- 12 John McDonagh, of Louisiana,
- 14 Geo. Washington Lafayette, of France,
- 14 Rev. James O. Andrew, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church,
- 15 William Maxwell, of Virginia,
- 16 Joshua Whittlesey, of Ohio,
- 17 Walter Lowrie, of New York,
- 18 Jacob Burnet, of Ohio,
- 19 Joshua Darling, of New Hampshire,
- 20 Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Mississippi,
- 21 William C. Rives, of Virginia,
- 22 Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of Washington,
- 23 Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi,
- 24 James Hoorman, of New York city,
- 25 Henry A. Foster, of New York,
- 26 Dr. John Ker, of Mississippi,
- 27 Robert Campbell, of Georgia,
- 28 Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey,
- 29 James Garland, of Virginia,
- 30 Rev. Thomas Morris, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Ohio,

 Proceedings of the Board of Directors—Members present.

31 Rt. Honorable Lord Bexley, of London,
 32 Wm. Short, of Philadelphia,
 33 Willard Hall, Delaware,
 34 Rt. Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tenn.,
 35 Gerald Ralston, of London,
 36 Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, N J.,
 37 Dr. Hodgkin, of London,
 38 Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Dedham,
 Massachusetts,
 39 Thos. R. Hazard, of Providence, R. I.,
 40 Dr. Thos. Massie, of Tye River Mills,
 Virginia,
 41 Gen. Alexander Brown, of Virginia,
 42 Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, Washington,
 43 Rev. Thos. E. Bond, D. D., N. York,
 44 Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., N. J.,
 45 Samuel Wilkeson, of New York,
 46 L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey,
 47 James Railey, of Mississippi,
 48 Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., of Phila.,
 49 Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., of Phila.,
 50 Elliot Cresson, Esq., of Philadelphia,

51 Anson G. Phelps, Esq., New York,
 52 Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Andover,
 Massachusetts,
 53 Jonathan Hyde, Esq., Bath, Maine,
 54 Rev. J. P. Durbin, D. D., Carlisle, Pa.,
 55 Rev. Beverly Waugh, Bishop of the
 M. E. Church, Baltimore,
 56 Rev. Dr. W. B. Johnson, S. C.,
 57 Moses Shepherd, Baltimore,
 58 John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.,
 59 Bishop Mellvain, of Ohio,
 60 Rev. Dr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.,
 61 Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D., do.
 62 Hon. J. R. Underwood, Ky.,
 63 Hon. J. W. Huntington, Conn.,
 64 Hon. P. White, Putney, Vt.,
 65 Hon. C. Marsh, Woodstock, Vt.

After which the Society adjourned
 to meet on the third Tuesday of
 January, 1847.

 Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

WASHINGTON,

January 20, 1846.

THE Board of Directors of the
 American Colonization Society met,
 according to appointment, at the Co-
 lonization Rooms, at 12 o'clock at
 noon. Present, from *Vermont*, Hon.
 P. White, and Henry Stevens, Esq.—
 From *Massachusetts*, Rev. Joseph
 Tracy—From *New York*, A. G.
 Phelps, Esq., and Dr. D. M. Reese—
 From *New Jersey*, Rev. John Mac-
 lean, D. D.—From *Pennsylvania*,
 Paul T. Jones, and Archibald
 McIntyre, Esqs.—Secretary and Di-
 rector for life, Rev. Wm. McLain—
 Of the Executive Committee, Rev.
 C. A. Davis.

The Rev. Wm. McLain, Secretary
 of the Society, called the Board to
 order, and nominated the Rev. John
 Maclean, D. D., of New Jersey, as
 Chairman, and he was unanimously

elected. The Rev. Joseph Tracy
 was chosen Clerk.

The minutes of the last meeting
 were then read by the Secretary, and
 on motion, were approved.

The proposal of the Massachusetts
 Colonization Society for the amend-
 ment of the constitution of this So-
 ciety was then taken up, and read
 by the Secretary.

On motion of Dr. Reese, the
 amendments were referred to a com-
 mittee of three. Dr. Reese, Mr. Tra-
 cy and Mr. McLain were appointed.

Mr. Jones, by direction of the
 Pennsylvania Society, submitted a
 paper signed H., which was referred
 to the committee on the constitution.

Mr. Tracy moved that a commit-
 tee be appointed to consider the con-
 stitution of the commonwealth of
 Liberia, and its relations to this So-
 ciety. The motion was postponed

Elect. of Secretary and Executive Committee—The relations of Liberia to the Society.

till after the reading of the Annual Report.

Mr. Jones submitted copies of letters from Dr. Hodgkin, of London, which, on motion, were laid on the table.

Adjourned to 9 A. M. to-morrow.

January 21, 1816.

Met at 9 A. M. according to adjournment.

The minutes of the first session were read.

The Secretary read letters from the Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., appointed Delegate from New Jersey; S. Wilkeson, Esq., of Buffalo, New York, and Commodore M. C. Perry, of the U. S. Navy.

The Hon. H. L. Ellsworth appeared and took his seat, as a Delegate from Indiana.

Dr. Reese, from the committee on that subject, reported amendments to the constitution.

After reading article by article, during which sundry amendments were adopted, Dr. Reese moved that the amended constitution be adopted as the constitution of this Society.

On motion of Mr. Tracy, the motion was laid on the table for the present.

The Annual Report of the Executive Committee was taken up, and read by the Secretary.

At 12 o'clock, the reading of the report was discontinued, and the report was laid on the table till after the meeting of the Society, which had adjourned to this time and place.

After the meeting of the Society, the Board again came to order, and proceeded to the choice of officers for the year ensuing. The following were chosen,

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

M. ST. CLAIR CLARKE, Esq.,
W. W. SEATON, Esq.,
HARVEY LINDSLEY, M. D.,
A. O. DAYTON, Esq.,
Rev. C. A. DAVIS,
JOSEPH H. BRADLEY, Esq.,
Rev. J. C. BACON, D. D.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

Rev. WILLIAM McLAIN.

Messrs. Phelps and Jones were appointed a committee to audit the Treasurer's account.

The reading of the Annual Report was resumed.

On motion, Messrs. Ellsworth, Reese, Tracy, McLain, and Stevens, were appointed a committee to consider and report upon the relations of the commonwealth of Liberia to this Society. To this committee, the Chairman was added by vote of the Board.

The subject of the old compromised debts of the Society was brought up by the Secretary, and after some discussion, was laid on the table.

On motion of Dr. Reese, the sum of two thousand seven hundred and fifty dollars was appropriated for expenses at this office for the year ensuing.

Dr. Reese, from the committee to which the paper signed H. had been referred, reported, that it be referred to the Executive Committee. The paper was referred, accordingly.

Mr. McIntyre presented resolu-

Amended Constitution of the American Colonization Society.

tions of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, relating to the aforesaid paper.

The vote referring said paper to the Executive Committee was reconsidered, and the paper was referred to the committee on the relations of this Society to Liberia.

Adjourned to 5 P. M.

Met at 5 P. M. according to adjournment.

The Amended Constitution was taken up, and adopted as the Constitution of this Society; and is as follows:—

“Article 1. This Society shall be called ‘The American Colonization Society.’

“Art. 2. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

“Art. 3. Every citizen of the United States who shall have paid to the funds of the Society the sum of one dollar, shall be a member of the Society for one year from the time of such payment. Any citizen who shall have paid the sum of thirty dollars, shall be a member for life. And any citizen paying the sum of one thousand dollars, shall be a Director for life. Foreigners may be made members by vote of the Society or of the Directors.

“Art. 4. The Society shall meet annually at Washington on the third Tuesday in January, and at such other times and places as they shall direct. At the annual meeting, a President and Vice Presidents shall be chosen, who shall perform the duties appropriate to those offices.

“Art. 5. There shall be a Board of Directors, composed of the Directors for life, and of Delegates from the several State Societies and societies for the District of Columbia and Territories of the United States. Each of such societies shall be entitled to

one Delegate for every five hundred dollars paid into the treasury of this Society within the year previous to the annual meeting.

“Art. 6. The Board shall annually appoint a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of seven persons; all of whom shall, *ex officio*, be honorary members of the Board, having a right to be present at its meetings and to take part in the transaction of its business; but they shall not vote, except as provided in article 7.

“Art. 7. The Board of Directors shall meet annually in Washington, immediately after the annual meeting of the Society, and at such other times and places as it shall appoint, or at the request of the Executive Committee. Seven Directors shall form a quorum. But if, at any annual meeting, or meeting regularly called, a less number be in attendance, then five members of the Executive Committee, with such Directors, not less than four, as may be present, shall constitute a Board, and have competent authority to transact any business of the Society; provided, however, that the Board thus constituted shall carry no question unless the vote be unanimous.

“Art. 8. The Executive Committee shall meet according to its own appointment, or at the call of the Secretary. This Committee shall have discretionary power to transact the business of the Society, subject only to such limitations as are found in its charter, in this Constitution, and in the votes that have been passed, or may hereafter be passed, by the Board of Directors. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be members of the Committee *ex officio*, with the right to deliberate, but not to vote. The Committee is authorized to fill all vacancies in its own body; to appoint a Secretary or Treasurer whenever such offices are vacant; and to appoint and direct such agents as may be necessary for the service of the Society. At every annual meeting, the Committee shall report their doings to the Society, and to the Board of Directors.

“Art. 9. This Constitution may be amended, upon a proposition to that effect by any of the societies represented in the Board of Directors, transmitted to the Secretary, and published in the official paper of the Society, three months before the annual meeting; provided such amendment receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at its next annual meeting.”

The committee on the Treasurer's account reported, and the report was adopted, as follows:—

Financial Report—Receipts and Expenditures.

Dr.	Receipts and Expenditures of the American Colonization Society, From 1st January, 1845, to 1st January, 1846.	Cr.
To balances due the Society per last report,	\$3,045 84	\$7,642 97
Received from Colonial Store, . . .	5,676 24	6,477 33
Received from donations, . . .	27,656 30	
Received from legacies, . . .	17,395 44	6,754 92
Received from subscriptions to the Afri- can Repository, . . .	1,707 10	4,124 42
Received for passage of emigrants, and freight on goods carried out for others,	977 68	6,057 33
By balances owed by the Society per last report,		
Cash paid old debts, . . .		2,558 75
Cash paid passage of emigrants, pro- visions, &c., . . .		4,523 48
Cash paid for goods consigned to the Colonial Store, . . .		3,054 17
Cash paid for improvements, purchase of territory, salaries of Governor and Colonial Secretary, and other expen- ses in Liberia, . . .		166 14
Cash paid salary of Secretary, rent of office, clerk hire, stationery, lights, fuel, postage, &c., . . .		3,939 66
Cash paid salaries of agents, and other expenses in collecting funds, . . .		11,159 43
Cash paid for paper and printing Afri- can Repository, including a large bal- ance due for previous years, . . .		\$56,458 60
Profit and loss, . . .		
Balances due the Society this day,		
Cash in hand, . . .		
	\$56,458 60	

W. McLAIN.

COLONIZATION ROOMS, Washington, January 1st, 1846.

The committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and com-
pared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.

ANSÖN G. PHELPS, }
PAUL T. JONES, } *Auditors.*

JANUARY 22, 1846.

Preparations for making Liberia an acknowledged sovereignty.

The committee on the relations of Liberia to this Society reported as follows:—

Whereas, The citizens of the commonwealth of Liberia have most respectfully submitted to the Colonization Society, the great embarrassment they experience from the alleged want of sovereignty, and have also expressed their desire to enjoy further privileges that they may be recognised by other nations as possessing the distinctive qualities appertaining to sovereignty; and,

Whereas, It is believed that the time has arrived when the desire of said Liberians can be granted without sacrificing the facilities which the Society now enjoys for making Liberia a home for recaptured Africans, as well as free people of color from the United States:

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Board, the time has arrived when it is expedient for the people of the commonwealth of Liberia to take into their own hands the whole work of self-government, including the management of all their foreign relations, and that this Society should cease to exercise any part of the same.

Resolved, That we recommend to them so to amend their constitution, as is necessary for the accomplishment of this object.

Resolved, That we recommend to them to publish to the world a DECLARATION of their true character, as a sovereign and independent state.

Resolved, That the Government of Liberia be requested to appoint a commissioner or commissioners to confer and make definite arrangements with the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, with reference to the property now held by the Society in Liberia, and also with reference to the location and support of emigrants and recaptured Africans.

Resolved, That the Society stand pledged to continue their sympathy and assistance in carrying out the great principles upon which the colony was established, and has been so much extended in population and territory.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be intrusted with full powers to carry the foregoing resolutions into effect in a manner satisfactory, if possible, to the citizens of said commonwealth, and as best calculated to preserve harmonious relations between the Society and said citizens.

The report was accepted, and the preamble and resolutions were adopted.

On motion of Mr. Stevens—

Resolved, That the several State Societies be requested to make donations of the statute laws and decisions of the Supreme Courts of their respective States, to the Government of Liberia; and that the Executive Committee apply to Congress for one copy of the American archives, State papers, and decisions of the Supreme Court, for the same purpose.

On motion of Hon. Mr. Ellsworth, it was

Resolved, That the Board approve of the doings of the Executive Committee in relation to the liquidation and payment of the old debts of the Colonization Society.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the Annual Report be referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the donation to the Colonization Society of a sum not less than \$1,000, whether the donation shall be for a specific or general purpose, shall entitle the donor to the privilege of a DIRECTOR for LIFE: *Provided, however*, the donation is received by the Executive Committee—and all donors shall have the right to designate the person who shall be entitled to said directorship.

On motion of Mr. Ellsworth, it was

Resolved, That the communication signed H. submitted by the colonization society of Pennsylvania, be referred to the Executive Committee, with instructions to meet, as far as practicable, the views and wishes of its author.

Dr. Reese submitted the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted:—

Whereas, The Board of Directors are now about to adjourn, they feel called upon to express their devout gratitude to God, for the encouraging tokens of his favor which have been signally bestowed during the year just closed, both upon the operations of the Society at home, and upon Liberia; therefore—

Resolved, That in the continued health, peace, and prosperity of our settlements in Liberia; in the discretion and ability with which the administration of Governor Roberts has been conducted; and in the economy, skill, and success with which our financial concerns have been managed by the Secretary and Executive Committee; we recognise signs of improvement which

Concluding remarks by the Clerk, &c.

betoken the blessing of Providence upon our enterprise, and earnestly entreat it to be liberality and prayers of every patriot and Christian, throughout our country.

Resolved, That the benevolent individuals who have donated in the \$15,000 subscription to our funds during the last year for the purchase of territory, and their contributing the slave trade, from the whole country of Liberia, have rendered distinguished service to the cause of humanity, and to the objects for which our Society is laboring.

Resolved, That in its present prosperous condition of our Society, we feel ourselves constrained to call upon the several State Societies, and the friends and patrons of our enterprise, for renewed exertions to give an increased impulse to the cause during the present year, by removing to Liberia the hundreds of emancipated slaves now at the disposal of the Society.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board are hereby tendered to all those clergymen of different denominations who have afforded to their respective congregations an opportunity during the year to contribute to our funds; and that we earnestly and renewedly solicit similar kind remembrance annually, by the American clergy generally, by a public collection in every church in the land.

On motion of Mr. Jones, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board of Directors are due, and are hereby tendered, to the Secretary and the Executive Committee of the last year, for the faithful and efficient performance of their duties.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board are due, and are hereby tendered, to the Rev. Prof. J. Maclean, D. D., for his valuable services as their preaching clerk.

After prayer by the Rev. Dr. Bacon, adjourned to 10 A. M. tomorrow.

January 22, 1846.

Met at 10 A. M. according to adjournment; the Hon. W. W. Campbell, Delegate from New York, appeared and took his seat.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That in all matters of jurisdiction now in dispute between the commonwealth of Liberia and any other government, or which may hereafter be called into question, it be recommended to the Go-

vernment of Liberia to waive, as far as it can be done, with a due regard to the safety and interest of the country, the exercise of the authority claimed by said government at Liberia, until all such difficulties be adjusted by negotiation or treaty.

The letter of Benj. Merrill & E. Porter, assignees of D. Abbott & Sons, relating to interest on a compromised debt, having been read, and also the letter of Hon. Daniel P. King relating thereto, it was

Resolved, That we can see no reason for departing in their case from the general principle formerly adopted on which settlements have been made with the other creditors in like circumstances, and to whom no interest has been paid.

The minutes were read and approved.

After prayer by the Chairman, the Board adjourned without day.

JOHN MACLEAN,

Chairman.

Attest:

JOSEPH TRACEY, Clerk.

The following are the letters of Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., S. Wilkeson, Esq., and Com. M. C. Perry, alluded to above:—

NEWARK, N. J.,

January 9, 1846.

To the Directors of the A. C. S. Co.,

Washington City:—

"The pleasure I received in attending in your deliberations at our last annual meeting, and my constantly growing interest in the colonization cause, have led me to anticipate the approaching meeting of our Board with no ordinary degree of pleasure. But it is so ordered in Providence that I cannot be with you, having been confined to the house by sickness for nearly two months, and still unable to leave it. I regard the approaching meeting of the Board, the most important one ever held or probably ever will be held. The cause has obviously approached a crisis. It must and I trust it will be advanced upon somewhat an altered basis; if not, I fear it may suffer in many of its important interests. I believe the time has come

Letters of Messrs. Eddy, Wilkeson, and Perry.

when an experiment should be made of the capabilities of the colonists for their own support and self government. As long as they remain without acknowledged independence, these capabilities can never be properly developed. I am then strongly in favor of an immediate and open declaration of the entire independence of the Liberian government, and of her rights to the exercise of all the privileges, and the enjoyment of all the immunities of an independent sovereignty. Having made this declaration, I would have immediate application made to the governments of England, France, and of our own country, to recognise the independence of the same. So important do I view this subject that if necessary I would despatch to England and France a special messenger to secure the end contemplated.

Our own State Society at its recent annual meeting, almost unanimously, two only dissenting, recommended the adoption of the constitution proposed by the Massachusetts Society. I am more and more convinced, and from conversation with intelligent gentlemen, I am fully confirmed in this opinion, that the only present prospect of benefit to the colored race, is to be found in the colonization enterprise. It has had my hearty co-operation, for more than twenty years, and I am happy to say that the interest taken in the cause, in my own congregation, and indeed throughout this vicinity, was never greater than it is now.

May you be wisely guided in your deliberations, and may a kind Providence smile more and more upon our interesting cause.

I am, gentlemen, with the highest regard,
Yours, &c.,

A. D. EDDY.

By his daughter,
B. A. EDDY.

BUFFALO,
January 16, 1846.

REV. W. McLAIN:

DEAR SIR:—Nothing but my inability to travel, prevents my attending your annual meeting.

I hope the Directors will come to the conclusion, that the time has arrived when Liberia must assume her independence. On some accounts, it would be better, that the present relation should continue; but I have no fears of the ultimate success of the colony, if they are left to manage their own political affairs. The American Colonization Society will still exist, and I hope with increased power and efficiency, and will continue to exert as great an influence on the colony, should

it become independent, as she ever has done.

Present my respects to the members of your Board; and believe me,

Your friend,
S. WILKESON.

NEW YORK,
January 19, 1846.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have received your letter of the 9th inst., in which you express a wish that I should attend the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society, which commences its session to-morrow, at Washington. Nothing would give me greater pleasure, than to become acquainted with the distinguished officers and managers of that excellent institution, and to communicate freely to them all the information I possess in regard to the African settlements, but the necessary execution of some particular duties assigned me by the Secretary of the Navy, will put it out of my power to visit Washington at this time.

I should regret this the more, if I could be satisfied that anything I could say in addition to what has been embodied in my official and other written communications, would have any influence in bringing others to think as I do upon the subject of African colonization.

From the earliest period of my acquaintance with your Society, when as 1st lieutenant of the sloop-of-war Cyane, I sailed from this port in company with the ship Elizabeth, freighted with the first party of emigrants to Africa, and during subsequent cruises to the coast, the last as commander of the American squadron on that station; I have never for a moment ceased to believe that the cause in which you are embarked is one of righteousness and justice.

Few have had better opportunities than myself of tracing the fortunes of the Liberian colony: I have seen it in every vicissitude of trial, and have been astonished, that a handful of uneducated blacks, many of them emancipated slaves, should have reared up a government of their own; possessing as it does so many claims to the characteristics of wisdom, order, and morality.

In looking at these extraordinary results, and in witnessing the comforts, and the religious and social order of these people, one is irresistibly led to the conclusion, that the Almighty has had them in his especial keeping, and for some wise purpose of His merciful providence.

It would seem that this part of Africa was never designed for the habitation of the white man. Its pestilential climate

Life Members of the American Colonization Society—constituted in 1845.

effectually forbids the wily encroachments of "the Pale faces," upon these exclusive possessions of the descendants of Ham. But it is to the white man these very descendants are to look for aid to enable them to build up an empire in their own fruitful country—not only fruitful, but congenial, in climate and temperature, after acclimation, to the constitution of black men.

It has always been a matter of surprise to me, that the efforts of the Colonization Society have not been more liberally sustained. I can conceive of no clarity which commends itself more directly to the sympathies of philanthropists, both in this country and England—as by contributing freely to the objects of this institution, the white man renders justice in part, for the wrong inflicted upon the negro in tearing him from his country.

I have had reason of late to doubt the sincerity of England in her exclusive pretensions of sympathy for the condition of

the black man, and especially in her apparent efforts to suppress the slave trade. This abominable traffic might have been entirely destroyed years ago if the powers of Europe, who by treaty stipulations have granted the mutual right of search, upon the African station, had coupled this stipulation with a law "similar to that of the United States," making it piracy for the respective subjects of the contracting powers to be engaged in the transportation of slaves from Africa. Of the hundreds of these villains (principally Portuguese and Spaniards) who are annually captured in slave vessels by British cruisers not one, so far as I know, has ever been brought to punishment.

With every wish for your success in your benevolent undertaking,

I am, dear sir,

Your most ob't serv't.

M. C. PERRY.

Rev. W. McLAIN.

Life Members of the American Colonization Society,

CONSTITUTED IN 1845.

Rev. C. B. Kittredge, Westboro', Mass.; Rev. A. A. Wood, W. Springfield, Mass.; Rev. N. Gale, Ware Village, Massachusetts; Rev. Calvin Hitchcock, D. D., Randolph, Massachusetts; Mrs. Ellen M. Crawford, North Adams, Massachusetts; Rev. James Bates, Granby, Massachusetts; Dea John T. Farwell, Fitchburg, Massachusetts; Rev. G. W. McPail, Fredericksburg, Va.; Rev. B. Frost, Concord, Massachusetts; Rev. M. P. Braman, South Danvers, Massachusetts; Mrs. Mary P. Braman, South Danvers, Massachusetts; E. A. Pearson, Esq., Harvard, Massachusetts; Mrs. Margaret E. Blanchard, Harvard, Massachusetts; Rev. Mr. Fitz, Ipswich, Massachusetts; Rev. M. G. Wheeler, Williamsburg, Massachusetts; Rev. John Johnston, Jersey City, New Jersey; Mrs. Nancy C. Reynolds, Norwich, Connecticut; Rev. Ebenezer Phillips, Williamsburg, Massachusetts; Rev. John Woodbridge, D. D., Hallowell, Maine; Rev. Samuel C. Bartlett, Monson, Mass.; Rev. Samuel Hunt, Natick, Massachusetts; Rev. D. G. Dock, Clarksville, Virginia; James Hayward, Esq., Boston, Massachusetts; Jared Sparks, Esq., Cambridge, Massachusetts; Miss Rebecca Kittredge, Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Abraham Vannatter, Esq., Lexington, Kentucky; Col. R. Quarles, Lexington, Kentucky; Cassius M. Clay, Esq., Lexington, Kentucky; M. T. Scott, Esq., Lexington, Kentucky; David A. Sayre, Esq., Lexington, Kentucky; B. W. Doolley, M. D., Lexington, Kentucky; Rev. Morris E. White, Southampton, Mass.

Massachusetts; Rev. John H. Brisbee, Waltham, Massachusetts; Jonathan A. Hyde, Chesterville, Maine; Edward C. Hyde, Bangor, Maine; Mrs. Jane Kell, Princeton, Ind.; William Rhodes, Lexington, Kentucky; Gen. James Shelby, Lexington, Kentucky; P. Dewees, Lexington, Kentucky; R. C. Boggs, Athens, Kentucky; James Embury, Athens, Kentucky; Hector P. Lewis, Lexington, Kentucky; Rev. Timothy A. Fayler, Slatersville, Rhode Island; Nathaniel Winn, Danville, Kentucky; Dea. Charles Bennett, Fairfield, Connecticut; Owen D. Winn, Athens, Kentucky; Richard Spurr, Athens, Kentucky; Robert Marshall, Athens, Kentucky; John Goss, Athens, Kentucky; James Valandingham, Athens, Kentucky; Thomas H. Shelby, Lexington, Kentucky; Herschel Foote, Euclid, Ohio; W. Wright, Woodstock, Vermont; Rev. John White Chickering, Portland, Maine; D. Henderson, Jersey City, New Jersey; Abel Connor, Hemiker, New Hampshire; Major John Alexander, Lexington, Va.; Rev. E. Edwin Hall, Guilford, Connecticut; Mrs. Jane McMaster, Princeton, Ind.; Mrs. Ann Flemming, Princeton, Ind.; Rev. D. H. Hamilton, Trumansburg, N. Y.; Charles N. Talbot, Esq., New York, N. Y.; Mrs. E. M. Monroe, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Harriet Douglas Cruger, New York, N. Y.; George Douglas, Esq., New York, N. Y.; William Douglas, Esq., New York, N. Y.; Rev. Abel Abbot, Peterborough, New Hampshire.

President—Vice Presidents—Secretary and Treasurer—Executive Committee—Board of Directors.

OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

PRESIDENT:

HON. HENRY CLAY.

VICE PRESIDENTS:

(VIDE PAGE 62.)

SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

REV. W. McLAIN.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

M. ST. CLAIR CLARKE, Esq.,
 W. W. SEATON, Esq.,
 HARVEY LINDSLY, M. D.,
 A. O. DAYTON, Esq.,
 REV. C. A. DAVIS,
 JOSEPH H. BRADLEY, Esq.,
 REV. J. S. BACON, D. D.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS FOR 1846.

REV. J. B. PINNEY,	<i>Pa., Life</i>	<i>Director.</i>	HERMAN CAMP, Esq.,	<i>New York, Life Director.</i>
ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq.,	"	"	HON. PHINEAS WHITE, Delegate	<i>Vt. S. C. S.</i>
HON. S. WILKESON, <i>New York,</i>	"	"	HENRY STEVENS, Esq.,	" " "
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THIRTIETH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

AND OF THE

SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING,

JANUARY 19, 1847.

WASHINGTON:
C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,

SEVENTEENTH STREET.

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THIRTIETH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

January 19, 1847.

Barque "Rothschild," with emigrants from Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, for Liberia.

As we survey the transactions of the past year, in order to present a concise history of them and their results, we are filled with no ordinary emotions of gratitude to God for his preserving care, and his abounding favors. Many have been the tokens of his love, and unceasing the manifestations of his Providential regards. In obstacles surmounted, in dangers avoided, and in good achieved, he has graciously ministered to our hope and confidence for future exertion.

Shortly after the last annual meeting, the barque "Rothschild" sailed from New Orleans, with emigrants from Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, for Liberia. Our friends in Kentucky, had expressed great anxiety that something should be done to give a new impulse to the cause in their State. For this purpose, it had been proposed to establish a settlement in Liberia to be called KENTUCKY, and to form a

home for all whom they might send to it. Of the *sixty-one* emigrants by the "Rothschild," *thirty-five* were from Kentucky, the pioneers in this new and noble enterprise. They were well adapted to their peculiar work. Twelve of them were members of the Church; two were Ministers of the Gospel; three were carpenters; one was a blacksmith, and one a shoemaker, while nearly all of them were under thirty-five years of age.

The "Rothschild" reached Monrovia, on the 15th of March, with *sixty-three* emigrants, all in good health and spirits. A tract of land, beautiful and fertile, had been selected for "Kentucky," on the north-west side of the St. Paul's river, extending along the river, from the settlement of Millsburg, twenty miles, to the sea; thence running along the seabeach in a northwesterly direction, about thirty miles, and thence into the interior about

Barque Chatham.—Relief of the Freetravellers.

fifty miles. For fertility, salubrity, and convenience, a better location could not have been made on the coast. In an eligible situation on this tract of land, fifteen comfortable houses of native construction, 11 by 28 feet, had been erected before their arrival for the accommodation of the emigrants, and into which they moved immediately after they were landed from the vessel. The emigrants from Tennessee were located with them, and one of those from Ohio was employed as a school teacher for the settlement. He has a small, but excellent collection of books, and is a member of the Associate Reformed Church. We cannot but regard this as a most propitious commencement of a settlement which will eventuate in untold good to Africa, to the State of Kentucky, and to the emigrants who may hereafter cast in their lot with those already there.

On the 1st of May, the barque "Chatham," chartered by the New York State Colonization Society, sailed from the port of New York, laden with provisions and clothing for the relief of the recaptives landed at Monrovia by the slave-ship "Fons." Two valuable emigrants took passage in this vessel, one from Ohio, and the other from New York City, and both of them possessing talents, education, and character, which qualify them for great usefulness in their new sphere of action.

Several other persons had applied

to the Board of Managers of the New York Society for a passage to Liberia, and great hopes were entertained that a large and respectable company would go from the free States; but as the day of sailing drew near, their hearts failed them through fear, and the persuasions of the enemies of colonization, until they all declined the opportunity. This failure of emigrants is the more worthy of consideration from the fact that the "Chatham" was the first vessel which had, for several years, sailed from a port in a free State, and consequently offered the strongest inducements to colored people in New York and vicinity to embark in her.

The expenses attending this expedition, amounting to upwards of \$5,000, were defrayed by the New York Society, who, in their last report, say: "We feel called upon to express our grateful sense of the liberality of our friends in this city, in Brooklyn, in Newark, and other places, who have so promptly aided us. It has served to strengthen our hands, and enable us to give substantial proof to the colonists, and to the recaptives, of the sympathy of American Christians, by sending out this supply ship, which will amply meet the present exigency, and, as we hope, be adequate to the permanent relief of those who are not otherwise provided for."

The "Chatham" arrived at Monrovia on the 8th of June, and her

The first and second view of Liberia.—Sailing of the *Liberia Packet*.

seasonable supply of provisions was distributed as circumstances seemed to demand. The two emigrants, by her, express themselves in terms of high admiration of their new homes; and one of them having very influential connexions in New York, has written home letters in which he gives utterance to his convictions in the following language:

“On a person’s first view of this place, he is very apt to form a poor opinion of it. This was the case with me; but after I had been amongst the people, and saw the manner in which they lived, and how intelligent and refined they were, and, above all, that they enacted, and were governed by, their own laws, and when I considered that I was for the first time in my life breathing a free atmosphere, and in a country where the white man does not hold sway, and an individual, however humble, if he qualifies himself, may attain to eminence and distinction, I really felt surprised that I could have remained contented so long in America.

“I sincerely think, that if the colored people of the United States could only see what a fine country this is, and might be made by a little exertion, their prejudices against the Colonization Society and the Colony would be entirely removed.”

Early in April, we resolved to send a vessel from Norfolk, with emigrants, to sail about the last of *June*. This determination was formed in view of applications made to us for a passage for upwards of one hundred emigrants. Before having made any definite arrangements for the expedition, we ascertained that very few of that number would be

ready and able to go at that time. Upwards of sixty of them were wheedled away to the free States. Some few of them chose finally to linger out a miserable and degraded existence here, rather than go to Liberia, where they might enjoy advantages which would elevate them to the dignity of men; while others of them were detained by circumstances which neither they nor we could control.

In view of this state of things, it was determined to postpone the sailing of the vessel until the time of our regular fall expedition.

The “*LIBERIA PACKET*” sailed from Baltimore on the 3d of December, carrying out twenty-seven emigrants for the American Colonization Society, and fourteen for the Maryland Society, and a large supply of goods for the purchase of territory, and purposes of general improvement.

We were greatly disappointed in the number of emigrants who were ready to sail in the Packet. From applications which had been made, and assurances given to us, we were led to anticipate from a hundred and twenty to a hundred and thirty persons. Among those who sailed for Liberia, were some very intelligent and well educated men and women, in the prime of life, devotedly pious, and breathing the right kind of spirit, in view of the dangers and privations which were before them. A large part of them were set free, by masters now living, for the purpose of going to Liberia. The others, with two exceptions, were

Vessel from New Orleans—disposition of the number of emigrants.

left their freedom by their mistress, late of Westmoreland county, Va.

During the past summer, we were informed, by executors in Tennessee, that thirty-five slaves, under their care *must* be sent to Liberia at the close of the year. Our friends in Kentucky, were very anxious that a reinforcement should be sent from their State to their new settlement on the St. Paul's. Our agent, the Rev. A. M. Cowan, after much correspondence, and visiting various parts of the State, was "persuaded that at least sixty persons would be ready to leave Louisville by the 15th of December," and was much impressed with the benefit which would accrue to the cause in the field of his agency, from the departure of a large number of emigrants. We accordingly gave notice that an expedition would sail from New Orleans about the 20th of December, with emigrants from the southwestern States.

But we were again destined to be disappointed. The emigrants, from Tennessee, were unable to leave at that time by reason of legal difficulties being thrown in their way. Those from Kentucky, with the exception of three, failed to appear at Louisville, where our agent had gone to receive and accompany them to New Orleans. What particular reasons operated to deter them, or what peculiar causes prevented them, we have not yet learned. Doubtless they were similar to those which have operated in similar cases on *this side of the mountains.*

The "Mary Wilks" therefore sailed from New Orleans with only eleven emigrants. She took out, however, a full cargo of freight, a part of which is for the purchase of territory, and the remainder for sale.

The learned blacksmith, Ellis, and family, sailed in this vessel. The departure of such a person for Liberia is, of itself, an event of immense importance.

It will be observed, that the number of emigrants sent out during the past year is smaller than we had been led to anticipate.

How is this to be accounted for? Is there any thing in the present state of affairs, in this country, which will account for it? Or is it true that many of the slaves, as well as the free colored people, are unwilling to go to Liberia? We are aware that several large families have been offered their freedom, by their masters, if they would emigrate, who have declined it. We know, too, that very active efforts have been made to induce them to remain in their present condition. We know that there are in almost every community, men who claim to be the exclusive friends of the colored population, and yet who are industriously instilling into their minds the most bitter prejudices against colonization. It seems to us, that if the colored people could properly appreciate the blessings of freedom, and the great social, moral, and political advantages they would enjoy in a country governed and regulated by laws of their own en-

A colonist's efforts in Conn. to get his kindred to go with him.—Opposition among the colored people.

actment, they would toil late and early to raise the means necessary to carry them to this land of promise; and yet the history of the past year proves that the great body of them are so blinded to their own best interests that they will not consent to go, even when their expenses are paid. One of the colonists returned to this country early in the year, having many kindred and friends residing in the State of Connecticut, whom he was anxious to convince that they could vastly improve their condition and prospects by returning with him to his adopted home. He spent the summer among them. Talked the whole matter over with them. They saw, and admitted, that there was not a country in the world where greater advantages were held out to the industrious settler. And did they hasten thither as their friend advised them to, and as they were persuaded would be best? No. They let him return, and they chose rather to stay in a country where they are denied, and must forever be denied, all the rights and privileges of freemen!

Through the labors of our agent in Indiana, a considerable degree of interest was, early in the past year, awakened in the minds of many of the colored people in the vicinity of Terre Haute, who, after deliberate consultation, selected one of their number, and appointed him their agent to go to Liberia, examine the country, and return and report to them the state of facts, in order that

they might make up their minds with evidence before them which they could not doubt, derived from one whom they could not suspect. The person chosen as their agent was a Presiding Elder in the Conference of the African Meth. Church; a man of undoubted piety and of high standing among them.

But no sooner had the enemies of colonization heard of it, than they made a regular effort to prevent him from fulfilling the appointment, resolving that they would turn him out of the church if he attempted any such scheme, and that if he left the State on such an errand, he should never, with their consent, return to it again.

What inference can be drawn from their conduct on this occasion? Manifestly this, they *know* that Liberia is a *better* place than they have represented it to be, and they are afraid of the result of a fair investigation under circumstances altogether favorable to themselves.

About the middle of April last, a large meeting of colored people was held in Cleveland, Ohio, to consider certain propositions, made by some of their number, for emigrating to Oregon or California. The assembly was addressed by several individuals, and the discussion grew so warm, and the feeling so general and strong against emigrating, that the party in favor of it withdrew from the meeting, abandoning the ground wholly to their opponents, who with great vehemence and enthusi-

again passed a bundle of resolutions, declaring "that in the present aspect of affairs, the condition of the colored race would not be improved by emigration: that colonization is, and ought to be condemned by the colored people; that the *colored* colonizationist is as bad as the *white* colonizationist, and that both ought to be condemned; and that it is the duty of the colored people to stay where they are, and continue to contend earnestly for their rights, trusting in the power of truth and the God of justice for a final triumph!"

It would be strange indeed, if from *that* region, and under the influence of *those* men, any body should determine to emigrate to Liberia!

It was not very long after the adoption of the above resolutions, that about four hundred slaves were liberated by the will of the late JOHN RANDOLPH, and sent to Mercer county, Ohio, where lands had been purchased for them and where they expected to live together in the enjoy-

ment of good neighborhood and all the sweets of liberty. When they had reached the threshold of their anticipated homes, they were met by an armed company of men and driven back,* and after spending most of their money, they were scattered about in the adjacent country, here a few, and there a broken fragment of a family, in a manner most shocking even to *their* ideas of the social relations. The principal one among them, and his family, having some means at command, made his way back to Virginia, preferring to *live* in slavery, to *staying* in *freedom* under such circumstances.

Not long since, a company of liberated slaves was taken from Western Virginia into one of those fiercely abolition counties in Ohio; but such opposition was made by the citizens to their settling among them, that the person who had them in charge, left them in the public road, at midnight, and fled!†

It seems almost impossible, that acts like these, continually occurring

* The following are the resolutions passed by the assembled people of Mercer county on first Tuesday. They are characteristic, and sufficiently force certainly. We think their spirit can hardly be found anywhere South:

Resolved, That we will not live among negroes; as we have settled here first, we have fully determined that we will resist the settlement of blacks and mulattoes in this county to the full extent of our means, *the buyers not excepted.*

Resolved, That the blacks of this county be, and they are hereby, respectfully requested to leave the county on or before the first day of March, 1847, and in the case of those unable or unwilling to comply with this request, we pledge ourselves to remove them, *particularly if we can possibly do so.*

Resolved, That for who has been assembled, pledge ourselves not to employ or trade with any black or mulatto person, in any manner whatever, or permit them to have any grazing share of our fields, after the first day of January next.

1. We charge our friends to contrast with the feelings and conduct of those *professed* friends of the colored people, the feelings and conduct of others of the same school, as exhibited in the following words: "There is living in Ohio, and he, a worthy citizen, a Mr. G., a native of Virginia, who after a residence there for some eight or ten years, re-

These things ought to convince colored people.—Sentiment from the *North American Review*.

in the free States, should not have some influence on sensible reflecting colored men. How can they fail to see, that, however much we deplore it, continued trouble, deeper depression, and more hopeless degradation awaits them in this country! Can they ever attain to the rights and privileges they are now struggling for, and demanding! How is it possible for them to dream that they can ever enjoy a comfortable, quiet, and honorable *home* here, and possess that share in the management of public affairs which alone can make them *feel* and *act* as men and as citizens! Must they not come, however reluctantly, to the conclusion, and acknowledge, that the policy of colonizationists, is the only true and sanative policy ever yet adopted? It proposes to place them in circumstances propitious to the full development of their powers. In this country, while things remain as they are at present, there is no place where this can be done. Go where they may, they encounter an invincible prejudice, which excludes them from the honors of political, and the comforts of social life, and reminds them of their deeply depressed condition.* On every hand, the more favored race is multiplying around

turned to Virginia, on a visit to see a brother who still remained in the 'Old Dominion.' Mr. G. gave his brother an interesting account of the prospects and policy of Ohio, with which he was much pleased. The Virginia brother remarked to Mr. G. that he found his slaves a great burthen to him and requested him to take them all to Ohio and set them free! 'I cannot do it,' said Mr. G. 'Why?' asked his brother. 'The citizens of Ohio will not allow me to bring 100 negroes among them to settle,' said Mr. G. 'But,' said he, 'I can put you upon a plan by which you can get rid of them and get them into Ohio very easy. Do you take them to Wheeling and there place them on a steamboat for Cincinnati, and speak of taking them to New Orleans; and while you are looking out for another boat, give the chance, and the Abolitionists will steal the whole of them and run them off, and then celebrate a perfect triumph over them. But if you take them to the same men and ask them to receive and take care of them, they will tell you to take care of them yourself.'—*Rev. B. T. Kavanaugh*.

* "How it is that the free colored race can look with complacency on their condition in any part of this country is more than we can understand. True, it may be better at some future day than it is now; we hope and trust that it will. But we speak of it as it is now, and surely there is no immediate prospect of a change for the better; and we cannot comprehend why they should wish to detain those who are desirous to make the experiment of other influences and a more favored land. We are well aware, that the free people of color in this country have now a great prejudice against expatriation. This, they say, is their native land, and why should they leave it? Ay, why *should* they leave it, if they can find an inducement to stay? Egypt was the native land of Moses and the Israelites; but their native air was not particularly good for their constitutions, and though they sometimes sighed for it in their discontent, they would doubtless have been sorry enough to have been taken at their word, and sent back again to the flesh-pots, cucumbers, and melons, not to speak of the brick-yards. We cannot see the especial fascinations in any part of this country, which should make a separation from it so heart-rending. We apprehend that, if our portion in it was like theirs, we should sound a retreat at the first opportunity, and without incurring the penalty of Lot's wife by looking back on the forsaken home. It passes our comprehension to discover what they can find here, in the way either of enjoyment or hope, that should be so difficult to resign. It is true, that better days may come in process of time; but meanwhile, it would seem as well to go to better days wherever they can find them, even if beyond the sea. But this is matter of taste; and if the colored citizens of America prefer their present condition, such as it is, no one asks them to leave it; they are at perfect liberty to remain to the end of time, if such is their pleasure."—*North American Review* for October, 1846.

Colored people will soon be crowded out of employment.—*Mr. Alexander's opinion.—Effects, &c.*

them, filling every avenue to wealth, engrossing every desirable business, and monopolizing every honorable employment. The rapid increase of our own population, the immense inflow of foreigners, who must gain a living by their labor, and who can labor to the best advantage, are sad evidences that the day is not far distant when they will be crowded out of every lucrative employment, and thereby depressed lower than they are at present, and thus compelled, in self-defence and for self-preservation, to seek a home in some other land! This result may not be for years yet, but premonitions of its approach are now seen in every city in the land.

Much as we deprecate this state of things, we would anticipate its approach and in advance prepare a home for them when it comes. We would have them aroused from their present dream to the reality of its approach, and led to take the measures necessary to save themselves and their children from the certain wretched-

ness and degradation which await them. And we therefore present colonization to them at every opportunity, as the only practicable remedy for the ills which at present betide them."

During the past year we have circulated among them a large amount of information on the subject of Liberia. Many of them take the Repository. Many of them have sought information from us in various ways. Some of our friends have also taken much interest in imparting to them all necessary information.

In many places we can now see the benefits arising from these labors. A spirit of inquiry has been awakened in many minds heretofore careless and indifferent. Were there no opposing influences exerted upon them, we doubt not that a large number of the most intelligent among them would in the course of a year or two emigrate to Liberia. Some of them will doubtless never be convinced. A correspondent in one of our western cities, makes this remark, "There is

"It is in vain to declaim about the prejudice of color; however unreasonable, it will long continue to exist, and will prove an effectual bar to the possession and enjoyment of the same privileges and advantages which the white population enjoy. If I were a colored man, I would not hesitate a moment to relinquish a country where a black skin and the lowest degree of degradation are so identified, that scarcely any manifestation of talent, or course of good conduct, can entirely overcome the prejudice which exists, and which is so strong, if not stronger, in the free than in the slave-holding States:—and I would see every exertion to reach a land where it is no crime, and no dishonor, to appear in a colored skin—a country where to white superiors exist to look down with contempt upon the colored race, but where they are the lords of the soil, and the rulers of the nation. I cannot but shudder the hardest condition and public shame of the first emigrants from this country to Africa. Then no Liberia existed. The Society did not own one foot of ground on that continent, and it was extremely doubtful whether they would be able to obtain any territory for a colony. Yet these heart-hearted men, resolved to run every risk, took, as it were, their lives in their hands. They went out, like Abraham, not knowing whether they were, or what destiny awaited them. And the event proved, that they were called by the promises of God, to engage in this hazardous enterprise. And I cannot but feel pained by the prevailing views of many colored men, now residing in a state of degradation in this country, who, in Liberia, might rise to wealth and independence, and perhaps, to high and honorable office."—*A. Alexander, D. D.*

Importance of Colonization.—LIBERIA PACKET built, and influence of.

a very prevalent prejudice among our colored people against the noble enterprise of colonization, and it seems almost impossible to induce them to attend to its claims. *A colored Baptist preacher of our city, prays God regularly, that he may never be convinced of the righteousness of African colonization !"*

There is perhaps no one aspect of our enterprise to which the energies of its friends should be directed with more intensity and perseverance than the one we have been considering. It is not for a moment to be supposed that the efforts of private benevolence will suffice to develop Liberia and remove thither the colored people of this country. Part of this work it has already performed. The cornerstone of a great and enlightened republic has been laid. The structure has been reared in part and prepared for the comfort of its inhabitants. Those already in it could not be persuaded to exchange it for any other. They give to the world the example of a moral, well ordered and free community, governed by wise laws of their own enacting.

Now what we need is that the eyes of the colored people in this country should be opened to see the inviting light which Liberia throws across the deep ; that their hearts should be cultivated to feel the attractions that are there, to such a degree that nothing can keep them away ; that unaided and of themselves they will cross the Atlantic and make Liberia their home. Then, and not till

then, will the full energies of colonization be developed !

In our last annual report we mentioned that a company had been formed who intended to run a regular packet between the Chesapeake and Liberia, and that the *stock* had been taken.

We have now the pleasure of stating that a vessel has been built at a cost of more than \$19,000 with special reference to the accommodation of emigrants, having every arrangement and fixture which can be desired for their *health* and *comfort*, and second only to those of the first class of passenger ships. She sailed on her first voyage on the 3d of December last. It is intended to keep her running regularly, making two or three voyages a year according to the amount of emigrants and freight offered by the Colonization Societies.

It is believed that the running of this packet will not only reduce the current expenses of sending out emigrants, but will have a happy influence in removing the prejudices of the colored people, disabusing their minds of the false impressions which they have entertained respecting Liberia, and uniting them to their *free* Liberian brethren in bonds which can never be sundered. On this subject the editor of the Maryland Colonization Journal thus remarks:

"The building, the launching, and the sailing of this packet, thus devoted to this great missionary work; owned in part, and to be mainly owned by colored people themselves, has produced a new era in colonization,

The receipts of the Society, \$39,900 02. As the Committee considered they should have a reserve of \$10,000.

It has awakened the colored man from his torpor—it has broken the shell of prejudice in which he had been long enveloped—it has proved in fact the sound of a gong in the top of the mulberry tree, and no fear need exist, but the bursting of themselves will follow. We have long since declared, and we were the first to declare it effectively, that if Liberia was ever to be free, and to be well governed, that government must be administered by a colored man; and we now as firmly believe, that if the cause of colonization is to prosper—if the colonies are to receive larger and valuable accessions of emigrants from this country, it must be through the agency and action of the colored people themselves; it must be in vessels of their own, and under their own direction, and we view this one barque, this 'Liberia Packet,' of which we have said so much, for which we have felt so much and labored so hard, as but the small beginning of an extensive system of operations to be by them prosecuted and perfected!

The receipts of the past year were \$39,900 02. This falls short of the amount received during the year preceding. But by a comparison of the Financial Reports of the two years, it will be perceived that this can be accounted for, without attributing any decrease of interest to the patrons of the Society, or any want of efficiency and success to its agents. At the opening of our last report, it was our mournful duty to record the death of several valued friends and liberal contributors. From legacies left by them to the Society, we received during that year \$17,395 44.

Our present report opens with no such record of departed friends,

while the Financial Report shows the total receipts from legacies to be only \$1,307 20, making a difference in the receipts of the two years of \$16,088 24, from this source alone.

In 1845 we received \$977 68 for the passage of emigrants. The past year we have received nothing from this source.

In 1845 the New York Society paid their money into our treasury. The past year, as already mentioned, they appropriated it themselves, without any of it passing through our hands.

These three items alone, added to the acknowledged receipts of the past year, would increase them several thousand dollars beyond those of the year preceding.

We are therefore convinced by the receipts of the Society that there has been during the year a gradual increase of attachment to this cause; that old friends have held fast their integrity; that new friends have been made, and that nothing can shake the public confidence in the benevolent character of the enterprise and its adaptation to the stupendous achievement contemplated by its founders.

We have also arrived at this same conclusion from other sources of evidence. From our numerous and attentive correspondents in all parts of the country, we have received numerous and gratifying tokens of increasing favor in their various sections. Our agents are all encouraged in their laborious work, and all, with-

Opinions in favor of Colonization.—Newspapers.—State of Liberia, from Gov. Roberts's message.

out a single exception, think they see still brighter days approaching. They are also successful in raising money beyond the most sanguine expectations of the best informed friends in their respective fields of labor.

The New York Society in their last annual report, say :

"Never before in the history of our enterprise has there been a year so fruitful of good as that now terminating."

The Massachusetts Society in their last annual report say that their agent

"Has collected funds in about eighty parishes, from forty-five of which nothing was received last year and many of which were not previously accessible."

By other societies similar sentiments have been expressed. The circulation of the *AFRICAN REPOSITORY* has increased during the year. A new paper called "The Liberia Advocate," has been established at St. Louis, Missouri, by the Rev. R. S. Finley, on his own private responsibility and cost. Another has been established at Indianapolis under the supervision of the Indiana Colonization Society, called the "Colonizationist;" and another at Frankfort, Kentucky, by the agent of the Kentucky Colonization Society. One peculiar feature of these two last papers is, that they are composed of articles furnished by their editors to one or more of the *political* newspapers in the places where they are published, and then at the end of the month they are thrown together and published, at little or no expense be-

yond the mere cost of paper and press work. This indicates a good state of feeling on the part of the political press, and a strong confidence in the goodness of the cause, as well as of its popularity among the people.

The state of public affairs in Liberia, during the past year, has been of the most encouraging character.

In his last message to the Legislature, Governor Roberts remarks :

"Under the fostering care of the American Colonization Society, the colony has continued to increase in population, intelligence, wealth, and importance; 'a little one has become a thousand,' and is now attracting the attention of the civilized world. It therefore becomes us, in entering once more upon the duties of legislation, humbly to acknowledge our dependence upon Him, who is infinite in wisdom and power, as our guide and protector; and to implore a continuance of His watchfulness over the affairs of these colonies.

"We have continued cause for the expression of our gratitude to Almighty God, that another year finds us in the enjoyment of the blessings of peace, law, order and religion; that the health of our fellow citizens has been preserved; that the earth has yielded abundant fruits to the labors of the husbandman; that, notwithstanding the interruptions to trade, new activity has been imparted to commerce; and that every department of the government seems to be going on well and prosperously, excepting only the unsettled state of our affairs in regard to the jurisdiction of the colony, and the restrictions imposed by Great Britain, denying to us the sovereign and inde-

Receipts of the Treasury. Receipts of Liberia with a running total. The "Poor" recapitulated.

In almost every department of civil, social, religious, and political enterprise, there is a manifest improvement over the preceding years. Measures were adopted by the Legislature early in 1816, to extend the benefits of public education more widely and efficiently than had been previously the case. Several important acts were also passed respecting public morals, one of which respects the better observance of the Sabbath; while another restricts the sale of ardent spirits to those who have obtained a *license*, for which they are obliged to pay five hundred dollars.

The receipts into the public *treasury* of the Commonwealth exceeded those of any preceding year. In 1814, the revenue was \$8,175. In 1815, it was \$8,853, being an increase of \$678. The balance in the treasury at the close of 1814, was \$201, at the close of 1815, it was \$989. The revenue has been sufficient to meet all the current expenses of the Government, and leave a considerable sum for making improvements, as will be seen by the following statement of the receipts and expenses laid before the Legislature at their last annual assembly:

"Receipts:—Duties on imports, \$5,553; Anchorage and light duty, \$305; Licenses to colonial vessels, \$28; Licenses to commission merchants, retailers, and auctioneers, \$831; Military and court fines, \$212; Sale of public lands, \$140; Sale of sundries at Central Fort, \$78; Deposited by the Executor of D. Johnston's estate, \$1,975; making a total of \$8,525.

"Disbursements:—Paid expenses of the Legislature for 1815, \$378; Paid Lieutenant Governor Benedict, for services in 1814, \$300; Paid Judiciary Department, \$918; Paid for the support of prisoners, &c., \$1,014; Paid for elections, \$90; Paid expenses of light-house and signal master, \$226; Paid pensions, \$71; Paid for public improvements, \$2,486; Paid for territory, \$157; Paid collectors and school teachers, \$1,085; Paid balance due the estate of W. Savage, \$263; Contingencies, \$212; making a total of \$7,536; leaving a balance in favor of the treasury this day of \$989."

The relations of Liberia with the surrounding tribes continues of the most friendly character. The Commonwealth has pursued a benevolent as well as a just policy toward all the neighboring tribes, which has won upon their affections and confidence, and opened the way for exerting a favorable influence to civilize and Christianize them. Hence, those tribes are now accessible to missionaries and school teachers, many of whom, from among the colonists, are laboring among them.

A most interesting exhibition of the kind feelings entertained by the citizens of Liberia toward the natives is seen in the manner in which they received and provided for the—recaptives of the "Slaver Pows." There were seven hundred and fifty-six, naked, starving, *savage paupers* thrown upon their shores. What did they do with them? Not what the "Mercer county" people did with the "Randolph negroes." They took them into their houses, clothed and

Character of the "Pons" people—trouble—expense—they are now improving.

fed them, and made provision for their education. Where is there to be found a community in this country, ready to receive such a population and do for them the charitable and humane part that the Liberians did by these poor wretches? To educate in all the arts and refinements of civilized life, such a company of the wildest savages, is a work of no small difficulty and expense; but still it was undertaken with cheerfulness, and has thus far been carried on without complaint. And yet the citizens of Liberia have had a vast amount of trouble with these recaptives. They knew nothing of laboring for a living—they were destitute of moral principle—they were adverse to all kinds of restraint—they were unwilling to submit to law, or observe order; hence, they were ready for any wickedness that offered itself. Many of them left the homes that were provided for them, and wandered about in the neighborhood of the settlements, stealing whatever they could lay their hands upon, and committing all manner of depredations. Nor is this to be wondered at, when we remember that many of them came from tribes who

"Devoured each other like the beasts,
"Gorging on human flesh;"

and that it is not the work of a day or a year to tame the savage breast, or to transform the tiger into a lamb.

We are however happy to have it in our power to state that many of them have uniformly conducted

themselves with propriety, and that they are making rapid improvement in civilization, manners, industry, and the minor branches of education. Many of those who left their homes to roam about the country, have returned to them, and now seem contented.

They all express the most heartfelt gratitude for their deliverance from the wretched doom that awaited them in the "Pons," and for their being landed at Liberia, rather than at Cabinda or vicinity, from whence they would soon and certainly have been again torn and sold to the slaver. They are proud to adopt civilized habits, and show great eagerness and aptness in their acquisition of the English language.

From these considerations, we are led to hope, that, ultimately, they will make good citizens of Liberia, and be the honored instruments in the hands of God of introducing the principles of civilization and Christianity among the heathen tribes to which they originally belonged, and thus add another to the already numerous instances in which God has "educated good out of evil," caused the "wrath of man to praise him, and restrained the remainder of his wrath" in the dispensations of His Providence toward the African race.

We cannot, in this connexion, refrain from making a remark or two concerning the manner in which these recaptives were thrown, thus *destitute*, upon the bounty of the Liberians.

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 "We let it sink, not the consequence of sinking their mother, and leaving us to support them."  
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It is well understood that it is a part of the policy of the United States Government, in their efforts to suppress the slave trade, to return the slaves found on board of slave ships, which are captured by our cruisers, to the coast, and land them at Liberia. But it is not so well understood that the Government makes no provision for their comfort and support *after* they are thus landed. What right has the United States Government to throw them upon the mercy of the infant settlements there? Manifestly none at all.

Formerly the law of 1819 was understood to make provision for supporting recaptives after being landed in Liberia, until they could take care of themselves. President Monroe so interpreted it, and acted accordingly. But of late years the attorney generals have construed the law differently, and have decided that it simply provides for returning recaptured to Liberia, and for keeping a "United States agent for recaptured Africans" there; and then leaves them entirely destitute, and has without a dollar to provide for their support. This is a most singular case indeed. Our government has engaged in a humane effort to benefit the poor Africans, by suppressing the slave trade. For this purpose, it supports a squadron on the coast at a very heavy expense. One of the vessels of this squadron, carrying out her instructions, seizes a slave ship with upwards of *nine hundred* children and youth on board,

carries them back to the coast and pitches them on shore, in a sick and dying condition, and makes no provision for taking care of them even for a single day! This cannot be regarded in any other light than that of sheer injustice to the recaptives, and oppression to the citizens of Liberia. There is no obligation resting on them to support these people. They have to struggle hard to take care of themselves, unaided by governmental protection, and oppressed by those stronger than themselves.

We, therefore, earnestly hope that the United States Government will soon make some more liberal provision for carrying out their efforts for the suppression of the slave trade. It ought not to be expected that the citizens of Liberia should assume the responsibility, and meet the expense of the support and education of all recaptives whom the United States squadron may land on their soil.

It is an acknowledged fact, that Liberia has done, and is now doing, more for the suppression of the *slave trade* than the combined navies of the world. Her influence will be powerful for this end, just in proportion to her general prosperity and enlargement. If, therefore, the United States Government is anxious to suppress the slave trade, and we doubt not she is, and if she desires to accomplish it in the most expeditious and successful way, it is a dictate of sound wisdom, that she should

Purchase of territory, about 80 miles.

in every constitutional and conceivable manner assist (instead of retard) the Commonwealth of Liberia, making it the instrument for the suppression of that gigantic evil, and the extension of the principles of civilization and good government, and the enlargement of the sphere of American commerce.

In the last Annual Report it was stated that the fund for the purchase of territory had all been subscribed, and more than half of it paid into the treasury. Since that time, the balance of it, excepting \$1,500, has been paid, and forwarded to Liberia. With these means, considerable progress has been made in achieving this desirable object. Governor Roberts in his message, January, 1846, says:

"In conformity with an act of the last session of the Legislature, authorizing the purchase of certain territory in the Little Bassa country—Messrs. Teage and Brown, duly commissioned, proceeded to Bassa, in February last, and succeeded in purchasing the remaining portion of that country, which secures to the commonwealth an unbroken line of coast from Digby to Grand Bassa point. We have also succeeded in extinguishing the native title to the entire Sinou country, which gives us at that point some forty miles of sea coast, and will be a great acquisition to the settlement of Greenville. In both instances, the native tribes have not only ceded to the colony the right of soil, but have also, by a formal compact, surrendered to this government the supreme judicial authority and political jurisdiction and control over the persons and property of all within that territory—and,

at their own special request, they have been permitted to incorporate themselves with the colonists, subscribe to the constitution and laws of the commonwealth, become citizens of Liberia, and as such are entitled to the care and protection of this government."

The sloop "Economy" was chartered by Governor Roberts, and sailed on the 9th of January last with a full and suitable cargo of merchandize, in the charge of two commissioners who were appointed for the purpose, and who were authorized to contract for all the unpurchased territory lying between Grand Bassa Point and Grand Cesters.

Of their success, Governor Roberts remarks in his despatch of June 25th:

"I am happy to be able to inform you that the commissioners despatched not long since, of which you have been advised, to treat with the natives for territory, have succeeded quite as well as I had any reason to expect, indeed, beyond my most sanguine hopes.

"I have the honor herewith to transmit to you copies of deeds for ten tracts of country purchased from the native chiefs; commencing at the south-east termination of our purchase from the Blue Barra tribe, and extending along the coast about eighty miles, embracing all the territory, except Settra Kroo, lying between Little Kroo and Little Sesters inclusive; also eight miles of sea coast, farther north, embracing all the Tassoo and Bassoo Bay territory.

"I feel pretty sanguine that, with the twenty thousand dollars, we shall be able to secure all the territory we need. I am, at present, more concerned about New Cesters,

Continuation of Liberator's Notes of Legislature's Session, and the vote of the citizens, &c.

Trade Town, and Sattrá Kroo, then say other points along the coast. The slave-trade former and foreign traders at the latter places, are doing all in their power to arrest our negotiations with the natives.

"We shall, however, no doubt succeed, though we may, in consequence of such interference, have to pay a pretty round sum. Grand Cape Mount we must also have if practicable. I hope after the arrival of the next vessel with supplies, soon to be able to give a good account of our doings."

The proposition relative to the Independence of Liberia, adopted at the last annual meeting of the Board of Directors, was sent to Governor Roberts, by the first opportunity. He issued a proclamation, convening the Legislative Council on the 13th of July, to consider what measures they would adopt on the subject. They remained in session three days, during which time the members expressed their sentiments fully and accurately. Great interest prevailed among the community, who flocked to hear the discussions.

The result of these deliberations, was embodied in the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the Governor be instructed to command the people by proclamation issued in reasonable time, to meet in the respective towns and villages in the commonwealth, on such day as the Governor may select, to make such disposition of the said resolutions (of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society) and to take such further action in the premises, as in their wisdom they may deem proper."

Of this resolution Governor Ro-

berts, in his despatch of the 19th of October, remarks:

"You will perceive by the proceedings of the legislature, herewith transmitted, that the preamble and resolutions have been submitted to the consideration of the people, who will determine, by a solemn vote, what disposition shall be made of them, and should a new organization be determined upon, to fix upon the course proper to be adopted for carrying into effect the suggestions of the Board, contained in said resolutions."

"By proclamation, Tuesday, 27th instant, is fixed as the day on which the people, throughout the commonwealth, will assemble in the various towns and villages to vote on the question."

The election was accordingly held on the 27th October and it was ascertained that a majority of the people were in favor of assuming the entire responsibility of their government.

In his despatch of November 9, Governor Roberts says:

"I have only time to inform you that the vote of the citizens, taken on the 27th ultimo, on the question of independence, is in favor of adopting the suggestions of the Board, and recommends the call of a *convention* to draft a constitution for the commonwealth. The legislature at its session in January next, will, of course, order a convention and adopt rules for its government."

It will thus appear that the citizens of Liberia are proceeding in this difficult and responsible matter, with that calmness and deliberation which the importance of the occasion demands. In this respect, they give us much hope that in the future they will manage their affairs with wisdom

The Liberia Herald with regard to independence.

and discretion; that when the hour of trial comes, they will be found to possess sufficient nerve to meet it, sufficient knowledge and weight of character, to carry themselves nobly through. They will doubtless construct their new constitution on the soundest republican principles, wisely arranged, and judiciously adapted to their peculiar condition and circumstances.

The question has been frequently asked us, "what reason have you to believe that Liberia will maintain her independence: that she will not be persuaded, or bought, to be the colony of some more influential and powerful nation?" We cannot answer this in any way so well as by quoting the following language from the Liberia Herald:

"It were not unnatural for the members to ask themselves what assurance have we, that the people of Liberia will not, when sovereign power be lodged in their own hand, seek some other alliance as a means of strength and of security against insult and aggression. And when it is recollected how much American philanthropy has done for the colony, how great sacrifices colonizationists have made of time, of ease, of money and of life, to conduct it to its present condition; how highly they prize it as a practical illustration of the efficiency and energy of American benevolence, and with what intense interest they cannot but regard it as an extension to the eastern hemisphere of those principles of republican liberty and popular institutions, which, among the moderns, their fathers were the first who had the sagacity to discover, the independence to proclaim and the courage to defend

—when these circumstances are present to the mind, not only does the question not appear unnatural, but rather one which would arise with prompt and ready spontaneity; and thus arising become the subject of deep and anxious thought.

"But we think we do but speak the fixed sentiment of the whole people of these colonies, without the exception of a single individual capable of thought, when we say, the great object which at first brought us to Africa is still kindly and tenderly cherished. That great object which loomed in all its grandeur of outline before our eye—which dazzled in our imagination, and roused lofty aspirations, and lured us on from home, and kindred and social endearments—which induced us with patience to suffer, and with fortitude to endure—which gathered motive from danger and strength from defeat: that grand object, to plant a nation of colored people on the soil of Africa, adorned and dignified with the attributes of a civilized and Christian community, is still the object dearer than all others to every Liberian. Indeed, so thoroughly are we penetrated with the conviction of the necessity, that in order to the consummation of this purpose we should stand alone and unembarrassed with any foreign allegiance, we should regard the document which conveyed away our independence nothing less than the record of an abject fate to last through all coming time. Better, far better will it be for us that a century find us still a weak and "feeble folk" than to bend an ignoble neck to the Anglo-Saxon yoke—of whose unrelenting tenacity, when once it has grappled, the whole history of the modern world affords most melancholy examples.

"On this score the society need entertain no apprehension. Here motives the most powerful—fear and

It is common property to men of desiring their independence.

hope and burning desire, all nations in forced slavery, and to sustain honor and integrity.

Sentiments similar to these, are held by the great majority of the citizens of Liberia. They seem to desire, that patriotism and a proper sense of the duty they owe to themselves and their posterity, should characterize every action they are called upon to perform, and every step they take in a policy on which hangs the future destiny of their growing republic. They seem fully to appreciate the important fact, that a crisis has now arrived, when, by a firm and unflinching course, by high resolve and united effort, and strict integrity and virtue, they may prove to a demonstration, and show to the world, that *their race* is capable of self-government.

If they succeed in converting men generally of this fact, it will have a tremendous influence in their favor. There are thousands of their own color in this country, who do not believe that they can ever maintain a respectable government themselves, except by the whites. There are multitudes of the whites who are very unfavourable on the same grounds. Among the colored people are many who would go to Liberia were they convinced that they would find a comfortable home there, and find themselves and their associates in circumstances favorable to their rising to a respectable standing among the nations of the earth. Many slaveholders would give up their slaves

at once, to be sent to Liberia, were they fully satisfied that they would there find a permanent, safe, and independent abode for them.

The attention of many at the South is directed towards Liberia with intense anxiety. Many are educating a part or the whole of their slaves, with the intention of sending them to Liberia at some future time. How important it is, therefore, that all should be able to cast their eyes across the sea, and behold on the shores of Africa a free and happy republic, composed and governed entirely by colored men, where every honest citizen feels that the incubus which pressed him down in every land is gone, and that he stands upon an equality, as to rights, privileges and prospects, with any other man in the world.

The past history of Liberia, though its results are but imperfectly developed, convinces us that her futurity will be bright and glorious.

"Enough," in the language of the North American Review, "already appears to make it certain, that it will maintain its existence; that it will be a strong and flourishing republic, and, like other republics, with all its faults, it will be a refuge for the oppressed; that it will have power to drive the slave trade from its borders, and to send the light of humanity into the darkness of the Continent, where it stands, like sunlight on the edge of a black cloud, giving promise that the shadow shall pass away."

"More than once it has encountered the tempest of resistance which would have destroyed it, had it been

The weakness of the Colony a guaranty of its safety.—Dr. Alexander's opinion.

less firmly set in the conscience and affection of its supporters, but which, as it is, has given up a deeper root, a mightier bough, and a richer depth of foliage, to shelter those who sit under its extending shade. It has yet much to contend with, as our Government cannot take it under its full protection, it must depend in a great measure upon the sense of honor and right, which prevails among the nations of the earth. We wish it could place more ample confidence in this moral sense; but, if the conscience of nations is weak, there is nothing which any one of them could gain by injury to Liberia, and this is a guaranty on which it can more safely rely. Sometimes a small naval officer may glory over it in the wantonness of power, which has been committed to his unworthy hands; but it is hoped that such airs of importance will be prevented, if not censured; they cannot be permitted without reproach to the nation which allows them. Our own officers have done themselves great honor by the kind and manly interest which they have manifested in the colony, and the open testimony in its favor which they have been ready to give. We hope that it will be strong enough to work out its own results in peace. Prejudice itself cannot well point out any harm which it can do; while there is good reason to hope that it will afford a refuge for the oppressed, and be the means of making to injured Africa some late atonement for its numberless wrongs."

In connection with these sentiments, we cannot refrain from calling attention to the following views of Rev. A. A. Alexander, D. D., one of the oldest and most carefully observant friends of colonization. They are contained in the "Introduction" to his "History of Colonization,"

a book which will richly repay the most careful perusal.

"Whether this colony was commenced in wisdom, or imprudently, it now exists, and cannot be abandoned. There it stands on the savage coast of Africa, and is likely to exist for a long time to come. Hitherto no ill consequence has followed from the prosecution of the scheme of colonization, except the sacrifice of a number of valuable lives on a coast peculiarly unfavorable to the constitution of white men. It has provided a home for some thousands of colored people, a large portion of whom exchanged slavery for freedom, and a degraded condition in society for one of independence and dignity. Who can doubt that the colonists of Liberia are in a far more eligible state, than if they had remained in this country? And who can tell the beneficial influence which they may hereafter exert on the native inhabitants of the dark continent of Africa? This little free republic may, for ought we know, be the germ of a great and flourishing empire. Look back three hundred years, and you will see a few feeble colonies of Europeans struggling with the most formidable difficulties, and often on the very verge of extinction. And now behold these small colonies grown to be one of the most powerful nations upon the earth; extending their commerce to every quarter of the habitable globe; producing by agriculture, in rich abundance, all the articles most necessary for man's subsistence; and manufacturing clothing far more than is needed by its twenty millions of inhabitants. Let it be considered that the same benignant Providence which watched over this rising country, and raised it to its present eminence among the nations of the earth, has also smiled on the infant republic of

Liberia. The inducements of Divine favor towards slave colonies have been most marked, and some of them fully expounded, and will mostly fully appear in the results recorded in the following history.

The principal inducements have been encountered and overcome. A work has been achieved, by a few indefatigable and philanthropic men, which, to posterity, will we doubt not, appear the most interesting and remarkable event of the first part of the nineteenth century. No such work was ever before accomplished by man, or made good. Unless Providence had signally prospered the enterprise, the object could never have been realized. This to us, who have with interest marked every disaster, and every step of the progress, a most astonishing object of contemplation, that a private association in a little more than twenty years, should, by voluntary contributions, without the aid of general government, have been able to establish a well ordered and happy republic on the distant shore of Africa, at the distance of three or four thousand miles! That is, indeed, a thing which would scarcely be credited, if its truth depended on common historical testimony. The idea of removing all the colored population of this country, has been ridiculed as fanciful and impracticable. But however short the enterprise may prove of accomplishing all that would be desirable, in regard to this unhappy race, yet let it be kept in mind, that whatever may be accomplished, it so much more gains gain to those who go, by greatly lessening their condition; gain to those who stay, by diminishing their number; gain to the white population who desire to be exempt from the curse of people, and prospective an incalculable gain to Africa, by sending on her borders the light of Christianity, civilization, and useful science."

The only rational fear that can be entertained in regard to the probability that the citizens of Liberia will be found inadequate to the emergency of self-government, arises from the time in which they have been training for this responsible duty. As to their *natural capacities*, it is too late to doubt.

"The primary elements of mind," says a late eloquent writer, "in Africa are, essentially, what they are in similar circumstances every where else in the world. The powerful appliances of civilization, science, and religion, will find susceptibilities in the *African* intellect, and plied long enough, will effect the same evolutions of mental capacities, the same inventive powers—the same enterprise, and will give the same general direction to the deathless energy of mind there as in any other quarter of the globe. It is a libel on the benevolence of God, to suppose that he has created a race of rational beings with so stunted mental endowments, that with proper culture they cannot be sufficiently developed and disciplined, to avail themselves of the bounteous means of a happy temporal existence within their reach, and also to rise to those noble destinies of an immortal nature, for which man was made."

Entertaining these views, and believing that the past training of the Liberian mind has disenthralled it, enthroned it in its peculiar sovereignty and power, and invested it with the majesty of an enlightened conscience and Christian sentiment, sufficiently to enable it to stand erect under the immense responsibility of self control, we anticipate for Liberia a bright career of future usefulness! Every faculty will be

Concluding remarks.—Annual Meeting American Colonization Society.—Remarks of Judge Douglass.

aroused—every energy awakened, and with the favoring smiles of a beneficent Providence, their course must be onward and upward.

In closing our review of the prominent events of the last year, we allude to one evidence that the support of this cause has become a matter of deep principle with the community, generally. We have made no special appeal for funds during the year. We have presented no *strong case*, calling for immediate relief. During the preceding year, there were several such topics presented, and many persons were induced to contribute in view of them, who would not have done it other-

wise. But the amount paid into the treasury the past year, has been given under the influence of no special plea. No popular enthusiasm has gathered around some emergency—lifted it, and borne it onward. On the contrary, the great principles, and the general operations of the Society, being well understood, it has been sustained by the thoughtful convictions, and the enlightened benevolence of the wise and the good.

We may, therefore, rely upon them for assistance in our future operations, at the same time that we calculate to make many new friends, and greatly enlarge the sphere of our usefulness.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the thirtieth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.

WASHINGTON CITY,

January 19, 1847.

The American Colonization Society met in the First Presbyterian Church, at 7 o'clock, P. M., agreeably to adjournment. In the absence of the President, the Hon. Elisha Whittlesey, the oldest Vice President present, took the chair, and called the meeting to order.

The Rev. Mr. Wynkoop invoked the Divine blessing.

The Secretary read extracts from the ANNUAL REPORT.

The Hon. Judge Douglass, of Illinois, offered the following resolution:

Resolved. That the report be accepted, and referred to the Board of Directors.

Judge D. said, he did not rise to make a speech; but there were two thoughts presented in the report which he considered worthy of some amplification. One of the most interesting features about the scheme of colonization is its influence on the *slave trade*. The experiment of the value of naval forces to suppress this trade has been fairly made, and has failed; and it is now the deliberate sentiment of all who have considered the subject, that some more effectual and rapid means must be devised before we can ever hope to see the extinction of this enormous outrage on humanity and religion!

From what has been already done by colonization, we infer that it has an inherent power which nothing else possesses; and looking at the principles which have controlled its movements, we discern in them an adaptation to this very result. Two important influences are exerted by

is. A barrier is erected along the coast, which excludes the slave from entrance, and cuts off his intercourse with the native tribes, who alone can supply the victims of his traffic: and thus it enters into the town or settlement of the natives by its divine and sovereign power, changes their minds respecting this traffic—resolves them the feelings of a nobler nature—introduces them to a more valuable commerce, and thus recognizes and recognizes the state of nature, and renders it impossible to find a person who is willing to sell the victims to the slave. Thus the work is done—done effectually. A wall is thrown up by the national sentiment along the coast, which secures us a defence, until the minds of the natives can be reached and changed! Give this country the aid it demands, and is worthy to receive, and soon they will extend their settlements all along the coast, and the terrible scourge shall disappear from the earth!

The other aspect of colonization in which he wished to allude, was its bearing on the extension of *American Commerce*! It addresses itself to an American patriot! It appeals to us as the friends of commerce and the general prosperity of our whole country. If there shall be a colony built up on the shores of Africa, who can tell the enlargement that it will give to commerce! Where their colonies shall number 25, 50, or 100 thousand, they will present a market for our surplus productions and household stuffs which will be of immense value. But this is not all—they will know us as we were the witnesses to all the atrocities that have and continually to be committed! The power of the enemy must and will have the momentum of the invasion! If that power be held by men won from this slavery, nurtured and grown under our institutions, and by our fostering care and aid, in

their national efforts by this society, they will ever be inclined to trade with this country, and thus open to our merchant ships wide fields of wealth!

The great rivalry between America and England is a struggle to control the commerce of the world. The sails of each country now whiten every sea. We are rivals for power, for commerce, for the wealth of other lands.

The policy of England is to fix herself on this point, and plant her standard on that promontory, and thus spread abroad her influence and her power until she can control the commerce of the world!

How is Africa to be controlled? By Liberia? No other settlement, and no other power has hitherto far an opportunity of laying under contribution the vast interior of that continent! Liberia is destined, and at no distant day, to control a commerce of immense value, and it must thus become, itself, a wealthy and powerful nation. Then, it is not to be supposed that America will have no share in their favor, and no part in their trade. Their government originated among those who were born on American soil. The feelings of gratitude will bind them to us—the community of language—of feelings, and of climate, will all tend to distance them from other governments and bind them to ours!

In this aspect of the subject, every American citizen has a deep interest in the prosperity of Liberia, and the enlargement of the means of the Colonization Society.

In conclusion, Judge D. commended the cause to the liberal patronage of every patriot, philanthropist and Christian in the land, as eminently worthy of their true devotion and liberal contributions.

The Rev. Joel Parker, D. D., of Philadelphia, seconded the resolu-

 Remarks of Rev. Joel Parker, D. D.—Capabilities of the colored race.

tion offered by Judge Douglass, and said—

I feel a great interest in this colonization movement, and have done for many years. Fourteen years ago, I first went to reside in a slave state. I had previously studied carefully the condition of the free people of color in the free States. Then, I commenced acquaintance with them in the slave States, as well as with the slaves. And the result was, I became convinced of what I had long felt—it is important that we *do something* for these people, and that we do it in the right time, and with the right spirit.

But what *shall* we do for them? What *can* we do? Where shall it be done? How?

I am thoroughly convinced that there is a better thing than the merely doing away with slavery, which some persons seem to think is the “chief end of man.” The *elevation* of the colored race is that better work! We must raise their character by education and religion! If we do our duty in this respect, the influence of it will be seen every where. Convince the world that they are capable of self-government—educate them to the ability to enjoy freedom, prepare a place where they be indeed free, and more slaves will be offered to you than you can get the means to transport.

There seems to me in connection with this subject a beautiful illustration of what HALL calls, “a fetch in Divine Providence.” God had a design in bringing these people to this country in the way he did. We cannot probably comprehend the whole of it, but this we can see, he has secured the education of those who to all human appearance would not and could not have been educated in any other way. There are now in this country more than 300,000 Africans who can read and write, who

could not have done it if it had not been for the slave trade! There are many in this country and in Liberia, who are capable of preaching the gospel, editing papers, and performing all the duties of civil life, who must have remained in total darkness but for this trade! How came these people by all this knowledge? Did any body go to Africa and teach them? No! It has been done by *slavery*! It has often been said, that “the school of adversity” is one of the best that has ever been established. It may have a practical application in their case. They have been in many instances hardly dealt by. They have indured much. But they have arisen through it all. And you compare their present condition with that of their kindred in Africa, and the one is infinitely above the other. No body can doubt this. Some of them have come up faster than others. The most hopeful among them take the foremost rank. But have all been benefited by being brought to this country?

And now we send them back to Africa, with a preparation for doing a great work there, which we never could have imparted to them in any other way. The Liberians have ideas of education, of government, and of all the relations of life, such as can be found at no Missionary Station on the face of the earth. We cannot make the Sandwich Islanders feel and think as the Liberians do!

In this view of the subject, we may perceive at least *one good* which slavery has done to Africa, and the question may with propriety be asked whether it has not done for Africa more *good* than *harm*? Are there not 10,000,000 of slaves along the coast and 40,000,000 in the interior, whose condition is infinitely worse than any in this country!

It is not for me to say what might have been done for the welfare of

Present condition of Liberia, and influence on the character of the African race.

Africa had not the slave trade existed. But if any body supposes that more would have been done under those circumstances, than has been under the present, let them answer this question, what ought to induce the lowest to aid the millions in Africa? Why their deep wretchedness and ruin? Who can look upon them and feel deeply and desire to extend some relief? Well then, if their deeply wretched condition is the existing cause of whatever has been done for them, and if the slave trade has made their condition worse than it otherwise would have been, then surely more has been done for them, than would have been done, if the slave trade had not existed? Is not that fair reasoning? The contrary certainly cannot be proved. But we have nothing to do with the *ifs* and the *coulds* in the case. We have taken the broad ground that *slavery* has done Africa and the African race, a *good*—a *great good*, and we believe that all must admit the facts!

The question, however, still recurs, what more can we, ought we to do for Africa, and for this country? Breckinridge demands that something be done. Their condition is far from comfortable, even in the free States, and under the most favorable circumstances in this country. I freely confess I can see no prospect of ultimately benefiting the race by liberating the slaves and sending them to the free States. And it follows therefore, that I can see no prospect of elevating the race to that point at which they ought to be, while they remain in this country. Without emancipation, perfect equality cannot exist between any two different races, of course this is out of the question. They can never be merged into and lost among the whites. This is an undoubted and it is impossible.

If we send them to Liberia, we have definitely to encounter on

every hand, in this country and in Africa. We must therefore go on slowly. It has been, perhaps, the salvation of Liberia that but few emigrants have been sent each year. Time has then been given for them to grow up to full strength and vigor of intellect, and to feel the value of their government. Had there been 20,000 or 30,000 raw recruits thrown in upon them, they would have constituted an ungovernable mass and endangered the republic. But we have gone on slowly—we have now a few men, able to govern a small nation—have schools for all—churches for all—all are under good training—they are able to receive 756 wild savages at once, and take care of them and put them in a course of training for future usefulness. There are men of wealth among them and men of experience, and now they all move on safely.

And you must go to LIBERIA, if you would appreciate the full blessings of colonization. You must study *character there* and *compare it* with character here, in order to see what a redeeming influence there is in placing them out from under the shadow of the whites, and in circumstances where the full responsibility of their own government and elevation rests upon themselves. Liberia imparts a new tone to the character of the African race, such as they can get nowhere else, and such as will distinguish them wherever they go. When I was in New Orleans, some of the colonists who had gone from Mississippi, returned to see their friends and attend to some business, and among them was a *preacher*, who came back improved in his personal appearance, in his language, in his dress and address, which showed that he had studied much, and seen much, and that he had felt new influences operating upon him, that he *respected himself*, and he thereby commanded

the respects of others. I saw this in that community, in my own church, and among my elders, for he was invited to preach on Sabbath night in a church on the other side of Lafayette square from which mine stood, and in which I was to preach at the same hour, and lo! my congregation left me, and some of my elders went to hear him! What was it that created this interest? He felt the influence of freedom!

An instance was related to me by a friend in Kentucky, which illustrates this idea well. A man by the name of Dick Jones had gone from that neighborhood, and having resided four years in Liberia, came back to the county town where he had formerly resided, the court was in session at the time, and much anxiety was shown to see Dick and see how he liked Liberia. So they brought him among them to have questions asked him. One gentleman inquired, "Dick, how do you like living in Africa?" to which Dick replied that he liked very well, and went on to give a few items which contributed to this. All felt that the answer was a good one, and then a manifest glow of pleasure on many countenances. After he had ceased speaking, another gentleman said, "*Richard*, what sort of a government have you there?" To which Richard gave a very satisfactory statement of the form of government, and the manner in which they manage their affairs. And then another enquired, "*JONES*, if a white man was with you, in your house, how would you treat him?" "Oh, sir," said *Jones*, "we should treat him with much respect and invite him to sit down at the table and dine with us!" The next gentleman who questioned him, said, "*Mr. JONES!*" They had thus insensibly to themselves risen from calling him *Dick*, to that of the most respectful appellation.

They saw in him that independence of thought and that manly bearing which an American always evinces, and they treated him accordingly. And who does not see that this state of feeling is indispensable to their true and permanent elevation!

But an objection is made to colonization because the work goes on so slowly. We are asked, if in some twenty years you have sent out about 5,000 persons, how long will you be in sending the 3,000,000 and more now in the United States? This is a question, any person may see, that is not solvable in the rule of three. It is like the question of the Irishman, "if one stove save half the wood, will not two save it all!" The Society never proposed to send them all. Its past labors have not been confined to sending over emigrants alone. Can any objector tell what proportion of the means of the Society have been expended in the purchase of territory, and in making preparations in Liberia, which once made, will not need renewing again? It is like building an immense edifice, much of the work is done underground, as it were, in digging down to solid earth and laying firm the foundation!

How long will it be after the resources of Liberia are fully developed, and it is shown to be a safe and comfortable home for the colored people, before they will begin to go there spontaneously? And who can tell how long it will be before they begin to go because they *cannot help* it? The inducements there and reasons here for their emigrating will be overpowering. It will be like it was when Joseph went down into Egypt. He hesitated, and doubted, and feared a long time—but when the wagons came for him, he understood the whole affair. He knew the truth of what had been told him. The wagons—the wagons, coming for *him* and his

Progressive improvement in character and wealth.

family, they settled the question. When that ship of which the Report has spoken comes from Liberia, owned and manned by colored men, and when the merchants of Liberia come over for their goods, and are doing business on large capitals, that will settle the question. One man will come over worth \$20,000—and another worth \$1,000,000—and they will have all the character and responsibility of men about them—and then the colored people will begin to open their eyes! And what can hinder them from going there? They will find out what a country it is—and in the mean time the country itself will be improving, and there will be men there who will want a college, and other men who will be able to endow it, and who will do it, and there is no limit to their improvement.

But we are not in a hurry. It is more important that we attend to the *quality* than the *quantity* of our emigrants. One bushel of *grain* of real grain, wheat, is worth more than a thousand bagging no *quality* in them. The law of *improvement* is to be considered. We want the right seed. Seed like that which was sifted for our forefathers, and out of which this great nation has grown!

And then, sir, there is something in its being *slow*, which is important in another respect. It calls out the very best kind of action in those who are slow. It is a very select business. We want the intelligent, and do not want the wicked and the vicious.

How does God dispense his blessings? Does he always *pay down*? What will he give you for a certainty? Heaven! Now, or at some future time? He holds out no *immediate* promises! Just so in colonization. We do not expect our reward now. Our children will see *renewed* Africa will rise up and call us *blessed*. The growth of Liberia may be slow, like

a coral continent—there are a few green spots, and a small gathering of clusters, and here and there some fresh patches, until the continent shall rise up all green with fruits and flowers.

One family now sent to Africa, will in the course of time increase into a whole tribe.

I met a man not long ago, fully six feet high, wearing a drab coat, who asked if I did not know him, and told me that he used to live in New Orleans. And then I recognized the boy, with a satchel on his arm, whom six or eight years ago I knew in the streets of New Orleans. Said he, "they call me Major Wilkinson now. I am a preacher. I was down there until I bought myself. I paid \$800 for my free papers. Then I bought one sister, and paid for her. Then I went to Illinois, and God converted me, and I began to preach. Then I went back to New Orleans, and my friends wanted me to preach there. But the recorder thought I had better not preach there, and then I moved to 'Old Virginny,' and I am now come to you to get some money to help me to buy my family." "But why do you come to me?" "I think you feel for the colored people!" "Are you an abolitionist?" "Yes, I am." "Then why do you not go to the *abolitionists*? I am not one of them." "They will not do any thing for me. They want to get us all free at once. I can't wait for that man to come. And then the south want somebody to buy all their slaves, and so I goes to them, as am on either side." "Why do you not go to Liberia?" Stretching up himself to the full height, and opening his big eyes, he exclaimed, "and do you think I is going to expatriate myself? Why I am descended from one of the first families in Virginia."

Resolution and remarks by Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D.

This is, sir, but a specimen of the way in which they are deceived, and a proof of what we have often asserted, that the real friends of the Africans are the colonizationists, and that they themselves will find it out whenever they are in straitened circumstances.

I am, therefore, for going forward in this great work, trusting in the wisdom which cometh down from above to order the progress of the work in such way as shall be most advantageous, and as shall work out the great result in the best manner possible.

The Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., of Newark, N. J., offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That every year's experience seems to increase our convictions of the value of the principles of the Colonization Society, and that now embraces the only acknowledged method of elevating and blessing the colored race.

Colonization had its origin in genuine Christian philanthropy. Its conceptions were those born of philanthropy and of patriotism. The development of those principles have been seen all along its history. It is now no longer a matter of experiment. It is a fact now. It is history.

What great enterprise has ever been achieved without strong opposition being made to it? But by the manner in which they have met and mastered this opposition, they have commended themselves to the world. So it has been with colonization—treated with dislike and contempt even by those who of all others had most interest in it.

And yet what has it done? It has founded a Republic, established schools and churches, introduced Christian morals and education into many dark places full of horrid

cruelty—has opened a highway for commerce—has stricken a deadly blow to the slave trade for more than 300 miles of coast, where formerly it raged in the most alarming manner, has proved that the African race can be elevated, and are capable of self-government, and has done more for them wherever they are scattered over the face of the earth than any scheme which has ever yet been adopted.

We look over this country and over Africa, and there are three aspects in which we view the colored race. 1st. In a state of slavery. 2d. Enjoying nominal freedom; and 3d. On the shores of Africa—heathen and savage, and deeply degraded. And we ask by what principles is it proposed to do them all the greatest amount of good? Does not colonization embrace the only certain and efficient means of elevating and Christianizing them as a race?

Christianity is a powerful means of elevating mankind. What do we all owe to it? But this alone will not do all for the Africans that they need. Look at the South for example. There is, perhaps, a large proportion of the slaves in some of the States who are members of the Church than of any other class in the country. And yet they are left degraded, and will be until their relations are changed. Look at the North! Can the Africans there rise? Are they rising? Have they risen?

Look at Africa! Can the millions there be elevated without colonization? Look at Liberia—thee you see real elevation of character, enlargement of mind, and fixedness of principle, and all those things which mark a state of society rapidly advancing from a lower to a higher degree of refinement. Now what has made this difference?

Colonization then presents the only method of doing them substantial

Remarks of Col. Wm. Wright on Canada, &c.

and lasting good. Dr. Woods, of Andover, Mass., loudly expressed to me his conviction that colonization was the only hope for the African race. I have lived in New Jersey, in western New York, and in the South, and I am persuaded that there is no possibility of imparting to them education and religious culture in their present circumstances. Vain is that philanthropy which would attempt to give them freedom here. You may change their social relations, and place in my free State, but what is the freedom which you have given them? Is it freedom? If you would now carry and offer it to the slaves, would they accept of it this day if they knew all that belongs to it? There are, to be sure, some bitter things about slavery, but when all its horrors are considered, its present heaviest weight is seen not to fall upon the slave, but upon his master. I do not believe that giving merely nominal freedom is the way to liberate them. Still they are unfortunately situated, and have neither motive nor opportunity to rise.

A few months since I was travelling east to Canada, and desiring to see the results of freedom, as they found it in their northern flight, with their eyes fixed on the polar star. And I inquired about them, and I found that when they first came there they were docile and full of hope, but soon their appearance changed, they lost their buoyancy of spirits, — became indolent, unwilling to submit to the restraints of society which the whites submit to, and as a necessary consequence, a large number of them were in the penitentiaries, and others are in the greatest state of want and wretchedness. They do not think they have been betrayed, they say they were betrayed and deceived, that false hopes were held out to them, and allured them on. One man

said to me, after a long and candid conversation, "I never knew misery till I came to this freedom," and he begged me, "sue out a *hocus pocus* for him and get him back."

There is no advantage gained by going to Canada. British philanthropy may boast as long as they choose, the facts in the case are all against them.

Go and sit down with the colored man, and ask him where do you find your best friends? And he will tell you among the *colonizationists*.

Does the principle promise all that we think? Experience thus far proves that it does, and until I find another method by which the African can convince the world that he is a man, rise to a standing among the most favored of Adam's children, and send the light of civilization and Christianity through Africa, God forbid that I should abandon this only hope, on which Heaven has smiled, which embodies the relief demanded, and is capable of being carried into full execution!

But let us test this a little further. I have known a man in New-York, well educated, highly intelligent, who writes well, and possesses every requisite for a first rate member of society. He tried to introduce his family into society. They were well educated and perfectly genteel in their manners. He tried to get his children into the schools in New York and other places, but he found it entirely hopeless, and had to give it up. He has been strongly opposed to colonization, but one of his sons, feeling his dark prospect in this country, determined to go to Liberia, and no sooner had he gained a foothold there, than he felt the vantage ground on which he stood, and he wrote home that his mind was in a state of peace and hope never known before.

Origin of Colonization—Proposition of Mr. Jefferson, &c.

We believe, therefore, that the principle is now doing all that can be done with advantage, and that enlarged means only are necessary to enable it, under Divine Providence, to accomplish all that we can reasonably hope for.

Now, with this cause before us, throwing light upon the future, and pleading for the salvation of millions, we appeal to the friends of the race every where, to come nobly up to the work, and render that aid which the necessity of the case so eminently demands!

The Rev. J. B. Pinney seconded the resolution and said, that instead of half an hour, he wanted three hours to say all that was passing in his thoughts. I have spent many years in serving this cause, both in this country and in Africa, and as I am now on my way to enter on the duties of a pastor of a church, and seek rest from the arduous and responsible duties of an agent, I feel my heart kindling while I mingle with you in these exercises. I do not expect to *quit* this cause! Wherever I am I shall plead its merits, and hope to add something to its treasury.

Mr. Pinney traced the original idea of colonization to Thos. Jefferson, that sage patriot, and drafter of the "Declaration of Independence." Two years after he penned that memorable document, he prepared a draft of the Constitution for the State of Virginia, in which he incorporated the plan of colonizing the slaves.

At first slavery was profitable, and New England and Old England were benefited thereby. But Virginia felt the curse, and began to fear for the result, and said to the mother country, give us no more slaves! England would not hear her remonstrance so long as the *trade* was profitable to her manufacturers and commercial men. Mr. Jefferson proposed that in ten years they should become free

and be held by the State, and in twenty years be sent back to Liberia.

Some plan of colonization became the popular idea in Virginia. In 1804, the Legislature instructed Mr. Monroe, then governor, to open negotiations with the President of the United States, to see what could be done on the subject. In 1816, they again acted on the subject, and desired the President to find a home for them in Africa, or elsewhere. Mr. Marshall proposed that western lands should be given for this purpose. Madison was a warm friend of the Society, and left it a handsome legacy. Clay, and Meade, and Alexander, and thousands beside who stand high in the State and in the church, became and still are its warm supporters.

After ten years labor in this cause I am fully persuaded that no other plan is so prolific of good.

Let the Society go forward, it will be supported. Prayers are not forgotten in Heaven. Africa will be blest. America will be blest for starting colonization.

The thing is practicable. Twenty thousand paupers from Europe cross the Atlantic every year for our country.

But we cannot pretend to follow Mr. Pinney in his rapid descriptions, in his unanswerable arguments and his moving appeals.

We have given but a meager outline of any of the speeches.

After Mr. P. had concluded, the Society adjourned to meet in the Colonization Rooms, at 12 o'clock, tomorrow, for the transaction of business.

COLONIZATION ROOMS, Jan. 20, 1847.

The Society met, A. G. Phelps, Esq., took the chair. The following

officers were elected for the ensuing year:

YEARS:

President:

Hon. HENRY CLAY.

Vice President:

- 1 General John H. Cooke, of Virginia,
- 2 Daniel Freeman, of Massachusetts,
- 3 Charles F. Johnson, of Florida,
- 4 Rev. Jeremiah Dyer, D. D., of Conn.,
- 5 Theodore Tilton, of N. York,
- 6 James McManis, of Baltimore,
- 7 Messrs. Allen, of New York,
- 8 General W. Jones, of Washington,
- 9 Joseph Gales, of Washington,
- 10 Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia,
- 11 John McOmerry, of Louisiana,
- 12 Rev. Wm. W. Lathrop, of France,
- 13 Rev. James O. Andrew, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church,
- 14 William Maynard, of Virginia,
- 15 George W. May, of Ohio,
- 16 Walter Luntz, of New York,
- 17 John Barnett, of Ohio,
- 18 Dr. Thomas Duncan, of Mississippi,
- 19 William C. Dixon, of Virginia,
- 20 Rev. J. Lupton, D. D., of Washington,
- 21 Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi,
- 22 James Kearney, of New York City,
- 23 Henry A. Foster, of New York,
- 24 Dr. John Kay, of Mississippi,
- 25 Robert Campbell, of Georgia,
- 26 Robert D. Vroom, of New Jersey,
- 27 James Gannett, of Virginia,
- 28 Rev. Thomas Morris, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Ohio,
- 29 Dr. Hon. L. B. Bay, of London,
- 30 Wm. Hunt, of Philadelphia,
- 31 Wilford Hall, Delaware,
- 32 Dr. Rev. Hickey, of Tenn.,
- 33 Oswald Bolton, of London,

- 34 Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, N. J.,
- 35 Dr. Hodgkin, of London,
- 36 Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Dedham, Massachusetts,
- 37 Trus. R. Hazell, of Providence, R. I.,
- 38 Dr. Ples. Massie, of Eye River Mills, Virginia,
- 39 Gen. Alexander Brown, of Virginia,
- 40 Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, Washington,
- 41 Rev. J. E. B. Bart, D. D., N. York,
- 42 Rev. A. Alexander D. D., N. Jersey,
- 43 Samuel Wilkeson, of New York,
- 44 L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey,
- 45 James Raley, of Mississippi,
- 46 Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., of Phila.
- 47 Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., Phila.
- 48 Elliot Cresson, Esq., of Philadelphia,
- 49 Amos G. Phelps, Esq., New York,
- 50 Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Andover, Massachusetts,
- 51 Jonathan Hyde, Esq., Bath Maine,
- 52 Rev. J. P. Durbin, D. D., Carlisle, Pa.
- 53 Rev. Beverly Waugh, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Baltimore,
- 54 Rev. Dr. W. B. Johnson, S. C.,
- 55 Moses Shepherd, Baltimore,
- 56 John Gray, Frederickburg, Va.,
- 57 Bishop McVay, of Ohio,
- 58 Rev. Dr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.,
- 59 Rev. P. L. Slay, D. D., do
- 60 Hon. J. R. Underwood, Kentucky,
- 61 Hon. J. W. Huntington, Connecticut,
- 62 Hon. P. White, Putney, Vermont,
- 63 Hon. C. March, Wiscasset, Vermont,
- 64 Rev. J. J. Jewway, D. D., N. Orleans,
- 65 Hon. S. A. Douglas, Illinois,
- 66 H. L. Lumpkin, Esq., Athens, Geo.,
- 67 James Lenox, New York.

After which the Society adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1818.

Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19, 1817.

The Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met, at the Colonization Rooms, at 12 o'clock, M., according to adjournment, and was constituted by the appointment of the Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer President, and the Rev. A. D. Eddy secretary.

The Rev. Mr. Wynkoop offered prayer.

The following individuals appeared as Directors—Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer and the Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., from *New Jersey*.

Rev. Joel Parker, D. D., Archibald McIntyre, and Paul T. Jones, from *Pennsylvania*.

Hon. W. W. Campbell and D. M. Reese, M. D., from *New York*.

Rev. S. R. Wynkoop, from *Delaware*.

A. G. Phelps, Esq., E. Cresson, Esq., and Rev. W. McLain, life Directors.

William Gunton, Ulysses Ward, of the Executive Committee.

The minutes of the last annual meeting were read by the Secretary of the Society, the Rev. W. McLain.

The ANNUAL REPORT was read by the Secretary ; which was committed to the Rev. Dr. Parker, Dr. Reese, and Mr. McLain.

Messrs. Phelps, Jones, and Dr. Parker, were appointed to examine the Treasurer's accounts.

Adjourned to meet at half past nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

WEDNESDAY MORNING,

9½ o'clock, Jan. 20, 1847.

The Board met according to adjournment.

Present as before, with the addition of the Rev. Dr. Janeway, director from *New Jersey*, and the Rev. J. B. Pinney, a life Director.

A communication was made to the Board, by Mr. McLain, Secretary of the Society, respecting the present condition of the Colony of Liberia, and the arrangements which are required to be made in view of the change in the relations of the colony to the Colonization Society.

The Hon. Jabez Huntington, appeared as a delegate from *Connecticut*.

On motion of the Rev. A. D. Eddy, the subject introduced by the

Secretary, Mr. McLain, was referred to a Select Committee for consideration, to report at the present meeting as far as practicable. Messrs. Elmer, McIntyre, and Reese, were appointed as the committee.

Dr. James Hall, Secretary of the Maryland Colonization Society, being present, was invited to sit with the Board, at its present meeting.

On motion of Dr. Reese—

Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary be requested to report to the Board at the afternoon session, what legacies to the Society are yet unsettled, and whether any such are in litigation, with such information thereon as may be in possession of the Executive Committee.

On motion of Rev. A. D. Eddy—

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to present a memorial to Congress to secure remuneration for the support of the recaptured Africans, from the ship "Pons" landed at Monrovia, and if necessary, to make efforts to secure a law to meet the exigencies of similar cases that may occur in future.

Messrs. Elmer, A. G. Phelps, A. D. Eddy, J. B. Pinney, and Cresson, were appointed the committee.

On motion, the Board had a recess to meet at the call of the President for the purpose of attending the meeting of the Society.

After recess, the Board were called to order by the President.

The committee appointed to examine the Treasurer's account made the following report, which was accepted, viz :

The Select Committee on the relations of the Colonization Society to the contemplated independent government of Liberia, reported, and their report was adopted, and is as follows—

The committee to whom was referred the relations of this Society with the contemplated Independent Government in Liberia, report: That the time does not seem to have come when these relations can be definitely settled. Our latest advices from Gov. Roberts, inform us that a majority of the people have concluded, but not without considerable hesitation and opposition, to become independent, and that the Legislature which was to meet during the present month of January, would provide for calling a convention to adopt a constitution. It is expected that in pursuance of the suggestion of this Board, Commissioners will be appointed by the Government of Liberia to arrange with us the future relations between that Government and this Society; but whether that commission will be sent here before a Constitution of Government is framed and submitted to the people, or whether a constitution will be first adopted, we are not informed. The Committee are of opinion that it may be desirable that this Society and its general rights in Liberia, should be in some form recognized in the constitution. They therefore recommend the adoption by the Board of the following resolutions:

First. That the Executive Committee be instructed to suggest, in the manner that may be deemed by them most likely to be acceptable to the authorities and people of Liberia, that this Board is desirous that commissioners on the part of Liberia should come here and have a full and free conference with us before a constitution is framed; and that, in case

such commissioners should come before the next annual meeting of the Board, the Executive Committee call a special meeting at such time and place as they shall deem most expedient.

Second. That the Committee be further instructed to suggest to the said authorities and people of Liberia that, in case they deem it most expedient to frame a constitution before their commissioners meet us, this Board would be pleased to have the existing rights of the Society recognized in the constitution, at the same time assuring them that it is our earnest desire to take such a course, in reference to our property in Liberia, and to all our future relations with the Government there, as will be most acceptable to and most promotive of the interest of the people.

Third. That in case circumstances shall render it desirable, the Executive Committee be authorized to appoint a commissioner or commissioners to Liberia, with full powers to settle the future relations of the Society with the Government and people there, by provisions to be inserted in the constitution to be adopted, or by a compact between the Society and the authorities organized under the new constitution as shall be found most expedient.

L. Q. C. ELMER,

Chairman.

The Secretary, agreeable to a resolution of the Board this morning, made a full statement relating to unsettled legacies made to the Society, and the circumstances attending them.

The committee to whom was referred the Annual Report of the Executive Committee, reported, that they had examined the report, and expressed their approbation of its general character—whereupon:

Minutes of the Board of Directors of the A. C. S., held at the City of New York, on the 1st of January, 1848.

Resolved, That the report be referred to the Executive Committee for publication.

The following resolutions were submitted by the Rev. Mr. McLain, and on motion, they were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, we have learned that the Rev. J. B. Pinney has resolved to accept of a pastoral charge, and retire from the active duties of an agent of this Society, therefore,

Resolved, That we deeply regret the loss which we sustain in the retirement of our long tried and efficient conductor.

Resolved, That the cordial gratitude of this Board be tendered to Mr. Pinney, for his faithful and invaluable labors in connection with this cause, and that he be assured that our best wishes attend him in his new field of labor, and our hope, that the time may not be far distant when with renewed energy and vigor, he will again return to our assistance.

Messrs. Reese and Dr. Janeway, were appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

The above committee reported as follows:—The Rev. Mr. McLain, for Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer.

For the Executive Committee, M. St. C. Clarke, H. Landsly, A. O. Dayton, Jos. H. Bradley, J. C. Bacon, William Guntton, and Ulysses Ward.

The report was accordingly adopted.

The committee appointed to present a memorial to the President of

the United States and to Congress, praying for remuneration for expenses incurred in the maintenance of the recaptured Africans on board the slave ship "Pops," &c., reported a memorial, which was unanimously adopted by the Board, and directed to be presented to the Executive and to both Houses of Congress.

The committee were also continued to act in the case.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board of Directors are due, and are hereby tendered to the Corresponding Secretary and the Executive Committee of the last year, for the faithful and efficient performance of their duties.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board are due and are hereby tendered to the Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, for his valuable services as their presiding officer.

Resolved, That, in the case of the will of the late Mr. William Smart, the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer, he and he hereby is vested with full power and authority, to sign for, and affix the seal of this Society to the required bonds, on behalf of the American Colonization Society.

The minutes of the Board were read and approved.

The Board adjourned to meet the third Tuesday of January, 1848, at 12 o'clock, M.

Concluded with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Pinney.

L. Q. C. ELMER,

President.

A. D. EDDY, *Secretary.*

The Liberia Packet—dimensions, &c.—Formation of a Joint Stock Company.

The Liberia Packet.

WIRMIN is a sketch of the hull of this vessel and her proposed spars and rigging, also a view of a section through the centre line, and a plan of the deck viewed from above, all engraved on wood by Mr. Manning of this city.

The sketch represents the vessel as having just rounded to, and let go her anchor off the coast—say at Messurado or Cape Palmas. This mere profile or side view, on so small a scale, although actually drawn from *life*, can give but a very imperfect idea of the beautiful model of the vessel; yet 'tis enough to demonstrate to the practiced eye that she is no lugger. The first object in her construction, was the comfort of the emigrants, the next, speed—and there can be but little doubt of her perfection in both respects. The length of her keel is 112 feet; breadth of beam 25 feet; draught of water when loaded, 13 feet; dead rise 18 inches; rake of masts $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches to the foot; she is well but not heavily sparred. She has a poop deck rising from the main deck $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet extending 66 feet, forming the emigrant's cabin: the floor of which is sunk $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the main deck, leaving 6 feet in the clear. This cabin is well lighted and ventilated, having windows looking forward in the break of the deck, (well secured in rough weather by *dead lights*,) also stern windows such as are usually placed in vessels of her class. The companion-way varies from the one represented in the section of the vessel; it is made like the entrance to the main cabin of steamboats, open on both sides descending to a broad stair, the front part being left open for the free admission of air. The booby hatch, K, is surrounded by glass windows and iron gratings that admit of light and air freely.

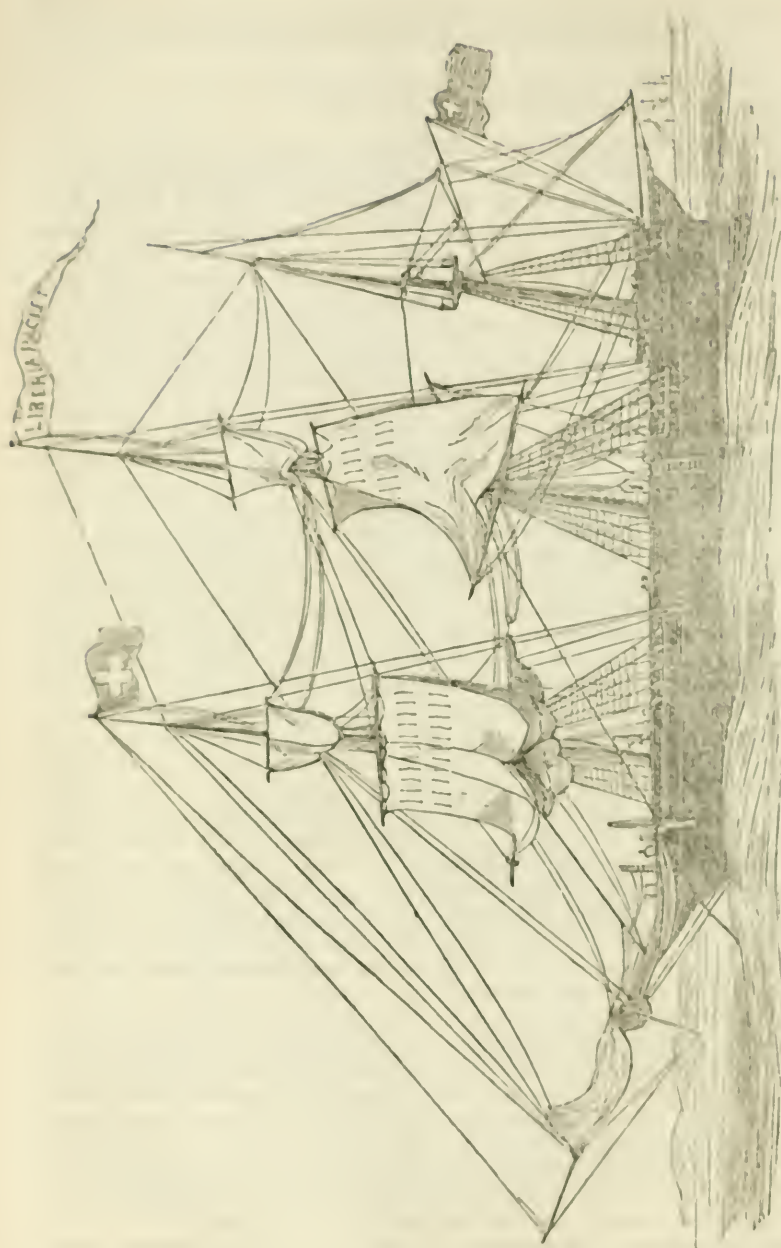
Bull's eyes or sky lights will be placed in the deck between this and the stern, on each side of the deck cabin. Two patent water closets are also placed in this cabin. There are 11 lengths of berths, 4 feet wide each, three tiers on each side with the exception of the sternmost. A tank holding over 2,000 gallons extends through this cabin from the keelson to the upper deck. A scuttle communicates with the lower hold, under which the emigrants' provisions and water is placed. The lockers, N, N, under the fore windows contain their small stores.

From this brief sketch it must be apparent to any one at all acquainted with nautical matters, that the accommodations afforded by this vessel to the emigrants to Liberia, are all that can be desired for their *health* or *comfort*, and second only to those of the first class passenger ships.

The upper cabin for those paying their own passage, is placed on the poop deck, made and finished in the ordinary manner for vessels of her class. It is divided into three parts, viz: the ladies' cabin aft, with 2 state rooms, containing 4 berths; the gentlemen's cabin, with 8 open berths, and 2 state rooms forward for officers and steward.

This packet is owned by a joint stock company, formed under a charter obtained from the Legislature of the state of Maryland, under the title of "The Chesapeake and Liberia Trading Company." It is most liberal in all its provisions, allowing the Company to extend its capital, if desirable, to \$100,000.

This charter was obtained in the hope and belief, that an amount of stock sufficient to put one vessel in operation, would be subscribed for by colored people of the United States and Liberia; as such a mea-



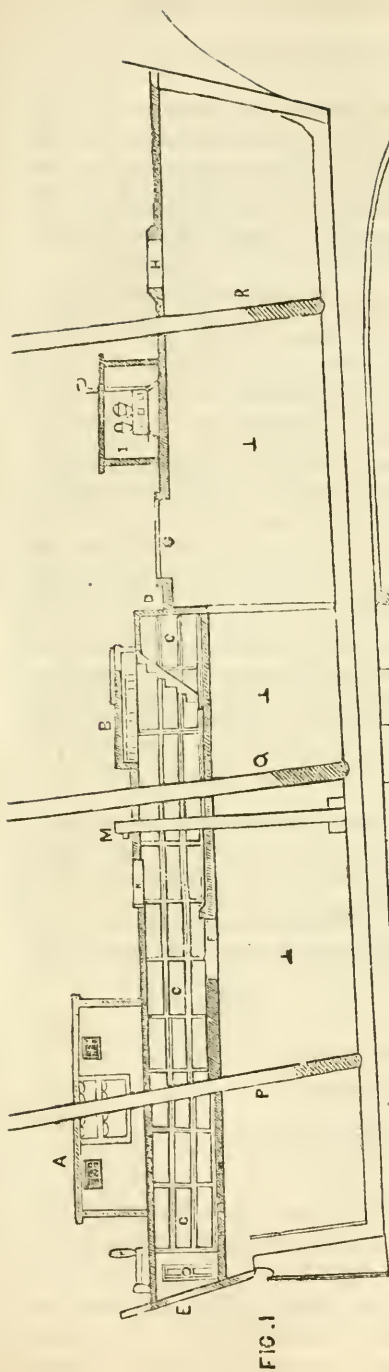


FIG. 1

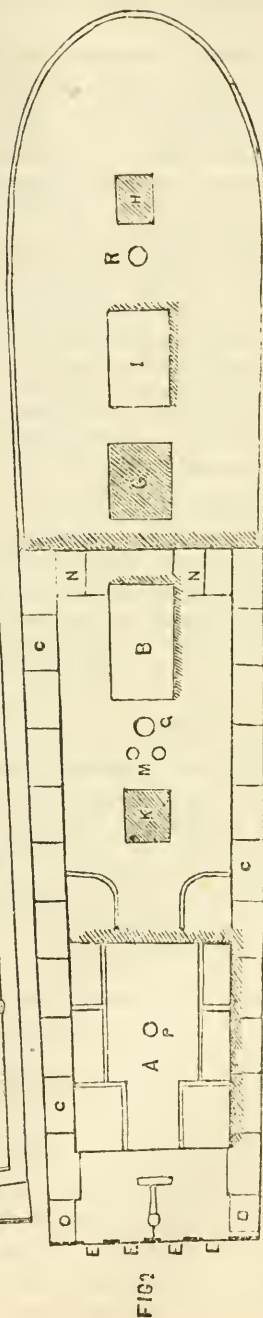


FIG. 2

FIG. 1. SECTION THROUGH THE CENTRE LINE OF VESSEL.

FIG. 2. PLAN OF VESSEL.

A. Upper cabin. B. Companion and skylight to emigrants' cabin. C. Emigrants' cabin, containing 66 double berths in 3 tiers. D. Windows from emigrants' cabin looking forward. E. Windows from emigrants' cabin looking aft. F. Fore-castle. G. Main Hatch. H. Fore-castle. I. Galley. J. Hold. K. Booby hatch. L. Pumps. M. Lockers for small stores in emigrants' cabin. N. Water closets. O. Fore-mast. P. Mizen-mast. Q. Fore-mast. R. Mizen-mast.

The upper cabin contains four state rooms with two berths each, and eight berths besides. Both cabins are six feet in the clear. Only so much of the vessel is shown as is necessary to explain the accommodations for passengers.

Life Members of the American Colonization Society, constituted in 1846.

were would tend much to disabuse the minds of the colored people of the country of the false impressions which they have heretofore entertained with regard to Liberia, and bring them and their transatlantic brethren nearer together.—This hope however, has not been fully realized. Many among the colored people who were most anxious to have the thing established, have declined making good their subscriptions and the result has been a subscription for a majority of the stock necessary for building the Packet by several white gentlemen favorable to the scheme. All such subscriptions, however, are made on the condition of a transfer of the same at its fair market value when it shall be desired by any colored person, either in the United States or Liberia. The whole amount of funds originally obtained on subscription to the "Cape Palmas Packet," has been invested in the stock of this Company, in the name of the Maryland State Colonization Society, as it was believed the present plan would prove equally advantageous to the Society in its general results and more economical. A very liberal subscription has been made in advance by several prominent citizens of Liberia, which we doubt not will be increased on the first voyage of the Packet to the amount desired, viz: one-half of her value. It is intended to keep the vessel

running regularly between the ports of Baltimore and Norfolk, and the several Liberia colonies, making two, three, or even four voyages a year, depending in a great measure upon the amount of freight or emigrants offered by the Colonization Societies.

It is not intended to take freight for other parties, unless the Missionary Societies having stations in the colonies, should see fit to guarantee a certain amount of freight annually, as the Colonization Societies have done, in which case, the same facilities for regular shipments would be granted them. Cabin passengers, to the extent of the accommodations, will be taken at the usual rates, and every attention paid to their convenience and comfort. The under officers and crew of the vessel will be colored men, and it is intended to put her in charge of a colored man as master, as soon as one competent can be found. Letters and packages will always receive attention, and be delivered as directed, if practicable.

The vessel is under contract to be launched by the first of November, and there is no doubt of her being ready for sea by the 15th.

All communications relative to the Packet or the Company may be addressed to

JAMES HALL,

Managing Agent.

BALTIMORE, October 20, 1846.

Life Members of the American Colonization Society,
CONSTITUTED IN 1846.

William H. Hubbard, Esq., Richmond, Va.; Hon. P. White, Putney, Vermont; Zena Hyde, Esq., Bath, Maine; T. W. Gillis, Esq., Nashua, New Hampshire; Miss Harriet Stickney, Boston, Mass.; Rev. John M. C. Bartley, Hampstead, New

Hampshire; Mrs. Elneline Rockwell, Norwich, Connecticut; Thos. McMullen, Esq., Albany, New York; Israel Searle, Esq., Southampton, Massachusetts; Dr. J. C. Richardson, Fayette, Kentucky; Daniel Fry, Esq., Albany, New York; Dea.

 Second Voyage of the Liberia Packet.—Expedition from Savannah, Georgia.

T. Walker, Rockville, Mass.; Harvey Baldwin, Esq., Hudson, Ohio; Mrs. Perses Bell, Chester, New Hampshire; Mrs. R. W. Francis, and Prof. Geo. W. Benedict, Burlington, Vermont; Rev. G. L. Brownell, Sharon, Connecticut; Joseph S. Fay, Esq., and Noble A. Hardee, Esq., Savannah, Georgia; A. Knapp, Esq., and A. Gascoigne, Mobile, Alabama; Miss Elizabeth Bertram, Jamaica, New York; Dean Walker, East Medway, Mass.; Mrs. C. P. Hall, Dayton, Ohio; J. Early Esq., La Porte, Indiana; Samuel Organ, Esq., La Porte, Indiana; Jacob Fuller, senior, Esq., Lexington, Virginia; Moses Kittridge, St. Johnsbury, Vermont; Rev. Benjamin R. Allen, South Berwick, Me.; Erastus C. Seranton, Esq., Madison, Connecticut; J. H. Seranton, Esq., Augusta, Georgia; Peter Smith Holloway, Esq., Henderson County, Kentucky; Rev. B. H. Williams, Natchez, Mississippi; Mrs. Eliza Smith, Carlisle, Massachusetts; Rev. John Gretter, Greensboro', North Carolina; Mrs. Martha Boggs, Walnut Hill, Indiana; Rev. William Wilson, Cincinnati, Ohio; R. W. Keys, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio; Alex. Guy, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio; Mrs. Hannah, Pittsburg, Penn.; Rev. H. McMillan, Xenia, Ohio; William Bixby, Esq., Francistown, N. H.; Isaac Shelby, Esq., Lexington, Ky.; Rev. R. F. Caldwell, Sharpsburg, Ky.; Rev. William Cox, Lancaster, Ohio.

 Second Voyage of the Liberia Packet.

THE Liberia Packet will sail on her second voyage, from Norfolk, Va., for Monrovia and other ports in Liberia, about the 1st of May, or as soon after her return from her present voyage as she can be gotten ready. She will doubtless be able to give first rate accommodations to all emigrants who may be ready to go at that time. We give this timely notice in order that there may be no disappointment when the day arrives.

 Expedition from Savannah, Georgia.

MANY of our friends in Georgia are anxious that we should send a vessel from Savannah, to sail about the first of April next for Liberia. We therefore give notice that a vessel will sail from Savannah on the first day of April, or as soon thereafter as there shall be emigrants ready, sufficient to justify our incurring the expense. If sixty persons are offered, *certain*, we will dispatch the vessel. From what our agent, the Rev. Thomas C. Benning, and others, write us, we think there is but little doubt that number will be ready.

CONSTITUTION

OF

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

“*Article 1.* This Society shall be called ‘The American Colonization Society.’

“*Art. 2.* The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

“*Art. 3.* Every citizen of the United States who shall have paid to the funds of the Society the sum of one dollar, shall be a member of the Society for one year from the time of such payment. Any citizen who shall have paid the sum of thirty dollars, shall be a member for life. And any citizen paying the sum of one thousand dollars, shall be a Director for life. Foreigners may be made members by vote of the Society or of the Directors.

“*Art. 4.* The Society shall meet annually at Washington on the third Tuesday in January, and at such other times and places as they shall direct. At the annual meeting, a President and Vice Presidents shall be chosen, who shall perform the duties appropriate to those offices.

“*Art. 5.* There shall be a Board of Directors, composed of the Directors for life and of Delegates from the several State Societies and societies for the District of Columbia and Territories of the United States. Each of such societies shall be entitled to one Delegate for every five hundred dollars paid into the treasury of this Society within the year previous to the annual meeting.

“*Art. 6.* The Board shall annually appoint a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of seven persons; all of whom shall, *ex officio*, be honorary members of the Board, having a right to be present at its meetings and to take part in the transaction of its business; but they shall not vote, except as provided in article 7.

“*Art. 7.* The Board of Directors shall meet annually in Washington, immediately after the annual meeting of the Society, and at such other times and places as it shall appoint, or at the request of the Executive Committee. Seven Directors shall form a quorum. But if, at any annual meeting, or meeting regularly called, a less number be in attendance, then five members of the Executive Committee, with such Directors, not less than four, as may be present, shall constitute a Board, and have competent authority to transact any business of the Society; provided, however, that the Board thus constituted shall carry no question unless the vote be unanimous.

“*Art. 8.* The Executive Committee shall meet according to its own appointment, or at the call of the Secretary. This Committee shall have discretionary power to transact the business of the Society, subject only to such limitations as are found in its charter, in this Constitution, and in the votes that have been passed, or may hereafter be passed, by the Board of Directors. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be members of the Committee *ex officio*, with the right to deliberate, but not to vote. The Committee is authorized to fill all vacancies in its own body; to appoint a Secretary or Treasurer whenever such offices are vacant; and to appoint and direct such agents as may be necessary for the service of the Society. At every annual meeting, the Committee shall report their doings to the Society, and to the Board of Directors.

“*Art. 9.* This Constitution may be amended, upon a proposition to that effect by any of the societies represented in the Board of Directors, transmitted to the Secretary, and published in the official paper of the Society, three months before the annual meeting; provided such amendment receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at its next annual meeting.”

AN ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE OF MARYLAND,

PASSED MARCH 22, 1837,

Entitled "An act to Incorporate the American Colonization Society."

Whereas by an act of the General Assembly of Maryland, entitled "*An act to incorporate the American Colonization Society*," passed at December session, 1831, chapter 184, the said Society was incorporated with certain powers: And whereas it is represented to this General Assembly that the rights and interests of said Society have been materially injured, and are likely to suffer further injury, by certain alleged omissions on the part of said Society to give efficacy to said act: Therefore,

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of Maryland, That John C. Herbert, Daniel Morris, Joseph Kint, Ezekiel F. Chambers, Daniel Jenifer, George C. Washington, Virgil Maxcy, Zacharias Collins Lee, Alexander Randall, Francis S. Key, Walter Adams, Ralph R. Gurley, and William W. Seaton, of the Society called the American Society for Colonizing the free people of color of the United States, and their successors, together with such others elected and qualified, as the present or future Constitution, by-laws, ordinances or regulations of said Society, do or shall hereafter prescribe, shall be, and they lawfully created and declared to be, a body politic and corporate, by the name, style and title of The American Colonization Society, and by that name shall have perpetual succession, and shall be able to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, in any court of law or equity in this State, and may have and use a common seal, and the same may destroy, alter or renew at pleasure, and shall have power to purchase, have and enjoy, hold and their successors, in fee or otherwise, any land, tenements or hereditaments, by gift, bargain, sale, devise, or other act of any person or persons, body politic or corporate, whether void to take and receive any sum or sums of money, goods or chattles, that shall be given, sold or bequeathed to them in any manner whatsoever; to occupy, use and enjoy, or sell, transfer, or otherwise dispose of, according to the by-laws and ordinances regulating the same, now or hereafter to be prescribed, all such lands, tenements or hereditaments, money, goods or chattles, as they shall determine to be most conducive to the colonizing, with their own consent, in Africa, of the free people of color residing in the United States, and for no other use or purposes whatsoever; and as soon after the passage of this act as may be convenient, to elect such officers as they or a majority of them present may deem proper, and to make and ordain such Constitution, by-law, ordinance, and regulations as may be necessary for the organization of the said Society; and to repeal, alter or amend the same; to prescribe the times of meeting, the qualifications and terms of membership, and to do all such other acts and deeds as they shall deem necessary, for regulating and managing the concerns of the said body corporate: *Provided, however*, that the Constitution and laws of this State and of the United States, and this act of Assembly, be not violated thereby.

Sec. 2. And be it enacted, That for the object aforesaid all property, real, personal and mixed, whether in action or possession, and all rights, credits and demands, owned, held or claimed before this act, by the said Society, and all such property, rights, credits, and demands, as were it not for this act, might hereafter be owned, held or claimed by the said Society, shall vest and are hereby declared to vest in the said body corporate, and its successors or heirs and effectually as they have, or could have vested in the said Society; and also that the said body corporate, and its successors, are hereby declared to be as completely and effectually liable and responsible for all debts, demands and claims, due now or which should hereafter be due by the said Society, if this act of incorporation had not been granted, as the said Society is now or would hereafter be so liable and responsible for.

Sec. 3. And be it enacted, That the said body corporate, and its successors, shall forever be exempted from holding in fee or lease estate, real property in the United States, the yearly value of which exceeds the sum of thirty thousand dollars, or the yearly value of so much thereof as may be in this State, exceed the sum of five thousand dollars.

Sec. 4. And be it enacted, That the act heretofore mentioned of the General Assembly of Maryland, chapter one hundred and eighty-nine of December session, eighteen hundred and thirty-one, and the same is hereby repealed: *Saving and reserving, however*, to the said Society incorporated by said act, and to the American Colonization Society, all the rights and powers conferred by said act, so far as the same may be necessary for the recovery, possession, holding, or enjoyment of any property, real, personal, or mixed, chose in action or franchise of any description whatsoever, which may have been heretofore given, granted, devised, or bequeathed to or otherwise acquired by the said persons, or any of them, or to or by the American Colonization Society.

Sec. 5. And be it enacted, That this act, and the powers and privileges granted thereby, may be in any time repealed, modified amended or changed, at the discretion of the General Assembly.

THIRTY-FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

AND OF THE

SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING,

JANUARY 18, 1848.

WASHINGTON:

C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,

NEAR WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS.

1848.

THIRTY-FIRST

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

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ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THIRTY-ONE years ago, the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY was organized and commenced its labors in the cause of humanity.

Twenty-five years ago, the first company of emigrants landed on Cape Montserado, to seek a home for themselves and their children.

Six months ago, the citizens of that colony organized the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, adopting a constitution and announcing to the world their independence! And now we meet to celebrate, as it were, the first anniversary of that infant nation, standing in lonely beauty on the African coast!

In reviewing the transactions of the past year, and entering upon the labors of the present, we are called upon to present our gratitude to the Great Ruler among the nations, for the distinguished favors which he has shown to our enterprise. Through his abundant goodness we are permitted to look to the past with feelings of pleasure, and to the future with anticipations of hope and encouragement!

The history of the past year is replete with events, in themselves of imposing magnitude, which are the more remarkable by the vast influence which they may hereafter exert in the fortunes of the whole African race. During this period, the unique political system, or elements of political power, which had been for years growing up on the western coast of Africa, has put on, for the first time, the form, and assumed the character, which it is likely to wear for centuries to come. The early history, and the peculiar manner of the formation of the Republic of Liberia, will doubtless be regarded hereafter as one of the most extraordinary, as well as fortunate, events of modern times. The principles and the policy have been totally unlike those which have in all other instances resulted in the planting of colonies, and the erection of States.

For nearly one-third of a century the American Colonization Society had been laboring to elevate a portion of the colored race from their depressed condition, to accustom them

Comprehending the Institutions now in Existence at Liberia.

as well as merely to inspire them with the feelings of self-respect, and a desire for improvement, and to instil into the arts and sciences, and thus to raise them to a respectable position among the nations of the earth. It had gathered together a few members of those who were willing to be guided in the great undertaking, who were bound together by some common principles of union, and who had implanted within them some correct estimate of the nature and consequences of the duties devolving upon them. This process had been going on, until there appeared to be among the colonists sufficient intelligence and virtue to conduct their own public affairs with honor and advantage.

There were also some things existing in their peculiar condition, and their relations to the leading governments of the world, which seemed to render the formation, by them, of an independent government indispensable to their future quiescence and prosperity. England pertinaciously had refused to recognize the independence of Liberia any right to exercise jurisdiction over their own territory, or to prosecute the crimes in which others should hold intercourse with them. And British traders had repeatedly refused to pay the small duties imposed by the laws of Liberia on goods brought into her ports.

Under these circumstances, the General Council at their session in January, 1846, passed a resolution,

calling the attention of the Society to the difficulties under which they labored, and proposing as a remedy some change in their political organization.

Accordingly, the Board of Directors at their meeting in January, 1846, proposed to the colonists to assume all the responsibilities of their government, and become, to all intents and purposes, an independent nation.

To this proposition, they, after much deliberation, yielded assent.—To effect it, considerable changes in their affairs were requisite, in making which the intervening time has been spent.

In July last, a convention of delegates elected by the people met in Monrovia, and after twenty-one days of deliberation adopted the form of a constitution which was submitted to the vote of the citizens in September, and was with great unanimity adopted. This constitution reflects upon them the highest honor. The new flag of the Republic was hoisted, and their independence declared and celebrated, with appropriate ceremonies. The past year, then, may be considered as fixing the epoch when the Republic of Liberia assumed its proper and permanent position in the political world.

If any doubts should be hazarded whether these measures are not premature—whether the institutions which have been thus established are demanded by the circumstances and strictly conformable to the state of society and the character and con-

Prospective growth of Liberia.

dition of the people, and that they cannot therefore be permanent? We can only hope that the same causes which have produced these effects, will continue to display their efficiency. Circumstances have all conspired to call for their independence. We therefore hope that their institutions may be found sufficiently well adapted to their situation and capacities to go quietly into practice. In that case, we need not wish for any thing better, as our own experience amply proves. They have had the good sense to copy after the most magnificent form of Government which the world has ever beheld! The institutions which have been the sources of so much happiness to the citizens of the United States have been the models for the formation of theirs. As far as their circumstances rendered possible, they have adopted the forms of government which exist in our own country!

They may therefore be expected to follow us, with perhaps a faltering step, and at a considerable distance, "*proximus huic, longo sed proximus intervallo*," in the brilliant career which we have been pursuing! They may increase in virtue and intelligence—advance in population, wealth, and commerce, and establish a prosperous, tranquil, and well governed Republic, which may ultimately give political character and importance to the whole continent of Africa. All this is yet wholly *in futuro*, and but imperfectly foreshadowed. But reasoning from the

past history of the enterprise to its present position, we may confidently anticipate it. To doubt, therefore, is unnecessarily to look on the dark side of the possible future, and apparently to nip in the bud the brilliant promise of this young Republic.

It cannot of course be anticipated, from present appearances, that they will enter immediately upon a career as splendid as that which the United States have been pursuing; but, without doing all that we have done and are likely to do, they may still accomplish much. Their character and institutions are founded substantially on the steadfast and immoveable rock of truth; and if the strong inducement to private virtue held out by their position only prevails on them to do what they know well enough to be their duty, the greatest practicable amount of good will be the result.

They inhabit a country almost boundless in extent. They cultivate a soil rich in all the most valuable productions of the earth. They control the resources of a commerce of immense value to all other nations. They have churches and schools, and the opportunities of social intercourse and the means of intellectual improvement. Under the operation of such a state of things, their character and morals must be improved, until they assume their proper rank in the human race, as rational beings. Their faculties will be developed, their hearts enlarged, and their spirits gladdened and refreshed; and, accord-

ing to the measure of their capacities, they will become virtuous and happy.

Such are some of the circumstances and anticipations which led the Board of Directors to recommend, and the citizens of Liberia to assume, their present national character.

To the early friends and patrons of this enterprise, the present result must be exceedingly gratifying, as a partial realization of their fondest hopes. They undertook the work in great fear and trembling. It was a thankless, and seemed almost an hopeless task. They labored amid discouragements, and breasted the most appalling obstacles. Amid scenes the most trying and days the most dark they persevered, unwilling to relinquish hope, and yet uncheered by any brilliant promise.—Many of their fellow laborers became discouraged and gave up in despair. Some turned their hands against them, and from having been warmest friends, became bitterest enemies. Opposition arose from every quarter, and the scheme was branded as both impolitic and impotent. It was at length pronounced by many platform orators and public newspapers, to be dead and buried beyond the possibility of a resurrection!

But amid all these towering obstacles, it had a few friends who, with a courage almost superhuman, and a zeal deserving of all praise, stood by it, and with self-denial and sacrifice, with labor and liberality, pushed forward its operations.—Many of these noble spirits they were,

have not lived to see the present day. They have rested from their labors.

To those who survive, of whom the *most distinguished* is now president, we tender our warmest thanks, our heartfelt acknowledgments, and we congratulate them on beholding the result of their labors in the present developed manhood of the child of their prayers and their hopes!—They bore the burden and the heat of the day, and we, who are younger in the field, have, as it were, entered into their labors, and are permitted to rejoice with them, as we behold the beautiful structure which has arisen in Africa as a monument to their praise!

We cannot, in this connection, refrain from paying a tribute to the early settlers of Liberia. When they look back to their first landing on the heights of Montserado to lay their destinies there, and remember the many dark hours of their trial, and the long years of their toils, the perils they encountered, and the afflictions they have felt, it must be sweet to reflect upon their present quiet homes and organized nationality.—May the proud satisfaction which they naturally feel, at seeing themselves raised to a commanding height among the nations of the world, be tempered with a sentiment of awe, while they consider the immense responsibility, the grave and sacred duties, involved in the exercise of so much power!

The impression made in this country and elsewhere by the Dr-

Impressions made on the colored people in the United States by Declaration of Independence.

CLARATION of the INDEPENDENCE of LIBERIA, is, and will continue to be, of immense value to the cause of Colonization. Already among the colored people has a most favorable effect been produced. A convention of between seven and eight hundred of them, in Illinois, has selected one of their number, and authorised him to go to Liberia as their agent, and return and report the facts to them. In the city of New York another mission has been appointed for a similar purpose. And, although it is but a short time since the Constitution of Liberia was published in this country, we have learned that in many places it has called forth the approbation of the more intelligent among them, and that a determination to emigrate and become a part of that free and happy community, is beginning to prevail.

It may appear rather strange that it should be so, and yet it is a fact, that, among many of the colored people themselves, there has prevailed the greatest doubts whether they were capable, under the most favorable circumstances, of governing themselves, and whether Africa could ever be made to afford to her children a safe retreat from the ills which betide them. To all such, the result of the experiment already made comes with cheering influence. It is like the sunlight of truth breaking forth in gentle beams, and writing above their depression, "Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee."

This work of conviction and conversion among the colored people in the free States, must go on until the tide of emigration sets in towards Liberia with great force.

Circumstances existing at present, touching their position and prospects in the United States, will undoubtedly hasten their decisions, and convince them of their only rational policy.

All the developments of society in this country are rapidly establishing the truth of the policy of the American Colonization Society, that the most feasible way to elevate the African race, and to bestow upon them those civil, social, and political privileges which are the inalienable birth-right of mankind, is to separate them from the overshadowing influence of a stronger and more intelligent race, and place them in a situation where, free as the air they breathe, and untrammelled as the bold eagle in mid heaven, they may start in the career of personal improvement. As far as we can ascertain or understand the indications of the times, the free States are becoming every year more fixed and settled in their policy of prohibiting the introduction of colored people from the slave States, and of preventing those already in them from rising to a participation in any of the privileges of citizenship. We say not that this policy is wise or right. But simply, that it is a fixed fact, which cannot be changed until society is completely revolutionized in its modes of thought and feeling.

Continued on second page of text, with section: "CIVILIZATION IN LIBERIA."

Take, for example, the resolution passed by a vote of 52 to 41, in the Convention of the State of Illinois, last August & now transmitted, proposing to prohibit free persons of color from residing in the State, and to prevent masters from sending their slaves into the State to be liberated: or the result of the late effort to allow them to vote in New York, which was lost by an overwhelming majority; or, in Connecticut, where it was voted down by four to one.— Their home, then, is not here. Reasonable and sensible men every where among them, are beginning to see and feel the true state of the case. As they become more enlightened, they will see and feel this state of things more deeply; and if, in these circumstances, we can show them that Liberia is a desirable place for them, far removed from all these embarrassments, they will be convinced that their true policy is to emigrate. We, therefore, confidently believe the time will come, when thousands of them will fly to their beloved land, paying their own expenses, and looking forward to follow.

It is not, therefore, for a moment to be imagined, that, because Liberia has become independent, the work of Colonization has come to a conclusion. By no means. Hereafter the Colonization Society is the helper and supporter of a new state, instead of an associate, the planter and promoter of a colony. Liberia must not now be left to struggle alone, and intended to meet the increased responsi-

bilities of her position. Her independent character places her claims on our sympathies upon new ground. She needs more men in all the departments of her government, in all the branches of her industry, in all the channels of her commerce, in all her churches and her schools. These men must, for the present, mainly be sent from this country. Most of them are destitute of means to defray their own expenses. The Society must raise the money and aid them to the full extent of their necessities. As far as all the appropriate duties of Colonization are concerned, the Society stands related to Liberia in precisely the same situation that it did before their independence was declared. It is, by this measure, relieved from the appointment of the Governor, and the payment of his salary, and other expenses connected with the administration of the government; and thus it will be enabled to apply its funds more directly to the sending out of emigrants and their support during the period of their acclimation. It will continue to sympathize with the citizens of Liberia in all their trials, to aid them in all their noble endeavors to do good, and to send forth, to the full extent of its means, emigrants to be incorporated into the Republic of Liberia, upon the same terms, and with the same rights and privileges, as has heretofore been the case.

HENRY J. ROBERTS, a colonist, and brother of Gov. Roberts, who has been studying medicine at the

Dr. Roberts and Dr. Smith—Purchase of Territory.

Pittsfield Medical Institute, during the regular course, took his M. D. last October, with great credit and honor to himself and his friends.—He will sail in the Liberia Packet on her next voyage, which, we presume, will be in a few days. He goes out with greatly increased attachment to Liberia. He has no desire to remain in the United States. He left this country at too young an age to understand and appreciate the social, moral, and political disabilities under which his race labors here. But he has now a full conception of them, and, in contrast with their condition in Liberia, he feels it deeply. It is, therefore, not strange that he is impatient to reach his chosen home. He is well prepared to practice the profession which he has chosen, and to render himself generally useful there.

It will be remembered that he is indebted to our Colonial Physician, J. W. Lugenbeel, M. D., for his early education in connection with considerable practice, having studied with him two years before he came to this country.

James S. Smith, who was his fellow student in Liberia, is now in this country prosecuting his studies. He has attended one course of lectures at Pittsfield, Mass., and is now attending one in Albany, N. Y. When he shall have completed his studies and returned to Liberia, we hope to be able to dispense entirely with the services of a white physician.

As far as internal peace and pros-

perity is concerned, in the welfare of the citizens of Liberia, they have been highly blessed during the past year with the exception of an unprecedented flood in the Sinou river, which caused much damage to the crops of the natives and colonists settled on its banks. The settlement of Greenville, situated four miles up the river, was completely inundated, the farms for two miles around being four feet under water.

In his last annual message to the Legislature, Gov. Roberts remarks:

“On our present meeting, it is my first duty to invite your attention to the providential favors which these colonies have experienced during the past year, in the unusual degree of health dispensed to the inhabitants. in the rich abundance with which the earth has rewarded the labors of the husbandman, and in the success which has attended the efforts of our merchants and traders.

“In the successful cultivation of other branches of industry, and in the progress of general improvement everywhere manifest, favorable to the national prosperity, there is just occasion also for our mutual congratulations and thankfulness.

“I have the satisfaction of informing you that the market-house in this town has been completed. * * *

I am happy to be able to inform you that the state of our finances continues to fulfil our expectations. * *

* The revenue received during the last year exceeds by a small amount that of the preceding; and it may reasonably be expected that the receipts of the ensuing year, with the sum now in the Treasury, will be sufficient to defray the current demand of the year, and meet any expense which may be incurred, should

Purchase of Territory—New Country—Slavery.

the Legislature adopt measures to that effect in carrying out the wishes of the people in regard to forming a new government."

Considerable progress has been made in the purchase of Territory during the year. Gov. Roberts, in his message, remarks:

"Since the last annual meeting of this Legislature, another important acquisition of territory has been made. In February last, the natives occupying the lands lying between Blue Barra and Grand Cess, the territory of Settra Kroo, comprising about six miles of sea-coast excepted, ceded to this government, including the rights of sovereignty, their entire territories; also two tribes further south, occupying the territory known as Tassoo and Balloo Bay; reserving for their members only what is sufficient to maintain them in an agricultural way. A few days ago, Gen. Lewis, commissioned on the part of this government, succeeded in purchasing about fifteen miles of sea-coast, comprising portions of the territories of Manna, Curroo, and Timboo.

"It is understood, in each case, that we shall extend to them our patronage and protection: that we will establish trading factories among them, furnishing them necessaries at moderate prices, in exchange for their commodities, and protect them against the incursions of their marauding neighbors."

And in his dispatch of the 25th June, he says:

"I hasten to transmit you copies of deeds for lands purchased from the natives since December last. These purchases comprise the entire territories of Poor River, Rock Cess, Sangain, and Little Banno, and a part of the territory of Grand Colah; and have cost the Society, exclusive of

the expenses of the vessel and commissioners, sixteen hundred and sixteen dollars and fifty cents.

"The commissioners returned late in April, since which time, in consequence of the great difficulty of assembling the natives at this season of the year, when they are all, more or less, engaged in agricultural pursuits, and the unfavorableness of the weather, which during the last five or six weeks, has been very rainy, with high winds—no further purchases have been made. The vessel, however, with a suitable cargo of goods, is now ready for sea, and will be despatched as soon as the weather becomes sufficiently settled."

More recently they have succeeded in purchasing the northwest section of the Little Cape Mount Country, or all that part of it lying northwest of the Little Cape Mount River, extending along the seabeach about nine miles, and from thirty to forty miles into the interior.

In his dispatch of the 9th October, Gov. Roberts says: "The sloop Economy will be dispatched early next week with Commissioners, and a suitable cargo of merchandise, to negotiate, if possible, for the territories of Settra Kroo, Grand Cess, and the unpurchased tracts in the neighborhood of New Cesters. We shall not be able to secure the New Cesters country, except at a very extravagant price, as long as the slavers continue their establishments there. Within the last three months they have succeeded, notwithstanding the vigilance of the officers of the men-of-war, in shipping two cargoes of slaves. One, I am told by a French

Colonization the only means of stopping the Slave Trade.

officer, is an American vessel; rather she *was* American, a few hours before the slaves were shipped. This success has so elated them, that they now openly avow their determination to prevent any negotiation for the territory, and have recently made large presents to the chiefs, on condition that they will not transfer their territory to the Americans."

This slave factory ought to be broken up. Is it not strange that with the men-of-war of two powerful nations stationed on that coast, and the factory being known, it being the only one now existing on a coast of more than four hundred miles in extent, and being capable of no defence, should still be able to ship within a few months upwards of a thousand slaves? This case furnishes a striking illustration of the inefficiency of naval forces in breaking up, or even arresting the slave trade. Men-of-war have lain within sight of this factory for weeks at a time, watching the slaver, which was hanging round waiting his opportunity. At length, they leave the ground to cruise for a season up or down the coast, the slaver seizes his chance, dashes in, takes on board his cargo, and in less than a night is out of danger.

Now, look again. You give to Liberia the sum necessary to purchase that territory, even at the enormous price which is asked for it, and in less than twenty-four hours the colonial authorities would break up the factory, liberate the slaves, and

probably hang the perpetrators of such enormous crime! Very soon the natives, having been removed from under the accursedly corrupting influence of the slave trade, would turn their attention to some honest pursuits. They would begin to associate with the colonists and the native tribes more immediately under their influence, and they would soon come to regard the slave trade with horror, and could not be induced to engage in it again for any consideration. Thus a permanent and effectual check would be given to the traffic, and ultimately the natives would rise in the scale of intelligence and civilization, and become useful and happy members of society. And all this probably at a far less cost than it took to pay the expenses of the men-of-war for the few weeks they watched that factory!—Could any thing more beautifully illustrate the superiority of Colonization over every other means which have been resorted to for the suppression of the slave trade?

In this light, it will appear very unreasonable that this Society had to make provision for the support of the recaptives landed at Monrovia from the slaver *Pons*, by one of the U. S. men-of-war. This vessel, it will be remembered, was seized with about 900 slaves on board, of whom about one hundred and fifty died before they reached Monrovia. Seven hundred and fifty-six were landed, of whom nearly all were under 19 years of age. The U. S. Govern-

The Court rendered a decision against the U. S. Government in *1827*.—*See* *Report*, p. 107. Expenditures.

need holding no provision for their support they were thrown upon the mercy of the colony.

At the last meeting of the Board of Directors, a committee was appointed to commemorate the Executive and Congress, asking remuneration for the heavy expenses incurred. But nothing has yet been done in the case. We trust that it will not be long before the government will do us the justice which is demanded by every consideration of honor and propriety. We ask nothing more than a fair compensation; and it is not difficult to determine what that is.

On the 25th February, 1828, the Hon. Mr. McDuffie, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill to abolish the agency for recaptured Africans in Liberia, to transfer the property belonging to it to the Colonization Society, and pay the Society *fifty dollars* for the support of every recruit delivered to the agents. Mr. McD. reported this bill saying that amount not as a favor to the Society, but as an act of justice on behalf of the government.—*Fifty dollars each*, therefore, may be considered as the lowest amount which it was considered ought to be paid. If any person thinks this is too much, let him find any where a community who will take that number of wild, naked and starving savages, and provide for them so permanent members of their society, for a like amount. No such community can be found. Why, then, should

Liberia do it for less? Allowing, *then*, *\$50 each*, it gives us the sum of *\$27,800*. This is not large, if we consider the amount of food, raiment, house room, medical attendance, and education, which must be furnished for them, until they are able to take care of themselves! Why, the officers of the men-of-war which captured the *Peon* received, over and above their ordinary salaries for the time being, as prize money, upwards of *\$18,000*! And yet there is no comparison between the amount of service rendered in the two cases!

Certainly, therefore, our government will not refuse to meet this equitable claim against them? Were it not for Liberia what would the United States do with these poor victims of the slave trade, who may be rescued by our men-of-war?

The receipts of the Society the past year, including the balance on hand as per last report, were *\$32,101 11*. The balance of cash in the treasury at the present time is *\$278 46*.

But the expenditures were actually several thousand dollars more than appears in the above statement, owing to the fact that we despatched a vessel from New Orleans on the 7th instant with 129 emigrants, none of the expenses of which are included in the above statement.

Several causes have operated to make the receipts less than we had anticipated.

There has been no case of immediate and pressing necessity for which means were indispensable.

Death of Dr. Tenney, and Hon. Mr. Huntington.

The fund for the purchase of territory, which had so eloquently plead for us the two preceding years had been completed. The collections which were made in all parts of the country for the suffering poor in Ireland, materially interfered with the operation of our agents, and diminished our receipts, so that in common with other benevolent societies our receipts have fallen short of what we had anticipated.

We have received very little from legacies the past year, and our auxiliary societies have rendered us less assistance than at any former period. In the Southwest we have had no agent at all during the year, and that hitherto fruitful field has yielded us scarcely any assistance.

Some of our most active and successful agents and fellow-laborers have retired from the field, and engaged in other more pleasant and less laborious avocations. We have not had it in our hearts to reproach them; but we have felt the loss most deeply, and been unable, as yet, to supply their places.

One of our agents, who from his age, experience, and great wisdom and prudence, had been most useful in winning public favor and influencing the clergy to open their pulpits and favor the cause in Massachusetts, has ceased from his labors on earth, and his works do follow him. Our friends will readily understand that we allude to the Rev. C. J. Tenney, D. D., of whom they have never heard any thing but good, and they

will be prepared to sympathise with us in this afflictive event.

It is also our melancholy duty to record the death of the Hon. J. W. Huntington, of Connecticut, one of the Vice Presidents of the Society, and a member of the last Board of Directors, who was present at our meeting a year ago, and aided, by his council and wisdom, in the deliberations of that occasion.

We have received during the year many tokens of increasing favor and attachment to this cause. The number of ministers who preach a sermon annually in behalf of this cause has been considerably increased.—The churches which place colonization with the list of benevolent societies to which they intend to make an annual contribution has been greatly enlarged. The political papers throughout the country are advocating the claims of this enterprise. They abound in notices of Liberia, with extracts from the African Repository, and with reports of sermons and addresses, delivered by distinguished speakers, on the subject.

The Rev. Dr. Humphrey, late President of Amherst College, has been laboring in the cause for some months. He has been admitted to the principal churches in Boston and New York, at their regular hours of worship on Sabbath, and has been heard with the deepest interest;—misapprehensions have been removed, and many new friends have been made.

Such would not have been the

Favorable opportunities. Liberia Packet.

case a few years ago. In many instances a Colonization agent would not even have been allowed the use of the church on a week-day evening, much less would he have been allowed to enter it on the Sabbath, and at the regular time of public worship. Here then, and the same thing is true to a certain extent in other parts of the country, we see one evidence of a favorable change of sentiment respecting this Society.

Several of our agents have been employed in fields hitherto almost abandoned entirely as barren and unfruitful. Their labors have been arduous and their receipts have been exceedingly small, and but for the prospective good which they have done, we should not have continued them. But we have thought it best not to withdraw them until a fair experiment was made. They have, therefore, continued to talk and preach, and circulate documents, and publish articles in the papers, for the purpose of calling public attention to the Society, and ultimately of exciting a strong feeling in its favor. And they give us assurances that this actually has been done to some extent, and that the way is manifestly preparing for an increased interest.

From the financial statement it will be seen that the expenses of agencies the past year have been large. The expediency of spending money in this way may be doubted by some. But a little reflection will doubtless place the matter in a different light. There are many parts

of the country where very little has ever been said about the principles or operations of the Colonization Society. Scarcely any thing is known on the subject. There are other places where the community have, through various causes, been so prejudiced against the institution, as to require very great exertion to set them right. They have no adequate idea of the immense amount of good which the Society is accomplishing.

In these circumstances we cannot suppose that they will make contributions for its support. On this account agents must be employed to change the public sentiment, to indoctrinate the people, and to prepare the way for future collections, or we must give up the expectation that this change will be effected in any reasonable time. Agencies, too, will be more expensive in these regions than in others. But the necessity for agencies, and their expense, will diminish just as adequate information becomes generally diffused through the community.

The "Liberia Packet," to which allusion was made in the last Annual Report, has thus far proved a profitable investment to her owners, and a powerful auxiliary to the cause of Colonization. She more than meets the most sanguine expectations of her projectors. She has proved a vast convenience as well as a saving of expense to this Society, as she takes out our emigrants at lower rates than any other vessel could.

Expedition sailed from New Orleans, 129 emigrants, expenses of.

She sailed from Baltimore on her second voyage on the 3d day of last September, with eighty-one emigrants, of whom *forty* were sent out by this Society. She took out also a full cargo of goods and several passengers in the cabin.

She was expected back again in time to have sailed on her third voyage about the middle of the present month. We have made arrangements for the departure of about fifty emigrants in her.

We have not the means to defray the expenses of this expedition at the present time. But as the emigrants are mostly persons whose freedom is offered them, if we can send them out, we have not felt authorized to decline. In thus sending them we must incur a heavy debt, and we rely upon our friends to furnish us the means of paying it.

On the 7th instant the bark "Nehemiah Rich," chartered by this Society, sailed from New Orleans for Monrovia, with one hundred and twenty-nine emigrants on board, and a good supply of provisions, and timber to build their houses. Of the emigrants, six were from Illinois, a free family of great respectability.—Twenty-eight were from Kentucky, sent out by the Colonization Society of that State. Among these are three, who have been liberated by the colored people, and commissioned to go as their agents, and return and report the results of their visit. *Twenty-three* were from Eutaw, Alabama. They were

left by the late Rev. Mr. Witherspoon to the Hon. Henry Clay, and he sent them to Liberia. *Thirty-five* were from Louisiana. They were liberated by Henry Patterson, Esq., of Baltimore, who gave them a liberal outfit and will pay the expenses of their transportation and support for six months in Liberia. Too much praise cannot be given to this gentleman for his distinguished kindness to these people. *Thirty-five* were from Mississippi. They are a part of the large family left to this Society several years ago by the late Captain Ross, of that State. It is known that a suit has been pending about these people for many years past. We have lately effected a compromise by which we secure the liberty of the people, but get nothing to defray the expenses of their transportation, and settlement in Liberia. We have received and sent out as pioneers the above number, and are to send the remaining *two hundred* at the close of the present year.

The bills and accounts for the expedition from New Orleans, on the 7th instant, are not yet fully made up, and are, therefore, not included in the transactions of the past year. We are not able to say precisely what the whole expense will be, but we have evidence that it will not fall short of \$7,000. This large expenditure is mainly owing to the fact, that under the operation of the acts of the 22d February and 4th March last, "regulating the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels," we

Continuation of the Annual Report of 1840.

were obliged to borrow a much larger sum than was needed to give good accommodations to the emigrants, or than we had thought to fill. All the pecuniary of this expedition are yet to be made, it will appear that we have incurred a heavy debt in order to send away these people, should we could not do otherwise. Their departure could not be postponed, and we were not advised of the urgency of those going long enough before hand to beg the means to pay their expenses. Could we have been assisted, six months ago, that they would all have been ready to depart when they did, we should, doubtless, have been able to raise money enough to pay the expenses of their transportation and settlement in Liberia.

Were the whole transactions of the Society brought up to the present time, there would be found a debt equivalent of upwards of \$9,500.

We are, therefore, constrained to appeal to our friends for an enlargement of our resources for the year we close. Without this, it will be impossible for us to meet our obligations and perform all the duties which are expected of us.

We have already engaged to send to Liberia, in less than a year from this time, *three hundred and ten emigrants*, and we are expecting applications for many others. Two of our friends in the South assure us that there will be in their vicinity from twenty to a hundred and twenty ready to depart in the spring, and we

have agreed to dispatch a vessel, as soon as any number over sixty are ready. We have no applications from Kentucky as yet. There will, no doubt, be another company from there ready in the course of the year. And we may expect many more applications from various places, before those who are now ready have departed, and before the present indebtedness of the Society has been paid.

The average expense of transporting to Liberia, and supporting there six months, each emigrant, may be set down at \$300. This includes outfit, passage money, and provisions on the voyage, a house to live in, provisions, medicine and medical attendance, and nursing when they are sick, for six months, and more or less and in various other ways in establishing them comfortably, and in a condition to hereafter take care of themselves.

To send out the 310, as we have already engaged to do, will therefore cost \$15,300! Add \$2,500 to meet the expenses of sending out the fifty in the Liberia Packet, expected to sail this month from Baltimore, to which we have alluded in another part of this report, and who are not included in the above number, and the contingent expense of sending the vessel from Savannah, Georgia, in the spring, with say one hundred emigrants, which would be \$5,000, and we have the sum of \$23,000, which we shall need the coming year to meet one single item of our

\$50,000 needed—Annual Meeting of the Society—Mr. Dayton's speech.

operations, the transportation and support of emigrants.

If we add, for the present indebtedness of the Society, say \$9,500, and indispensable contingent expenses in this country, say \$1,000, and in Liberia \$6,000, we have \$12,500 as the lowest possible estimate of the means indispensable to meet our present engagements. But we expect many more emigrants before the close of the year. What shall be

done with them? They are needed in Liberia, and ought not to be detained in this country.

To prosecute vigorously and with advantage our operations during the year upon which we now enter, and not incur a heavy debt, will therefore require at least \$50,000! And for this amount we make the most respectful, but urgent, appeal to the country!

Thirty-first Anniversary of the American Colonization Society.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 18, 1848.

THE American Colonization Society met in the Hall of the House of Representatives at seven o'clock P. M.

The Hon. HENRY CLAY, President of the Society, took the chair and called the meeting to order.

The Rev. WM. WILSON, of Cincinnati, Ohio, invoked the Divine blessing.

The SECRETARY of the Society read extracts from the Annual Report.

After the report was read, on motion of Prof. MACLEAN, of Princeton, New Jersey, it was referred to the Board of Directors for publication.

The Hon. WM. L. DAYTON, of New Jersey, then rose and offered and advocated the following:

Resolved, That in the recent formation of a constitution by the citizens of Liberia, and the declaration of their independence, and the assumption by them of all the duties and responsibilities of their own Government, we recognise the fulfil-

ment, in part, of the original design of this Society.

This resolution was supported by the honorable mover in an able, eloquent, and forcible speech, though commenced amidst not a little confusion, produced by the concourse in the Hall and the struggles for entrance which still continued at every avenue of access to it, asserted its own power on the minds of the auditory, and gradually reduced the vast assembly to order, and held it in mute and delighted attention. We expected to have published a full report of his speech, but are at present unable to do so, the reason for which the following letter from him will explain:

WASHINGTON CITY.

12th February, 1848.

DEAR SIR:—In your note of this morning, you say that you have promised a report of my remarks at the late meeting of the Colonization Society; and that Mr. Stansbury, the reporter, informs you that he left his notes of the speech in my hands for correction.

Speech of Hon. H. Clay—President of the Society.

Tell us, I believe, all so; but as I was no party to your promise, and now have the reporter's notes in my own possession, I may be considered as having fairly command of the question. I beg therefore to say, that my remarks are too crude and meagre, in my judgment, to merit publication. For the very kind terms in which you and others have chosen to speak of them, I am thankful, but this cannot influence my purpose.

Truly yours,

WM. L. DAYTON.

Rev. W. McLain,

Secretary of Col. Society.

The resolution having been adopted, Mr. CLAY rose and addressed the audience nearly as follows:

Gentlemen of the Colonization Society: I have been committed to say a few words on this occasion, rather against my own wishes, and quite unexpectedly. Indeed, I believe it has been advertised in some of the papers that I am to make an address this evening. Now, though I have no reproaches to make against those who have thus placed me in so conspicuous a position, I have no expectation of being able to fulfil their anticipation or to do justice to the subject. I have just terminated an arduous journey of many hundreds of miles, made in midwinter; and whenever I have been it has invariably been my lot to be surrounded by throngs which did not leave to me the time necessary to make that preparation which should ever precede the attempt to address an auditory so intelligent and so highly respectable as this. I have come here without a solitary note, with no prepared or elaborate speech, and with but little mental preparation; and, as I have no formal and highly finished address to deliver, I would advise all who have come with any great expectations of a speech to leave the hall.

And yet I own there is some propriety that I should say a few words to you this evening, apart from the circumstance which has been more than once alluded to, that I was one of that company which, some thirty years ago, met to form this Society. It is now some years since I had the honor of sitting in your society as I now do, and allow me to say that in all human probability this is the last instance in which I shall ever be permitted to do so. Great events too have happened to the colony since I was last here.

You have been told by the eloquent gentleman who preceded me of the formation of this association. It is now nearly thirty years since Mr. Finley, Mr. Caldwell, and some other gentlemen met by agreement with a view to form a Colonization Society. I was one of that number. We did not intend to do more or less than establish on the shores of Africa a colony, to which free colored persons with their own voluntary consent might go. There was to be no constraint, no coercion, no compulsory process to which those who went must submit: all was to be perfectly voluntary and unconstrained in any manner or degree. Far, very far, was it from our purpose to interfere with the slaves, or to shake or affect the title by which they are held in the least degree whatever. We saw and were fully aware of the fact that the free white race and the colored race never could live together on terms of equality. We did not stop to ask whether this was right or wrong; we looked at the fact, and on that fact we founded our operations. I know, indeed, that there are men, many of them of high respectability, who hold that all this is prejudice; that it should be expelled from our minds, and that we ought to recognize in men, though of different color from ourselves, members

The Society has had to encounter difficulties.

of our common race, entitled in all respects to equal privileges with ourselves. This may be so according to their view of the matter; but we went on the broad and incontestible fact, that the two races could not, on equal terms, live in the same community harmoniously together. And we thought that the people of color should be voluntarily removed, if practicable, to their native country, or to the country at least of their ancestors: there they might enjoy all those blessings of freedom and equality of condition which to them were impossible here. Our object, let me repeat it, was limited to the free; we never thought of touching in any manner the title to slave property.—We hoped to be able to demonstrate the practicability of colonizing them; and when that should have been demonstrated, those who owned slaves might avail themselves of it or not—might send liberated slaves to Africa or not, precisely as they pleased.—All our purpose was to establish, if we could, a colony of free colored men, and thus to demonstrate to the world that colonization was practicable.

It has been truly stated, that from the day of its formation to the present hour, the Society has been surrounded with difficulties. It has had to stand the fire of batteries both in front and rear, and upon both flanks. Extremes of opinion and of action, which could unite in nothing else, united in assaulting us. Those who cared for the safety of the institution of slavery assailed us on one hand, while the Abolitionists assaulted us on the other. But on what ground should either oppose such an enterprise? Our ground in regard to both was total non-interference. We meant to deal only with colored persons already free. This did not interfere with the projects of the Abolitionists? For myself, I believe those projects to be impracticable;

and I am persuaded that if the same energy and effort which have been expended in getting up abolition movements, had been directed to the work of colonization, a vast amount of benefit would have resulted to the cause of humanity and to the colored race. Why should they attack us? We do not interfere with them.—Their project is to emancipate at one blow the whole colored race. Well, if they can do that, then our object begins. The office of colonization commences only where theirs would end. The colored race being here in the midst of us, and not being capable of enjoying a state of equality with the whites around them, our object is to carry them to a place where they may enjoy, without molestation, all the benefits of freemen. Here is no incompatibility; and in point of fact we have thus far gone on our way without disturbing any body, either on the right or on the left.

But it is said that our Society is incapable of effecting any great object. That our aims never can be accomplished without aid from the State governments, or unless the general government shall send out of the country all the free blacks. It is our purpose to show the power of colonization, in competent hands, fully to carry out the benevolent ends we have in view, to work all the great results for which this Society was formed. Our purpose is to demonstrate to the American people, that if they choose to take hold of this great project in their State legislatures, or otherwise, the end sought is practicable, and the principle of colonization competent to carry abroad all the colored population who shall be emancipated. That demonstration has been made.

But it is urged that this is the country of the black man; and that therefore he should not be sent to Africa. Africa is not his home. Why,

it is true, in some sense, that every native-born colored man may claim this as his country. And so might the Israelites, while captives in Egypt, have claimed Egypt as their native country; and those born while travelling through the wilderness to the land promised them, might still regard themselves as natives of that wilderness. But still, in the contemplation of that infinite and all-wise Being who directed the progress of that remarkable people, Egypt was not their country, still less was that howling wilderness, where many of them first saw the light. It was Canaan, the land of promise; and thither accordingly were they taken, as to their home. Who can doubt that Africa is the real home of the black man, though, as a casual event, he may have had his birth on these shores? There his race was found, and there alone, till it was torn from thence by the hand of violence. Here, though nominally free, he cannot live in equality with those around him; and it does seem to me one of the disposals of an all-wise Providence to permit him to have been brought here with an ultimate view to the further accomplishment, by him, of his own inscrutable, but wise and merciful designs.

The separation of free colored people from the white race is a measure recommended not only by the mutual and the separate good of both, but by the prospect that Africa, which has so long lain in barbarism, worshipping unknown and forbidden gods, may thus be brought to the light and blessings of Christianity. Those who met to form this Society saw not only that great good would accrue from their design to the colored race, by elevating their character, and restoring them to the possession of rights they never can enjoy here, but that it would be a probable means, in the end, of car-

rying to Africa all the blessings of our holy religion, and all the benefits of our civilization and freedom. What Christian is there who does not feel a deep interest in sending forth missionaries to convert the dark heathen, and bring them all within the pale of Christianity? But what missionaries can be so potent as those it is our purpose to transport to the shores of Africa? Africans themselves by birth, or sharing at least the African blood, will not all their feelings, all their best affections, induce them to seek the good of their countrymen? At this moment there are between four and five thousand colonists who have been sent to Africa under the care of this Society; and I will venture to say that they will accomplish as missionaries of the Christian religion more to disseminate its blessings than all the rest of the missionaries throughout the globe. Why, gentlemen, what have we heard? In the colony of Liberia there are now twenty-five places of public worship dedicated to the service of Almighty God, and to the glory of the Saviour of men; while thousands of the neighboring heathen are flocking into the colony to obtain a knowledge of the arts, and who may ultimately receive the better knowledge which Christianity alone can bestow.

These are the great purposes we had in view when a few of us met to form this Society. As soon as a purchase of territory had been effected by the agent we dispatched to Africa for that purpose, the first colonists, about twenty-five years since, left the American shores, and were safely transplanted to the land of their ancestors.

I know it was then urged, as it has been since, that other places might have been selected with equal advantage. I do not concur in that opinion. Look at the expense alone. It has been stated in your report that

It is possible to transport the whole colored population.

the sum of fifty dollars is sufficient to cover the expense of transporting one emigrant to Liberia, and of maintaining him there for six months after his arrival. To what other position in the known world could he be sent at so cheap a rate? Not to the Pacific; not to Oregon; not to Mexico. Then consider the advantages of this position in point of navigation: remember the shortness of the voyage. When these things are duly considered, it must be evident that to no other spot on the face of the globe could the free colored people be sent with so much propriety as to the coast of Africa. Besides, in any other place that might be selected you would deprive yourselves of accomplishing those high moral and religious objects which, in Africa, may be so confidently hoped for.

But again: it has been said that the object of carrying all the free colored race from this country to Africa is one which the Government itself, with all its means, could not effect. Now, on that point let me state a fact by way of reply. If I am not mistaken, the immigration from abroad into the port of New York alone, in the course of the last year, was fully equal to the annual increase of the free colored population of the Union,* and yet all that was done voluntarily, and in most cases without any, or with very little aid. The fact rests on the great motive which, to a greater or less extent, governs all human action. Why is it that the Germans and the Irish have thus flocked to our shores, in numbers to meet the annual increase of our free colored people not only, but, as I believe, that of the slave population

also? They come in obedience to one of the great laws of our nature; they have come under that efficient motive which propels man to all enterprises—the desire to better their condition. A like motive will sway the free blacks when enlightened as to the real facts of the case. If they reach the shores of Africa, whether by their own means, or by the aid and agency of others, their position will be physically, morally, and politically better than by any possibility it ever can be here. It is not our office to attempt impracticabilities; to amalgamate two races which God himself, by a difference of color, besides other inherent distinctions, has declared must be separate and remain separate from each other. And if such be of necessity, their condition here, to send them to Africa, not by coercion, but with their own free consent, is surely the best practicable mode of doing them good. And here I would say to those in both extremes of opinion and of feeling on the subject of slavery—I would say to all men—why should the free people of color in these United States not have the option of removing to Africa, or remaining where they are, just as they themselves shall choose? That is all we attempt. We wish to describe to him the country, to facilitate his emigration to it, and then leave him to his free choice. And if after this he chooses to go, why interpose any obstacle in his way?—In reply, it is said to be an act of cruelty to send him there. The climate is represented as inhospitable: he will be exposed to inevitable sickness, and will probably soon find a grave on that distant shore. To

*Mr. CLAY, out of extreme caution, has here greatly understated the fact, as proved by the official returns. These show that it exceeded, by four times, the entire annual increase both of the bond and free.

Immigration.....	200,000
Increase of free	}
Do. of slaves	
	65,000

Lancet compared with *Jamaica* and *Plymouth*.—All great enterprises have had small beginnings.

send a colored man out of the United States to a country like that is held up as an act of the greatest inhumanity. But, happily, our records bear the most grateful testimony to the reverse of all this. Let us for a moment compare the mortality of Liberia with that of the colonies planted on our own shores. Within the first seventeen years from the settlement of Jamestown, in Virginia, nine thousand colonists arrived, and £150,000 sterling were expended in transporting them from England, yet at the end of that period but about two thousand of them remained alive. All the rest had fallen victims either to the climate, or to the tomahawk of the savage, or had perished from other causes. Then look at Plymouth. History records that in less than six months after the arrival of the Mayflower full half of all who landed had been destroyed by disease, want, and suffering. Now, compare with these efforts at British colonization the results of our settlement at Liberia. In twenty-five years since the first emigrants landed from the United States the deaths amount to but twenty per cent. of the entire number, being far less than died at Plymouth within six months; far less than at Jamestown in seventeen years. The deaths at Jamestown were in seventeen years more than four times as numerous, in proportion, as at Liberia in twenty-five years. There is then nothing in the climate to discourage us, nothing in the alleged dreadful mortality of the colony to frighten us.

But it is said we have done very little. All the great enterprises of man have had small beginnings.—The founders of Rome, if we may believe the tale of tradition, were suckled by a wolf. Jamestown and Plymouth both languished for years after the period to which I have already referred. Yet now, what land is there on the broad surface of the

habitable globe, what sea spreads out its waste of waters, that has not been penetrated and traversed by the enterprise, the skill, and the courage of our New England brethren? And on what battle-field, in what council chamber can a single spot in our vast country be found where the Virginia character has not displayed itself in its gallantry or its deliberative wisdom? I repeat it; all the greatest enterprises of man have had small beginnings. Our colony is but twenty-five years old, and it has received already between four and five thousand colored emigrants, besides hundreds more of recaptured Africans; all of which have been sent there by order of this Government. Immense numbers of the natives are crowding into the colony to obtain the benefits of education, of civilization, and of christianity. In addition to all these there are many thousands more in the United States now seeking the advantages of colonization through the means held out by this Society. As far then as we have gone, GOOD IS DONE.

Is it not better that those four or five thousand emigrants should be there, than that they should have remained here? Is it not better for themselves, is it not better for us? Every year the progress of our colony becomes more and more cheering; and, with every free African sent over to it, those prospects brighten, and so much more of good is done. True, we have not done all we desire to do. Glad should we be should every free colored man throughout all the States go there and become free indeed. But it requires time to accomplish great national affairs. The creation of a nation is not the work of a day or of a century. For two or three centuries the embryo nation of the Israelites remained captives in Egypt. But when this government, or the State governments, shall lend the enter-

The General Government or the States may aid.—Difficulties in the way of colored people remaining in U. S.

prise their powerful aid, its progress will not be so slow. And when the colony shall have made further advances, it will be self-sustained and increased by its own commerce and marine. I speak not, of course, of any unconstitutional aid. Incidental aid, at least, may be given it in strict accordance with the constitution. On this subject the legislature of Maryland has set us a noble example. She cherishes her infant colony with the utmost solicitude and care. When other States of the Union shall do the same, the cause of colonization will experience a vast acceleration. Perhaps it is not desirable that it should move too fast at the outset. In founding a colonial settlement, as in the subduing of our own boundless wilderness, there should be pioneers to precede the great wave of immigration; to prepare sustenance for those who shall follow, to open roads and erect dwellings for their accommodation. There might so many emigrants be thrown at once upon the colony as to occasion material embarrassment, if not fatal injury. It is better that the work should proceed at first somewhat slowly, so that the few who go before should understand the country, its habits and its resources, and thus prepare a place for the many who shall come after them.

But, beside the fact that the colored and the white races never can become one homogeneous people, in what State, I ask, of this entire Union (with possibly the exception of Massachusetts) does the black man, however fair may be his character, and from however long a line of free colored ancestors he may proceed, enjoy an equality with his white neighbor in social and political rights? In none; nowhere. As to social rights, they are out of the question. In no city, town, or hamlet throughout this entire land is he

regarded as on an equal footing with us. The laws of all the States (and, in this respect, some of the free States are even more rigorous than the slave States themselves) render it impossible. And so great is the rigor of the laws in some of the States—rendered more rigorous by the schemes and efforts of the abolitionists—emancipation, under any circumstances, and with whatever purpose, is absolutely prohibited. On this subject a very remarkable case occurred lately in connexion with myself. A very respectable and revered man in Alabama, whose face I never had seen, bequeathed to me by his will, in absolute right, some twenty-five or thirty slaves. No cause was mentioned in the terms of the bequest, and I was greatly surprised by the announcement of a fact so entirely unexpected; but I had some belief that the design of the testator in consigning these slaves to my care was that they should be sent to Liberia. I accordingly took the necessary means to accomplish this design; and since my arrival in this city, I have received intelligence that twenty-three of their number have been embarked at New Orleans for the coast of Africa, and are freely, and with their entire assent, going back to the home of their ancestors. [Applause.] What would have been their condition had they remained? In Alabama they could not have been free. The laws of the State, stimulated, as I have said, by the course of the abolitionists of the north, have prohibited, unconditionally, all emancipation of a slave; and, in fact, I had to take these negroes as my own slaves to New Orleans, and they were so regarded until they were placed beyond the jurisdiction of the United States. Nor is Alabama the only State which, from the same cause, has been induced to make her laws more stringent than

before; many others have enacted laws of the same general character, subjecting consumption to many restrictions, and even to rigorous penalties.

Here is illustrated the value and the importance of the sole object of the Colonization Society. It furnishes the opportunity, whether to States or individuals, of gratifying their wishes, if they desire the emancipation of their slaves.

On the subject of slavery I shall not touch. The Society never has touched that subject, or disturbed it any way. It has confined itself exclusively to the transportation to Africa of the free, who go willingly and unconstrained.

Gentlemen of the Society: You have placed me in a position which I feel to be both embarrassing and painful. I came here, as I told you, without note, and almost without preparation of any kind. I have thrown out these remarks in a loose, disjointed manner, mainly that I might gratify wishes which seemed to me irresistible. I have gone through most of the topics—indeed, all of them—which I designed to touch. And I would now implore all parties; I would beseech the Abolitionists, and I would entreat those who carry the doctrine of slavery to an extreme; I would supplicate all men to look calmly and dispassionately at the great enterprise we have in view. I ask them, in the name of that God under whose providential rule, as I in my heart believe, this Society has thus far prospered, to look at it, at its objects and at its efforts, with unprejudiced and candid eyes. During, now, a period of twenty-five years; without power, without revenue, without and save the voluntary contributions of the charitable and the humane, has this Society continued its labors. During that period it has carried on a defen-

sive war. It has made treaties. It has purchased territory, and that to a large extent; owning, now, some three hundred and twenty miles along the western coast of Africa, throughout the whole of which extent (with one dark exception) the slave trade has been suppressed.—And in this connexion I may be permitted to remark, that if the Governments of Europe and of the United States, who have united their efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, would consent to lend but a small portion of the navies they now, at so great a cost, maintain off the African coast in furtherance of that design, to the great object of colonization, they would prove much more successful than they have hitherto found themselves in putting an end to that detested traffic. I believe that no other means will ever prove so operative and effectual to that end as the covering the entire coast of that quarter of the globe with colonies of free colored men. Then would all be united by sympathy for their outraged countrymen, in heartily advancing a design which commends itself to every feeling of the black man's heart.

Then let all men look on our Society as it is, and judge of our design with fairness and impartiality.

I am aware that a single motive, from among the various motives which actuated the founders of the Society, has been seized upon, and urged (in some cases with but too much effect) as an objection to the whole plan. It has been stated that the degradation of the free people of color among us is so great that a very large portion of those who fill our jails and penitentiaries consist of them, and it has been truly inferred that the slaves among us would be greatly benefited by the withdrawal of the free blacks from their vicinity and intercourse. And hence the abolitionists have taken occasion

The Society congratulated on the past achievements.

to affirm that colonization is but a scheme of Southern slave-holders to perpetuate slavery at home and rivet the chains of every bondman in the land. But I ask is that fair? Ought they not, before coming to so injurious a conclusion, to look at all the motives which led to the formation of the Society, and not lay hold on one alone, and tear that away from all the rest, to found on it a charge against the whole design? Should they resolutely shut their eyes against such motives as a desire to benefit the subjects of colonization themselves, by conferring on them the substance instead of the mere name of freedom—to the hope of benefiting Africa by spreading there a knowledge of the arts and civilization, and ultimately diffusing the blessings of Christianity among her benighted millions—to the humane design of suppressing the slave trade? Is it right to overlook all these considerations, and fasten on only one motive which could be perverted into selfishness, and judge the whole purpose of the Society by that? Let them deal more justly by their neighbor. Let them put together all the causes and motives which combined to give origin to our attempt, and judge us from the whole, and not condemn us on one solitary ground, forcibly and uncharitably torn away from the mass of considerations which might lead men to such an enterprise.

And now, in conclusion, I should fail of expressing the feelings which are rising in my bosom, did I not congratulate you, gentlemen of the Society, on the eminent success which has already crowned your benevolent labors. A new republic has sprung into existence under your auspices. Yes; a free, representative, constitutional republic, formed on the model of our own beloved institutions. A republic, founded by black men, reared by black men, put

into operation by the blacks, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects. Whether we look at what has already been done, or lift our eyes to the future and cast them down the long vista of coming time—when we may anticipate, as we are warranted to do, the dissemination over a large part, if not the whole, of Africa, of our own free principles of government, our love of liberty, our knowledge of Christianity, our arts, and civilization, and domestic happiness—when we behold those blessings realized on that continent which I trust in God we are long, long destined to enjoy on this, and think how the hearts of posterity will be gladdened by such a spectacle—how ought our own to exult in hope and to swell with gratitude?

Go on, then, gentlemen; go on in your noble cause. For myself, I shall soon leave you and this stage of human action forever. I may never occupy this chair again; but I trust that the spirit which originated and which has sustained this Society will long survive me, and that you may long continue, now that our African republic is at length born, to discharge the offices of guardianship, and aid and co-operation, and ever give to the interests of African freedom, civilization, and social happiness your best energies and most fervent prayers. From this auspicious hour, even to the end of time, or until the great object of the amicable separation of the two races shall have been fully effected, may others spring up to take your places, and to tread in your steps. And, finally, invoking on this great and good cause the blessings of that God without whom nothing is strong, nothing is holy, and whose smiles, I believe, have hitherto been extended to it, I bid you a cordial farewell.

The Hon. THOMAS CORWIN had

Resolutions adopted. — Officers of the Society elected.

been expected to speak upon the following resolution, but circumstances rendered it impossible for him to do so.

"*Resolved*, That the hearings of African colonization on American commerce demand for it the favorable consideration of the Government of the United States."

The resolution was adopted.

The Rev. Mr. BROWN, Professor in Dartmouth College, offered the following:

"*Resolved*, That we have entire confidence in the great principles of the Colonization Society, and that its past history and present condition give satisfactory evidence of its permanent and ultimate triumph." — Adopted.

The Rev. Dr. BUTLER, of this city, offered the following:

"*Resolved*, That the history of Christian missions in Africa proves that the policy of the Colonization Society is the only effectual means of carrying the Gospel to the inhabitants of that benighted land, and should therefore gather around the institution Christian benevolence, and awaken Christian munificence to support it with untiring zeal and enlarged liberality." Adopted.

The Hon. HENRY CLAY was unanimously elected President of the Society for this year.

The following gentlemen were elected Vice Presidents, viz:

1. General John H. Cooke, of Virginia.
2. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.
3. Charles F. Meyer, of Florida.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.
5. Theodore Tilton, Governor of New York.
6. Lewis Malone, of Baltimore.
7. Moses Allen, of New York.
8. General W. J. Smith, of Washington.
9. Joseph Gales, of Washington.
10. Right Rev. Wm. Maule, D. D., Bishop of Virginia.

11. John McDonogh, of Louisiana.
12. Rev. James O. Andrews, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
13. William Maxwell, of Virginia.
14. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio.
15. Walter Lowrie, of New York.
16. Jacob Burnet, of Ohio.
17. Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Mississippi.
18. William C. Rives, of Virginia.
19. Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of Washington.
20. Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi.
21. James Bowman, of New York.
22. Henry A. Foster, of New York.
23. Dr. John Ker, of Mississippi.
24. Robert Campbell, of Georgia.
25. Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey.
26. James Garland, of Virginia.
27. Right Hon. Lord Bexley, of London.
28. William Short, of Philadelphia.
29. Willard Hall, of Delaware.
30. Right Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tennessee.
31. Gerard Ralston, of London.
32. Rev. Corbitt Van Rensselaer, N. J.
33. Dr. H. J. G. Kirk, of London.
34. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Dedham, Massachusetts.
35. Thos. R. Hazard, of Providence, R. I.
36. Dr. Thomas Massie, of Tye River Mills, Virginia.
37. Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, of Washington.
38. Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., of N. J.
39. Samuel Wilkeson, of New York.
40. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
41. James Bailey, of Mississippi.
42. Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., of Phila.
43. Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., of Phila.
44. Elliott Cresson, of Philadelphia.
45. Anson G. Phelps, of New York.
46. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Andover, Massachusetts.
47. Jonathan Hide, of Maine.
48. Rev. Beverly Waugh, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Baltimore.
49. Rev. Dr. W. B. Johnson, S. C.
50. Moses Sheppard, Baltimore.
51. John Gray, Fredericksburg, Va.
52. Bishop McHvain, of Ohio.
53. Rev. Dr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.
54. Rev. P. Landsley, D. D., of Tenn.
55. Hon. J. R. Underwood, of Kentucky.
56. Hon. C. Marsh, of Woodstock, Vt.
57. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.
58. H. L. Lumpkin, Esq., Athens, Geo.
59. James Lenox, of New York.
60. Bishop Soule, D. D., of Tennessee.
61. Prof. S. C. Upham, of Maine.
62. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
63. Hon. Thos. W. Williams, of Conn.
64. Hon. Simon Greenleaf, of Mass.

After which the Society adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1849, at seven o'clock, P. M.

Board of Directors—Members present—Committees appointed.

Extracts from the Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

WASHINGTON,

January 18, 1848.

THE Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met at the office of the society at 12 o'clock at noon, and was organized by appointing the Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Chairman, and Rev. Joseph Tracy, Clerk.

There were present :

From Massachusetts Colonization Society, Rev. Joseph Tracy—from N. Y. Colonization Society, Dr. D. M. Reese—from N. Y. Society, Life Director, A. G. Phelps, Esq.—from New Jersey Colonization Society, William Rankin, Esq., and Rev. John Maclean, D. D.—from Pennsylvania Colonization Society, Paul T. Jones, Esq., and Archibald McIntyre, Esq.—Life Director, Elliott Cresson, Esq.—from District of Columbia, Life Director, Rev. William McLain.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Society, and of the Board of Directors were read by the Secretary of the Society.

The annual report of the Executive Committee for the past year was read by the Secretary of the Society.

Dr. James Hall, General Agent of the Maryland Colonization Society, being present, was, on motion, invited to sit with the Board as a corresponding member.

Adjourned to meet at this place at 6½ P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The Board met, according to adjournment, to attend the annual meeting, and adjourned to meet at 10 A. M. to-morrow.

January 19.

The Board met, according to adjournment, at 10 A. M.

The annual report of the Executive Committee having been referred to this Board, was, on motion, referred to a committee, consisting of Messrs. Tracy, Rankin, and McIntyre.

A committee, consisting of Messrs. Phelps and Jones, was appointed to examine the Treasurer's accounts, and report to this Board.

Rev. J. B. Pinney, Life Director, appeared and took his seat.

The subject of the Society's property in Liberia, and the future relations of this Society to that Republic having been referred to the Board by the Executive Committee, was discussed for some time in free conversation, after which

The Board adjourned, to meet to-morrow at 9 A. M.

January 20, 10 A. M.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The Committee on the Treasurer's accounts submitted the following report; which was adopted :

Treasurer's Report, Receipts and Expenditures, as verified by the Auditing Committee.

Dr. **Receipts and Expenditures of the American Colonization Society,** Cr.
From 1st January, 1847, to 1st January, 1848.

To Cash in hand per last report,	-	By Cash paid for passage of Emigrants,	\$3,123 53
Balances due the Society per last report,	\$12,273 07	Cash paid for goods consigned to the Colonial store,	6,232 56
Less amount of goods sent to Colonial store to purchase territory, and included in last balances,	8,174 67	Cash paid for improvements, purchase of territory, salaries of the Governor, Colonial Secretary and Clerk, support of Emigrants, Schools, Public Buildings, and other expenses in Liberia,	5,757 80
Received from Donations,	-	Cash paid salary of Secretary, rent of office, Clerk hire, stationery and lights,	2,314 92
Received from Colonial store,	-	Cash paid salaries of Agents, and other expenses in collecting funds,	4,758 67
Received from Legacies,	-	Cash paid on account of the African Repository,	661 86
Received from subscriptions to the African Repository	-	Cash paid fees and other expenses in collecting Legacies,	516 09
Received for passage of Emigrants	-	Cash paid Contingent Expenses,	452 17
Profit and Loss	-	Cash charged to Donations in last statement,	385 85
Balances due by the Society this day	-	Balances, due the Society this day,	7,376 54
		Profit and Loss,	225 66
		Cash in hand,	268 46
			\$32,104 11

COLONIZATION ROOMS, Washington, Jan. 1st, 1848.

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.

NOAH FLETCHER, Book-keeper.
ANSON G. PHELPS, }
PAUL J. JONES, } Auditors.

January 19, 1848.

Secretary and Treasurer and Executive Committee elected—Resolutions.

Messrs. Reese and Cresson were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

This committee nominated the following officers, who were elected, viz:

Rev. William McLain, Secretary and Treasurer—Matthew St. Clair Clark, H. Lindsly, Elisha Whittlesey, Joseph Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, and William Gunton, Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Board be tendered to Hon. R. C. WINTHROP for the use of the Speaker's chamber, kindly and courteously proffered by him at our late annual meeting.

Resolved, That the subject of the recaptured slaves be referred back to the Executive Committee, with power to act, and requesting their early action in the case.

The committee to whom the annual report was referred, beg leave to report, recommending

That the report be published under the direction of the Executive Committee.

Whereas, the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, at their present meeting, have received the official documents, announcing the formal declaration of the independence of the Republic of Liberia, together with the constitution and bill of rights; and

Whereas we regard this noble effort of the people of Liberia as highly honorable to the intelligence, and strongly indicative of their capacity for self-government; and

Whereas this Board feels called upon to give expression to their sentiments responding to the communications before us; therefore

Resolved, That we tender to the people of Liberia our hearty congratulations on the auspicious result of their recent convention in the establishment of their independent government, and rejoice in this renewed evidence of the ultimate triumph of African colonization.

Resolved, That on behalf of the Society, the Board of Directors sincerely reciprocate the kindly expressions of regard with which we have been honored by the Convention, and assure them of the continued and unabated interest of the American Colonization Society in their future success and prosperity.

Resolved, That these resolutions be officially communicated to the President and authorities of Liberia, after being signed by the proper officers.

The subject of the Society's property in Liberia having been referred to the Board by the Executive Committee; after deliberation, it was

Resolved, That the provisions of the 12th and 16th sections of the 5th article of the constitution of the Republic of Liberia, meet the entire approbation of this Board; and that the Executive Committee be authorized and requested to make the most liberal arrangements with the Government of Liberia, consistent with the interests of future emigrants; subject to the approval of this Board.

Resolved, That the grateful thanks of this Board are eminently due to the Hon. HENRY CLAY, the venerated President of our Society, for the highly interesting and able address, delivered at our recent anniversary,

All members urged to increase their efforts and enlarge their contributions to the Treasury Adjournment

and that our Secretary communicate this resolution in appropriate terms.

Whereas, In view of the Declaration of Liberian Independence, and the necessity of vigorously sustaining the happy consummation of African Colonization,

Resolved, That it be earnestly recommended to the several auxiliary societies to increase their contributions to the general treasury, to enable it to meet its present engagements and to transport to Liberia the 310 emigrants ready to depart, and others who may apply in the course of the year.

Resolved, That the thanks of the

Board are due to the Rev. Dr. MACLEAN, our presiding officer, for the highly satisfactory manner in which he has performed this service; and to the Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, for his services as Clerk at the present session.

Resolved, That the adjournment of this Board be, to meet at this place, on the third Tuesday in January, 1849, at 12 o'clock at noon.

After the reading and acceptance of the minutes, and prayer by the Rev. J. B. PINNEY, the Board adjourned. Attest,

JOHN MACLEAN, *Ch'man*.

JOSEPH TRACY, *Clerk*.

APPENDIX.

INFORMATION ABOUT GOING TO LIBERIA.

For the information of our friends we publish the following *questions* and *answers*. We are constantly receiving letters in which these questions are, in substance, asked. The spirit of inquiry about Liberia, and the means of getting there, is becoming every day more and more prevalent and earnest. We have, therefore, for the accommodation of ourselves, and the convenience of friends, condensed the facts into the following form :

Question 1. At what season of the year is it best to embark for Liberia?

Answer 1. The spring or fall is the time our vessels usually leave Norfolk. There is very little, if any, choice between these two seasons of the year, as a time to leave this country for Liberia. It is rather more convenient to fit out an expedition at these periods, than at any others, and therefore we have selected them, as the best time for the sailing of our vessels. Hereafter it is expected that the LIBERIA PACKET will make two voyages a year, and if business justifies, she will make three.

Q. 2. How long is the voyage, and is there much danger that we shall be lost on the way?

A. 2. The length of the voyage is from thirty to fifty days. The average is about forty days. We hope

the Liberia Packet will make a much less average than this. The emigrants ought to be at the port of embarkation two days before the vessel sails. There is very little danger of being lost.

Q. 3. What ought we to take with us, both for use on the voyage and after we get there?

A. 3. Every emigrant ought to be well supplied with clothing, both for summer and winter, similar to what he wears in this country. There is no winter in Liberia, but during the rainy season, health is greatly promoted by wearing flannel, or warm clothing. He ought also to have a good mattress and bed clothes. If he is a mechanic, he ought to have the tools of his trade. If he is a farmer, he ought to be well supplied with axes, hoes, spades, saws, augers, &c. And as every family is expected to keep house and live for themselves, they ought to have a good supply of table furniture and cooking utensils. It is not possible for them to take *chairs, tables, bedsteads*, and other large articles of furniture with them, as they occupy too much room in the ship. But whatever is convenient and necessary in housekeeping and of small compass, they ought to take. A keg of nails, a bale or

Land given each emigrant. School. Aid given by the Society.

two of domestics, and some money, would be of use to them, in erecting their houses, and paying for any labor they might need, during the first few months of their residence in Liberia.

Q. 4. How much land is given to each emigrant?

A. 4. By the laws of Liberia, each emigrant on his arrival receives a town lot, or five acres of land. If he is the head of a family, the quantity of land is increased according to the number of his family. This allowance may seem small, but it is abundantly sufficient for all his necessities until he is able to buy more for himself, which he can do for \$1 an acre.

Q. 5. Can I educate my children there, and what will it cost?

A. 5. By a law of the commonwealth, all parents are required to send their children to school. In some of the settlements the schools are very good. In others, they are more indifferent. But a parent who wants to educate his children can do it better in Liberia than in any other place.

Q. 6. Will the Colonization Society pay my expenses in getting there?

A. 6. The Colonization Society will give a free passage to all who are unable to pay for themselves, and will aid them in supporting themselves during the first six months after they arrive, by furnishing them with provisions, and medicines and medical attendance when they are sick, and providing them a house to live in. During these six months they can become acclimated, raise a crop for themselves, build them a house on their own land, open and plant a piece of land, and have everything

in readiness to live comfortably thereafter.

Q. 7. How can we make a living in Liberia?

A. 7. In the same way that you would make one any where else; that is, by industry and economy.

Those who are competent to teach school, can get from three to four hundred dollars for teaching. Good accountants can get from four to eight hundred dollars as clerks in stores and mercantile houses. Tailors, shoemakers, blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, brickmakers, cabinet makers, shipwrights, &c. &c., can always find employment at good wages.—The farmer need fear no want.

This question has been answered by the *Editor of the Liberia Herald*, who has lived there many years, and we cannot do better than to give his own words, viz:

"For information of our friends, who are constantly and incorrectly asserting, in America, that 'Liberians have not any thing else to eat but roots and wild animals,' we have thought proper to give a list of such animals, fruits, and edibles as are in general use with us in their appropriate seasons:

Domesticated.—Cows, bullocks, swine, sheep, goats, ducks, fowls, pigeons, turkeys, (few.)

Wild.—Deer of different kinds in abundance: red, black, brown, and grayish; partridge, pigeons, goats, cows, doves, hedgehogs, red squirrels, summer ducks, rice birds, ground doves, &c.

Fruit.—Water melon, musk melon, mango plums, orange, rose apples, sour sop, guava, tamarind, plantain, bananas, gram-mahilla, limes, lemons.

Fish, scaled and shell.—Mullet, whiting, perch, bream, pike, baracouta, mackerel, cursall, herring, drum, catfish, grippers, oysters, crabs, carp, sun.

Edibles.—Sweet potatoes, arrow root, turnips, carrots, shilote, cymblain, chiota, papua, Lima beans, ochra, peas, radishes, beets, cabbage, snaps, cucumbers, greens, salada, cassavas, yams, corn.

Besides the above, there are many others, which we have neither time or room to arrange here."

A. F. RUSSELL, Esq., of Golah, Liberia, another citizen who has been there for years, writes on the some subject in the Liberia Herald, thus, viz : (He is speaking of what should be said to persons in the U. S., who think of going to Liberia.)

"If they be farmers, point them to the soil, the fertility of which cannot be exaggerated, producing every thing a tropical climate can produce in ample abundance, yet 'by the sweat of the brow.' The arm answering, though not necessarily in all cases, the place of the ox; [oxen can be bought at any time, thank God, for the money, and broke and worked too by those who choose it, and it has been done;] the hoe answering for the plough, if we rather, and in our light soil, does almost as well, perhaps. Labor and patience, two-thirds of the labor, too, that it would take to support a man in the United States, will reward the workmen, thirty, sixty, a hundred fold—the profits will sweeten the toil.

A coffee tree once planted and reared (which takes four years) will yield its increase two crops a year, year after year bringing its reward with it—a hundred, a thousand, and tens of thousands, will do the very same, and certainly the scions, or the seed, are to be bought in sufficient quantities in Liberia. Arrow-root, ginger, pinders, and pepper, grow with almost half trouble, yielding in full abundance if planted. Indigo, &c., grow luxuriantly beyond all possible expectation; and as for fruits, the orange, lime, lemon, soursop, guava, mango, &c., &c., we place Liberia against any country in the world, and with what a fraction of labor, compared with the benefits they yield. Vegetables—the yam, potatoes, cassada, plantains, Indian corn, beans, peas, &c., &c., useless to mention, time would fail us to tell. Put them in the earth, and they are as sure to produce as the God of nature is to bring about the seasons. Still the idle will not have them. The lazy man has no part in this lot of good things. Such truths would do us good. The word *labor* frightens the lazy man, and he will not curse us with his presence and example. The industrious love that word, or the thing it means, will come determined to do, and coming will conquer and be rewarded."

The Rev. J. B. PINNEY, so long and so well known as Governor of Liberia, and since as an agent in this

country, answers the question thus, viz:

"No man, by farming, can get a living without labor in any country but in Liberia, there being no snow, or frost, or cold to provide against, a large portion of the labor needed here for keeping warm and comfortable, is not needed there, and as it is always summer, much less land will support a family.

Another consideration may here be added, viz: that many important plants and vegetables continue to grow and bear from year to year, with very little cultivation. Our garden Lima bean, *I have seen* covering by its vines a good sized tree, where it had been growing and constantly bearing for *nine years!* Sweet potato vines are often, when pulled, replanted, and go on to bear more roots. The African potato, or cassada, grows for two years; the cotton plant bears for nine or ten years."

Q. 8. Can I be as healthy in Liberia as I am in the United States?

A. 8. Probably not. Some constitutions may be more healthy there than here. For old settlers, Liberia is doubtless more healthy than many parts of the United States. The deaths there, among such, for several years past, have not been more than three per cent.

We would here make this general remark, in connection with the last two questions. The great advantages, which the colored man gets by going to Liberia, are *not* as to his *eating, or drinking, or making money*, but in his *social, political, and moral* condition. He becomes a *man*. He is no longer despised as of another race, but is treated as an equal and a brother, and secures immense privileges for his children.—If colored men cannot understand and appreciate these and such like advantages, it is not worth their while to go to Liberia! Those who can and do appreciate them, and go to Liberia, will never regret it. Of

The grand motive for going to Liberia.

such emigrants Mr. Russell, whose language we have before quoted, makes the following remarks:

"They not only see that all their labor is their own, every improvement belongs to themselves and children, good sense and industry tells them to go forward, and they obey, looking upon Liberia as theirs, and the home of their children, its strength their safety; its wealth their property, and its prosperity their glory, and the salvation from degradation of their children. Such men as these, though they cannot read a word, and, perhaps, never thought of writing, and, perhaps, spent much of their time in slavery, are an honor to any country, that would allow them equality. There are some of this stamp in Liberia, men 'worth their weight in gold.' They are industrious men, who look forward, who love their children.—Such men are not only good citizens, but patriotic colonists. One thousand of them would make the soil, and the ship, declare Liberia independent without a human declaration. As the hope of Liberia's glory, present as well as future glory, rising before such men, it beckons them onward.—They enjoy 'freedom' in every true sense of that word. They love our laws, because they are wholesome, they are ours made by legislators of our choice. They love liberty for what it is in and of itself.

Free from that oppression worse, if possible, than that of Israel in Egypt, under which he once groaned, the industrious public spirited man seizes and holds fast the hope of elevating not only his own, but the name and character of his country.—With life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, with and before him, with a right view of these things, what can hinder this colony from prospering? Or such men from being freemen? It is a startling truth, unless it has become 'a new thing under the sun,' that there is not a free black man from Georgia to Maine. No, nor in the whole United States! Nor will there be very soon, if we must judge from 'the signs of the times.'"

In conclusion, we have one particular request to make, viz: *That all persons intending to emigrate to Liberia, will give us early notice of the time when they will be ready.* It always requires considerable time to arrange necessary preliminaries, and make indispensable preparations: so that it not unfrequently

happens that persons almost ready when the vessel sails, are compelled to wait for six months or a year, for the want of a few more days in which to get ready.

We trust that this suggestion will be duly regarded. There are many persons who are making inquiries in regard to the advantages of going to Liberia, who would be much benefited by the suggestions which many of our friends might give them, or which they could obtain by opening a correspondence, with us, on the subject. There are no letters that we receive and answer with more pleasure than those which make inquiries about emigration to Liberia. We trust, therefore, that there will be some special efforts made to place the colored people in possession of the facts relating to their prospects in Liberia. We are expecting soon to send out a large number of the more intelligent and educated class. The present independent position of Liberia, renders this very desirable. They have assumed the entire responsibility of their own government, and will demand all the talent, wisdom and energy they can summon to their aid. We should think that the very most intelligent and wealthy colored people in this country would have some ambition to share in the splendid results, soon to be achieved through the agency of the colonists, for Liberia! Surely, to aid in laying the foundation for a great nation, in maturing institutions and laws for the government of a great people, and in redeeming an

The importance to every emigrant of being correctly informed in regard to their prospects.

immense continent from the worst of Pagan darkness and barbarity, is a work infinitely more sublime and glorious than can possibly be performed by any of the colored people in *this country*, however favored may be their position, enlarged their opportunities, and determined their energy and perseverance! When the historian comes to write up the labors of their race, who will stand far above all comparison, if not the bold and successful pioneers in the only successful effort ever made for their social, civil, and religious redemption?

Leaving out of view every thing touching their own personal interests, there are considerations connected with their race and the destiny before them, which should induce the most highly-favored of them in this country to seek a field of usefulness in Africa. But when we take into consideration that in Liberia is the only place on the face of the earth

where they and their children can enjoy the luxury of true freedom, and infinitely advance their social, moral, and intellectual interests, is it not marvelous that they still prefer their present inferior and unenviable position among the whites, and still cherish the gross delusions of which they have been made the victims, willing to believe the most fabulous stories about Liberia, and shutting their eyes tightly against all the light which shines upon them, and shows it to be a dictate of wisdom, as well as a demand of duty, for them to go to their fatherland, and be MEN!

We are happy to know, and to have it in our power to inform our friends, that there are some persons intending to go to Liberia, who rightly appreciate the circumstances of their situation, and who are prepared to make themselves useful and rise to a desirable fame, should their lives be spared.

THINGS WHICH EVERY EMIGRANT TO LIBERIA OUGHT TO KNOW.

It is of vast importance, that whoever contemplates going to Liberia, should be fully and correctly informed in regard to their prospects.

1. *They should understand that they are going to a new country.*—

They will not there see houses built in the same style that they are here, and filled with all the comforts and conveniences that time and wealth have so lavishly provided here. It is little more than twenty years since

the first colonists landed on that coast. They have, during all this time, had to struggle through almost unparalleled obstacles. Of course, we must not expect to find them as far advanced in the refinements of civilization as we are. It is yet a new country, and those who go there must carry with them the courage and the energy to bear the dangers and surmount the obstacles naturally belonging to such a state of things.

Emigrants must expect to fight for themselves.—They must not depend upon the Colonization Society.

2. *They must expect to begin life for themselves.* They will not have any friends there who will think and act and contrive and plan for them. They must rely on themselves.—They receive a tract of land, in its wild and uncultivated state, and if it is ever cleared and planted, they must do it. They must build a house for themselves, and begin to keep house. And if they have but few of the necessities, and none of the conveniences and luxuries of house-keeping, still they must not be discouraged, but “struggle on and struggle ever.” Brighter days will come. Every brilliant noon must be preceded by its morning. They must not despise the day of small things, but cheered and sustained by the example of many around them, who commenced life just as they are doing, and are now comfortable and happy, they must press their way onward, and they will find that industry and perseverance will secure to them plenty and happiness.

3. *They must not depend upon the Colonization Society.* The business of the Society is to help them to get to that country, where they can thenceforward help themselves. Many persons have supposed that the Society would do every thing for them; pay their passage, furnish them every thing to eat and drink after they get to Liberia, and let them live in ease. But the truth is far otherwise. And hence, when they reach Liberia, and begin to find provisions running low, and are made to under-

stand that the time has arrived when they must support themselves, they become offended, abuse the colony and the Society, and pretty nearly every body and every thing else, and then perhaps they write home to their friends, and advise them not to come to so horrible a place.—“These things ought not so to be.”

4. *They must expect to work for their living.* How else can they hope to live? Liberia is no unearthly paradise. If men there have not money enough to live on, they must make a living some other way. By the labor of their heads or the labor of their hands, they must get bread for themselves. And it would be well for them to understand that there is no business more honorable or more important to the welfare of the colony, and profitable to the individual, than the cultivation of the soil. It always yields a liberal reward to the industry of the husbandman.

5. *They ought to be impressed with a sense of the responsibility which will devolve upon them, as members of a free and independent government.* Every citizen of Liberia must consider himself as one of the builders of a great and cultivated nation, a Christian commonwealth, on the shores of a barbarous continent. The very circumstances in which they are placed, stimulates them to action, and furnishes exciting motives for elevated sentiments and noble conduct.

Persons, therefore, who contemplate going to Liberia, ought to un-

On their arrival in Liberia they are invested with all the rights of citizens.

derstand beforehand the nature of the duties they will be called to perform. On their arrival there, they will be invested with all the rights of citizens; they must vote at elections, and consider and decide upon the measures most necessary to secure the welfare of the citizens and the stability of the government. The highest offices in the commonwealth are within their reach. They may aspire to them, and, if sufficiently intelligent and virtuous, they may ultimately reach them.

What a reward is thus held out to inspire a pure ambition, and incite a determined effort? Liberia is destined to enlarge itself for ages, and gather within its expanding influence multitudes of the present and millions of the future generations! Interest and duty, hope and fear, patriotism and religion, self-respect and stern necessity, all combine and urge them to act with manly courage and unbending fidelity.

6. *They ought to be sensible that, not only for themselves, but for the benefit of their race, must they labor.* The colony is, in one respect, a great missionary station, a great centre of light and influence, and it is destined to make all the surrounding tribes and country just what it is, and continues to be. The natives have never before beheld such a spectacle as is presented to their view in the citizens, the houses, the schools, the churches, and the government of Liberia.—Hence they look on with intense anxiety. The superiority of every

thing colonial impresses them. They feel a desire to copy the example set before them. The natives and the colonists are all mixed together, and thus the style and manners of every family is seen, and an influence for good or for ill, goes forth from every individual. How important, therefore, that colonists, before leaving this country, should be made to feel the immense importance of a correct course of conduct, governed and controlled by thorough religious principle! They ought to be made to feel that it is their highest privilege, as well as their imperative duty, to cast in their lot with the pioneers in the work of Africa's civil, social, and religious redemption, and sacrifice themselves, if need be, in the stupendous work of spreading free government and civil institutions over all Africa, and bringing her uncounted population all under the dominion of the kingdom of Heaven!

7. *They should be instructed to regard the advice of the governor and physician, in relation to preserving their health.* Foolish and unnecessary exposure to the dew and the night air, and the indulgence of their appetites, have caused the death of many emigrants before they had become accustomed to the climate, whose lives might have been saved by simply attending to the advice of the physician.

8. *They should be made to feel the importance of sending their children to school, as soon as they arrive in Liberia, and until they are*

well educated. This is important to their own welfare and happiness. It is important to their respectability and influence among the other colonists. It is important for the perfection and perpetuity of the institutions of the country.

Brought up as they themselves have been in this country, they are too apt to be indifferent to the education of their children. It requires every motive and influence which necessarily can urge, or importunity can originate, to arouse them to a proper sense of their responsibilities. But it ought to be done; and, in most instances, it can be done most effectually by their friends in this country, in whom they repose confidence.

3. *They ought to be convinced that the friends of colonization are their friends: that it is a scheme contrived and executed solely with reference to the good of their race.* We have always professed to be the friends of the colored man. We have always advocated colonization as his friend, and have honestly believed that it presented the fairest hope and the surest guarantee of his future happiness. We are satisfied that in this country he never can enjoy a permanent home; can never rise above his present depressed condition. He may stay here for years and years yet to come. But the day must come, sooner or later, when he must depart. The state of things is now in process of formation, which will compel him to seek the necessa-

ries of life in some other climate, and out of some other soil.

"Whenever the avenue of employment becomes crowded—whenever the price of labor is brought low by competition—whenever it is a favor to be employed, instead of being, as it now is, a favor to work, then the colored man will know that the hour, which he may most come, is at hand. *In the year to come, the colored man will go to the soil.* It is a solemn sense of duty which makes us say those things. The subject is too grave a one—it concerns the happiness of too many—to be dealt with lightly; and we should be doing wrong, were that we now urge to have no other basis than our mere opinion. But we might almost say, that we expressed no opinion; that we merely called attention to the handwriting of daily events, which all might read who did not close their eyes in obduracy. The colored man in New York do not drive hacks or drays. Why is this? New York is in a free State. The reason is a plain one. New York is the largest city in our country, attracting to it, by its very size, a still increasing population. Labor is more abundant there than in smaller cities, or in the rural districts. For the employments of the poor there are more competitors. The white man, with political power on his side, has elbowed out the black man. The answer to the question, then, is to be found in the principle which we have stated. We might multiply instances of a like character, but it is unnecessary.

Hereafter, when what now takes place in New York, shall be universal throughout the land,—when the colored man, in place, whether as hackman, or waiter, or purveyor, shall be envied by the white man out of place, who shall strive to supplant him, that a white family may be supported, rather than a colored one, by the wages which the hand of the latter receives,—when this state of things comes to pass, colonization will be hailed by the colored people as their best friend, for it will have provided for them, beyond the reach of all the influences to which we have alluded, asylums to which the oppressed may flee from the wrath that is to come.

"We ask our colored friends to ponder these things well. We ask them to believe that it is a friend who speaks to them, who has no interest to mislead them, and who, in speaking as is here spoken, discharges what is conceived to be a duty, which it would be criminal to neglect."

And we ask our friends into whose

Information—how to be obtained.

hands these pages may fall, to take every opportunity to make these facts and truths known to the colored people. Especially do we desire the masters and others having persons in their charge, who are to be sent to Liberia, to be particular in giving fully and repeatedly the information here presented. It will save us much trouble and expense. It will save the emigrants many regrets and much disappointment, and it will be

of lasting benefit to the commonwealth of Liberia.

Information of the time and place of the sailing of the next expedition for Liberia, can at any time be obtained by addressing a letter to the Secretary of the American Colonization Society, Colonization Rooms, Washington City. Where also can be had copies of this pamphlet, and other documents for gratuitous circulation.

COMMON OBJECTIONS TO GOING TO LIBERIA ANSWERED.

WE not unfrequently meet with objections to going to Liberia, made honestly by some persons, who have the offer of their freedom, if they will go, and others who are free, and might make good citizens of Liberia. We therefore propose to give their objections a candid hearing, and see if they cannot be removed, viz :

Objection 1. I do not want to go where there are no white people. I do not believe in the control of negroes. I have seen too much of them. They will never do for me.

Answer 1. This objection argues a very bad state of mind in him who makes it. It shows that he has not a decent self-respect, or that he has very inadequate ideas of the capabilities of his race. If his ideas of *negro* government have been formed from the conduct of some colored overseer on a plantation, then he ought to know that a government of law and order, regularly established and administered by colored men, for their own mutual benefit, is

another and a very different thing. And if he has the principles and character of a man, he may stand a fair chance of rising to the head of the government, and then surely he need not complain of undue rigor.

O. 2. I do not want to go there to die. Every body dies there. It is too sickly for me. If I do not die naturally, the wild beasts will eat me up. I cannot live among snakes and alligators.

A. 2. For acclimated emigrants, Liberia is as healthy as any other country. Their bills of mortality show this. The census published and circulated so widely in all parts of this country proves it.

And farther than this, there is very little danger of dying in the process of acclimation, if the patient takes proper care of himself. Of the emigrants sent out during the last five years, not *one* in *twenty* has died from the effects of acclimating fever.

We have never heard of a single colonist having been eaten up by the wild beasts, and think, therefore,

The Society would by no means abandon forever all participation in the slave trade.

that there must be some mistake as to the danger from that source.

Q. 3. I have heard that the colonists are engaged in the slave trade, and I never could credit that.

A. 3. We can hardly speak gravely in answer to this objection. We lately heard of a gentleman of some distinction, who had been on board of one of our men-of-war on the African coast, and therefore claimed to be well informed as to the actual state of things at Liberia, and who said that it was generally believed that the colonists were engaged in the slave trade; and he mentioned the name of one person, of whose participation in that horrible traffic there was no doubt. But it so happened that we knew the said person, and that he had not been in Liberia for several years, and that he is now residing in the city of Philadelphia.

By the laws of Liberia, it is a capital offence to be engaged in the slave trade. And not only are the colonists entirely free from blame, and above suspicion in this matter, but they have also exerted a redeeming influence upon the native tribes in their vicinity. One of the first articles in all the treaties made with the natives, binds them to abandon forever all participation in the slave trade. It is a fact, which is notorious, that the establishment of Liberia has driven the slave trade entirely away from more than three hundred miles along the sea coast, with the exception of one single factory.

It is, therefore, entirely too late in the day to charge this crime on the colonists.

Q. 4. They have to eat *roots* there. They cannot get any bacon and cabbage there, nor any thing like what we live on here.

A. 4. Is there anything in the climate or soil of Liberia that should make *roots* more unwholesome or unpalatable as an article of food there than they are in this country? It is a fact that they eat *roots* there, and so they do here, and in the form of sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, turnips, &c. They are here generally much admired, and we see no good reason why the same thing should not be true of them in Liberia.

There is no danger of starvation in Liberia. There is no difficulty in getting plenty to eat, of good wholesome food. It is true that some articles of diet eaten here cannot be gotten there without much inconvenience. But it is also true that there are many vegetables and fruits there, which are not found here; and that nature has furnished an abundant supply of the kind of food best calculated to promote the health and comfort of people living on that soil, and in that climate.

Q. 5. If I go there and do not like it, they will not let me come away again.

A. 5. It is not true that the Society does not allow any body to return, when once they have gone to Liberia. Every colonist there is as free to stay, or leave and go where he pleases, as any individual in this, or any other country, can possibly be. We have no control over them. They are responsible to themselves. They may go away any day they choose.

Q. 6. I have no money to begin with, if I go there, and I know I could not get along that way.

The soil produces abundantly.—Difficulty of convincing colored people.

A. 6. It is true, that it would be very desirable for every colonist to have a little money to begin life with in that new world. But it is not indispensable. A majority of the present colonists commenced there without a cent. Many of them have risen to considerable wealth, and all who have practiced any industry or economy, now enjoy an abundance. A good character and a willingness to

work, are of more value than a fortune without them. There is, perhaps, no place in the world where a family can be supported with less labor than in Liberia. The earth produces abundantly, and almost perpetually, and with very little labor in the cultivation. There is, therefore, no difficulty in living well, even without any money to begin with.

CERTAIN CAVILINGS AGAINST COLONIZATION REPLIED TO.

WITH an earnest desire to do all in our power to place Colonization in its true light before the colored people, we answer below some of the most common *cavilings* against it. We fully appreciate the difficulty of making them rightly understand all the bearings and blessings of Colonization, and of convincing them that it presents to them the very highest good that they will ever enjoy in this world. In our mind there is not a doubt of this. We are as fully persuaded that Colonization opens to the colored people of this country the only bright prospect that lies before them in all the broad future, as we are of our own existence. But our conviction of the fact, and the ability to convince them, are two vastly different things. Could they be brought to look at the whole subject as we do, they would, without doubt, think as we do.

Question 1. Why do the whites wish to get clear of us, and send us away to that land?

Answer 1. It is not true that the friends of colonization are actuated by no higher motive than "to get clear of the colored people." They do not propose to *send* them to Liberia contrary to their own wishes. Their will is always consulted in the matter. We have no power to *send* them. They can stay here as long as they wish. But our opinion is that their stay in this country will ever be attended with such depressing influences as to render it any thing but desirable. While, on the contrary, their departure to Liberia will bring them into an entirely new set of circumstances, where a vast field of advancement will be opened to them, and the most powerful motives be brought to bear upon them to lift them up in the scale of being. In this country we see no prospect of their ever rising above their present level. There no power can prevent them from rising.

Another consideration on this

They want to live for a permanent home in this country.

point. If we wish to *get clear* of them, and this only, we certainly are laboring with but very little prospect of obtaining our *wish*. The number transported to Liberia bears so little comparison to their natural increase, that to continue the progress with no other motive than merely to *get clear* of them, would be the blank-est business in the wide world. This, therefore, cannot be the reason why we give and labor to support colonization, and urge its claims and benefits upon them, from time to time, with all the ardor of our minds.

Q. 2. If we must live by ourselves, why do you not give us some place in the United States, where there is room enough?

A. 2. Will they please to designate what particular place in the United States they would like to have assigned to them? Where is there a spot not wanted by the white man? How rapidly is our population spreading over the whole country? What has been the fate of the poor Indian? Where is his resting place? Where his home, not ever to be disturbed by the march of civilization? Could the colored people hope for a better destiny than has been his?

Will they go west of the Rocky Mountains? Ask them. And if they were there and comfortably fixed, what assurance have they, that their descendants will be allowed quietly to remain there?

Why do they not go to *Canada*? Many of their brethren have gone there. Great sympathy has been expressed for them by the present inhabitants of Canada, and the peo-

ple of England. Why do they not avail themselves of this sympathy and go there in large masses? They know the reason. We need not mention it.

Will they go to a *free State*?—Some of them have tried this, and have rued the day they ever set foot on free soil. The reception the "Randolph negroes" (as they are now called in Ohio) met with, is warning to them on this subject.

No! there is no place for them in this country. It is not their land, and they never can be made at home here. There are difficulties in the way which no power of man can remove.

They feel this and sometimes acknowledge it, when they would not. Some time last year a convention was held by them in the northern part of Ohio, at which it was proposed to adopt a plan of colonization to some distant part of this country, but it met with more bitter opposition and fierce denunciation, than did ever the hated scheme of African colonization, and the majority carried the day, and resolved that they would contend to the death for their rights on the soil where they were born!

Q. 3. Why do not some of the citizens of Liberia come back and let us see them personally, and learn from their own lips all about their condition there?

A. 3. Why do not the citizens of Liberia come back and tell their own story? Who would believe them, if they were to? Many of them have come—have gone to their friends

The Government of Liberia considered as firmly established.

and their kindred, and have, in the simplicity of their hearts, told how they lived and what their prospects were; and then have been told that they were *paid by the Colonization Society to tell this story*, and their own kindred refused to believe them! And when they have gone among strangers and presented a true picture of Liberia, they have been charged with trying to persuade men to go there, simply because it would benefit those already there! In this kind of treatment, but little encouragement is found for them to repeat their visit to this country. Beside this, it costs both time and money to come to this country and go every where to tell of the condition of Liberia. Who among the colored people here would be willing to make such a sacrifice for their race?

If they want to understand the true condition and prospects of Liberia, why do they not send out an agent to see for them, and return and report the facts? This would certainly be a more feasible plan for arriving at some correct understanding of the case.

Q. 4. What evidence is there that, if we go to Liberia, and do well for a time, we shall not some day be oppressed by other nations, and subjected to all the cruelties

which our ancestors have suffered in being torn from their native land?

A. 4. There does not seem to us any danger of the citizens of Liberia ever being subjected to the disastrous end alluded to here. Liberia, though very young yet, is fast rising in the dignity and grandeur of full grown manhood. Its growth and government have excited some feeling in some parts of the world. But there is nothing of danger to be apprehended. And as to the *slave trade* ever getting its victims from among the citizens of Liberia, it cannot be thought of for a moment.

We consider the government of Liberia firmly established. It possesses sufficient stability and intelligence to warrant its permanent future existence.

The safeguard against any disastrous result is to be found in the virtue and education of those who support it. It will be just what they choose to make it. If, therefore, any of the colored people in this country are solicitous on this point, they ought, without delay, to cast in their mite to strengthen the hands of their fellow men, and thus do all in their power for the salvation of their race.

CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

IN CONVENTION.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

WE the representatives of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, in Convention assembled, invested with authority for forming a new government, relying upon the aid and protection of the Great Arbitrator

of human events, do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the people of this Commonwealth, publish and declare the said Commonwealth a FREE, SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATE, by the name and title of the REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

While announcing to the nations of the world the new position which the people of

Declaration of Independence.

this Republic have felt themselves called upon to assume, courtesy to their opinion seems to demand a brief accompanying statement of the causes which induced them, first to expatriate themselves from the land of their nativity, and to form settlements on this barbarous coast, and now to organize their government by the assumption of a sovereign and independent character. Therefore we respectfully ask their attention to the following facts:

We recognize in all men certain natural and inalienable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the right to acquire, possess, enjoy and defend property. By the practice and consent of men in all ages, some system or form of government is proven to be necessary to exercise, enjoy and secure these rights; and every people has a right to institute a government and to choose and adopt that system or form of it, which, in their opinion, will most effectually accomplish these objects, and secure their happiness, which does not interfere with the just rights of others. The right, therefore, to institute government, and to all the powers necessary to conduct it, is an inalienable right and cannot be resisted without the grossest injustice.

We the people of the Republic of Liberia were originally the inhabitants of the United States of North America.

In some parts of that country, we were debarr'd by law from all the rights and privileges of men—in other parts, public sentiment, more powerful than law, frowned us down.

We were every where shut out from all civil office.

We were excluded from all participation in the government.

We were taxed without our consent.

We were compelled to contribute to the resources of a country which gave us no protection.

We were made a separate and distinct class, and against us every avenue to improvement was effectually closed. Strangers from all lands, of a color different from ours, were preferred before us.

We uttered our complaints, but they were unattended to, or only met by alleging the peculiar institutions of the country.

All hope of a favorable change in our country was thus wholly extinguished in our bosoms, and we looked with anxiety abroad for some asylum from the deep degradation.

The Western coast of Africa was the place selected by American benevolence and philanthropy, for our future home.—Removed beyond those influences which depressed us in our native land, it was hoped we should be enabled to enjoy those rights and privileges, and exercise and im-

prove those faculties which the God of nature has given us in common with the rest of mankind.

Under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, we established ourselves here, on land acquired by purchase from the lords of the soil.

In an original compact with this Society, we, for important reasons, delegated to it certain political powers; while this institution stipulated that whenever the people should become capable of conducting the government, or whenever the people should desire it, this institution would resign the delegated power, peaceably withdraw its supervision, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

Under the auspices and guidance of this institution, which has nobly and in perfect faith redeemed its pledges to the people, we have grown and prospered.

From time to time, our number has been increased by emigration from America, and by accession from native tribes; and from time to time, as circumstances required it, we have extended our borders by acquisition of land by honorable purchase from the natives of the country.

As our territory has extended, and our population increased, our commerce has also increased. The flags of most of the civilized nations of the earth float in our harbors, and their merchants are opening an honorable and profitable trade. Until recently, these visits have been of a uniformly harmonious character, but as they have become more frequent, and to more numerous points of our extending coast, questions have arisen, which it is supposed can be adjusted only by agreement between sovereign powers.

For years past, the American Colonization Society has virtually withdrawn from all direct and active part in the administration of the government, except in the appointment of the Governor, who is also a colonist, for the apparent purpose of testing the ability of the people to conduct the affairs of government, and no complaint of crude legislation, nor of mismanagement, nor of mal-administration has yet been heard.

In view of these facts, this institution, the American Colonization Society, with that good faith which has uniformly marked all its dealings with us, did, by a set of resolutions in January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-six, dissolve all political connection with the people of this Republic, return the power with which it was delegated, and left the people to the government of themselves.

The people of the Republic of Liberia, then, are of right, and in fact, a free, sove-

Appeal to the nations of the world.—Declaration of Rights.

reign and independent State, possessed of all the rights, powers and functions of government.

In assuming the momentous responsibilities of the position they have taken, the people of this Republic feel justified by the necessities of the case, and with this conviction they throw themselves with confidence upon the candid consideration of the civilized world.

Liberia is not the offspring of grasping ambition, nor the tool of avaricious speculation.

No desire for territorial aggrandizement brought us to these shores; nor do we believe so sordid a motive entered into the high considerations of those who aided us in providing this asylum.

Liberia is an asylum from the most grinding oppression.

In coming to the shores of Africa, we indulged the pleasing hope that we would be permitted to exercise and improve those faculties, which impart to man his dignity—to nourish in our hearts the flame of honorable ambition, to cherish and indulge those aspirations which a beneficent Creator had implanted in every human heart, and to evince to all who despise, ridicule and oppress our race; that we possess with them a common nature, are with them susceptible of equal refinement, and capable of equal advancement in all that adorns and dignifies man.

We were animated with the hope, that here we should be at liberty to train up our children in the way they should go—to inspire them with the love of an honorable fame, to kindle within them the flame of a lofty philanthropy, and to form strong within them the principles of humanity, virtue and religion.

Among the strongest motives to leave our native land—to abandon forever the scenes of our childhood, and to sever the most endeared connections, was the desire for a retreat where, free from the agitations of fear and molestation, we could, in composure and security, approach in worship the God of our fathers.

Thus far our highest hopes have been realized.

Liberia is already the happy home of thousands, who were once the doomed victims of oppression, and if left unmolested to go on with her natural and spontaneous growth; if her movements be left free from the paralyzing intrigues of jealous ambition and unscrupulous avarice, she will throw open a wider and yet a wider door for thousands, who are now looking with an anxious eye for some land of rest.

Our courts of justice are open equally to the stranger and the citizen for the redress

of grievances, for the remedy of injuries, and for the punishment of crime.

Our numerous and well attended schools attest our efforts and our desire for the improvement of our children.

Our churches for the worship of our Creator, every where to be seen, bear testimony to our piety, and to our acknowledgment of His Providence.

The native African, bowing down with us before the altar of the living God, declare that from us, feeble as we are, the light of Christianity has gone forth, while upon that curse of curses, the slave trade, a deadly blight has fallen as far as our influence extends.

Therefore, in the name of humanity, and virtue, and religion—in the name of the Great God, our common Creator, and our common judge, we appeal to the nations of Christendom, and earnestly and respectfully ask of them that they will regard us with the sympathy and friendly considerations to which the peculiarities of our condition entitle us, and to extend to us that comity which marks the friendly intercourse of civilized and independent communities.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.

Declaration of Rights.

The end of the institution, maintenance and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying, in safety and tranquility, their natural rights, and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained, the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity and happiness.

Therefore we, the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia in Africa, acknowledging with devout gratitude the goodness of God, in granting to us the blessings of the Christian religion, and political, religious and civil liberty, do, in order to secure these blessings for ourselves and our posterity, and to establish justice, ensure domestic peace, and promote the general welfare, hereby solemnly associate, and constitute ourselves a free, sovereign and independent state, by the name of the Republic of Liberia, and do ordain and establish this Constitution, for the government of the same.

SECTION 1. All men are born equally free and independent, and have certain rights inherent and inalienable—among which are the rights of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and of

possessing and obtaining safety and happiness.

SEC. 2. All power is inherent in the people; all free governments are instituted by their authority and for their benefit, and they have a right to alter and reform the same when their safety and happiness require it.

SEC. 3. All men have a natural and inalienable right to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences, without obstruction or molestation from others, all persons denouncing themselves profanely, and not obstructing others in their religious worship, are entitled to the protection of law in the free exercise of their own religion, and no sect of Christians shall have exclusive privileges or preference over any other sect, but all shall be alike tolerated; and no religious test whatever shall be required as a qualification for civil office, or the exercise of any civil right.

SEC. 4. There shall be no slavery within this Republic. Nor shall any citizen of this Republic, or any person resident therein, deal in slaves, either within or without this Republic, directly or indirectly.

SEC. 5. The people have a right at all times, in an orderly and peaceable manner, to assemble and consult upon the common good, to instruct their representatives, and to petition the government or any public functionaries for the redress of grievances.

SEC. 6. Every person injured shall have remedy therefor by due course of law; justice shall be done without denial or delay; and all claims not arising under martial law, or upon impeachment, the parties shall have a right to a trial by jury, and to be heard in person or by counsel, or both.

SEC. 7. No person shall be held to answer for a capital or infamous crime, except in cases of impeachment. Cases arising in the Army and Navy, and petty offences, unless upon prosecution by a grand jury; and every person criminally charged shall have a right to be seasonably furnished with a copy of the charge, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have a speedy, public and impartial trial by a jury of the vicinity. He shall not be compelled to furnish or give evidence against himself, and no person shall, for the same offence, be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb.

SEC. 8. No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, property or privilege, but by the judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.

SEC. 9. No place shall be searched, nor person seized, on a criminal charge or suspicion, without upon warrant lawfully issued, upon probable cause, supported by oath, or

solemn affirmation, specially designating the place or person, and the object of the search.

SEC. 10. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor excessive punishments inflicted; nor shall the legislature make any law impairing the obligation of contracts; nor any law rendering any act punishable, in any manner in which it was not punishable when it was committed.

SEC. 11. All elections shall be by ballot, and every male citizen of twenty-one years of age, possessing real estate, shall have the right of suffrage.

SEC. 12. The people have a right to keep and to bear arms for the common defence. And as, in time of peace, armies are dangerous to liberty, they ought not to be maintained without the consent of the legislature, and the military power shall always be held in exact subordination to the civil authority, and be governed by it.

SEC. 13. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

SEC. 14. The powers of this government shall be divided into three distinct departments, the Legislative, Executive and Judicial, and no person belonging to one of these departments shall exercise any of the powers belonging to either of the others.— This section is not to be construed to include Justices of the Peace.

SEC. 15. The liberty of the press is essential to the security of freedom in a State: it ought not, therefore, to be restrained in this Republic.

The press shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature or any branch of government; and no law shall ever be made to restrain the rights thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man; and every citizen may freely speak, write, and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

SEC. 16. No tax shall be established, fixed, laid, or levied, under any pretext whatsoever, without the consent of the people, or their representatives in the legislature.

SEC. 17. Suits may be brought against the Republic in such manner and in such cases as the legislature may by law direct.

Senators and Representatives—qualifications.

SEC. 18. No person can, in any case, be subjected to the law martial, or to any penalties or pains, by virtue of that law, (except those employed in the army or navy, and except the militia in actual service) but by the authority of the legislature.

SEC. 19. In order to prevent those who are vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right at such periods, and in such manner, as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life, and fill up vacant places, by certain and regular elections and appointments.

SEC. 20. That all prisoners shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences, when the proof is evident, or presumption great; and the privilege and the benefit of the writ of habeas corpus shall be enjoyed in this Republic, in the most free, easy, cheap, expeditious and ample manner, and shall not be suspended by the legislature, except upon the most urgent and pressing occasions, and for a limited time, not exceeding twelve months.

ARTICLE II.

Legislative Powers.

SECTION 1. The Legislative power shall be vested in a Legislature of Liberia, and consist of two separate branches—a House of Representatives and a Senate, to be styled the Legislature of Liberia: each of which shall have a negative on the other, and the enacting style of their acts and laws shall be, "It is enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Republic of Liberia in Legislature assembled."

SEC. 2. The representatives shall be elected by and for the inhabitants of the several counties of Liberia, and shall be apportioned among the several counties of Liberia, as follows: The county of Montserado shall have four representatives, the county of Grand Bassa shall have three, and the county of Sinoe shall have one, and all counties hereafter which shall be admitted in the Republic shall have one representative, and for every ten thousand inhabitants one representative shall be added. No person shall be a representative who has not resided in the county two whole years immediately previous to his election, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county, and does not own real estate of not less value than one hundred and fifty dollars in the county in which he resides, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-three years.—The representatives shall be elected biennially, and shall serve two years from the time of their election.

SEC. 3. When a vacancy occurs in the representation of any county by death, resignation, or otherwise, it shall be filled by a new election.

SEC. 4. The House of Representatives shall elect their own speaker and other officers, they shall also have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. 5. The Senate shall consist of two members from Montserado county, two from Bassa county, two from Sinoe county, and two from each county which may be hereafter incorporated into this Republic. No person shall be a senator who shall not have resided three whole years immediately previous to his election in the Republic of Liberia, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the county which he represents, and who does not own real estate of not less value than two hundred dollars in the county which he represents, and who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years. The senator for each county who shall have the highest number of votes shall retain his seat for four years, and the one who shall have the next highest number of votes two years, and all who are afterwards elected to fill their seats shall remain in office four years.

SEC. 6. The Senate shall try all impeachments; the senators being first sworn, or solemnly affirmed, to try the same impartially, and according to law, and no person shall be convicted but by the concurrence of two-thirds of the senators present.—Judgment in such cases shall not extend beyond removal from office, and disqualification to hold an office in the Republic, but the party may still be tried at law for the same offence.

When either the President or Vice President is to be tried, the Chief Justice shall preside.

SEC. 7. It shall be the duty of the Legislature as soon as conveniently may be after the adoption of this constitution, and once at least in every ten years afterwards, to cause a true census to be taken of each town and county of the Republic of Liberia, and a representative shall be allowed every town having a population of ten thousand inhabitants, and for every additional ten thousand in the counties after the first census one representative shall be added to that county until the number of representatives shall amount to thirty—afterwards one representative shall be added for every thirty thousand.

SEC. 8. Each branch of the legislature shall be judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members. A majority of each shall be necessary to transact business, but a less number may adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance

President, Vice President, and Secretaries.

of absent members. Each house may adopt its own rules of proceeding, enforce order, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, may expel a member.

SEC. 9. Neither house shall adjourn for more than two days without the consent of the other; and both houses shall sit in the same town.

SEC. 10. Every bill or resolution which shall have passed both branches of the Legislature, shall, before it becomes a law, be laid before the President for his approval. If he approves, he shall sign it, if not, he shall return it to the Legislature with his objections—if the Legislature shall afterwards pass the bill or resolution by a vote of two-thirds in each branch, it shall become a law. If the President shall neglect to return such bill or resolution to the Legislature with his objection for five days after the same shall have been so laid before him—the Legislature remaining in session during that time—such neglect shall be equivalent to his signature.

SEC. 11. The Senators and Representatives shall receive from the Republic a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law; and shall be privileged from arrest, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace, while attending at, going to, or returning from the session of the Legislature.

ARTICLE III.
Executive Power.

SECTION 1. The Supreme Executive power shall be vested in a President, who shall be elected by the people, and shall hold his office for the term of two years. He shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He shall, in the recess of the Legislature, have power to call out the militia, or any portion thereof, into actual service in defence of the republic. He shall have power to make treaties, provided the Senate concur therein by a vote of two-thirds of the senators present. He shall nominate, and, with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint and commission all ambassadors, and other public ministers and consuls, secretaries of State, of War, of the Navy, and of the Treasury, attorney general, all judges of courts, sheriffs, coroners, marshals, justices of the peace, clerks of courts, registers, notaries public, and all other officers of State, civil and military, whose appointment may not be otherwise provided for by the constitution, or by statutory laws. And in the recess of the Senate, he may fill any vacancy in these offices, until the next session of the Senate. He shall receive all ambassadors and other public ministers. He shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed—he shall inform the Legislature,

from time to time, of the condition of the Republic, and recommend any public measures for their adoption which he may think expedient. He may, after conviction, remit any public forfeitures and penalties, and grant reprieves and pardons for public offences, except in cases of impeachment. He may require information and advice from any public officer, touching matters pertaining to his office. He may, on extraordinary occasions, convene the Legislature, and may adjourn the two houses, whenever they cannot agree as to the time of adjournment.

SEC. 2. There shall be a Vice President, who shall be elected in the same manner, and for the same term, as that of the President, and whose qualifications shall be the same; he shall be President of the Senate and give the casting vote when the House is equally divided on any subject. And in case of the removal of the President from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office; the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Legislature may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

SEC. 3. The Secretary of State shall keep the records of the State, and all the records and papers of the legislative body, and all other public records and documents, not belonging to any other department, and shall lay the same, when required, before the President or Legislature. He shall attend upon them when required, and perform such other duties as may be enjoined by law.

SEC. 4. The Secretary of the Treasury, or other persons who may by law be charged with the custody of the public monies, shall, before he receive such monies, give bonds to the State, with sufficient sureties, to the acceptance of the Legislature, for the faithful discharge of his trust. He shall exhibit a true account of such monies when required by the President or Legislature; and no monies shall be drawn from the Treasury, but by warrant from the President, in consequence of appropriation made by law.

SEC. 5. All ambassadors and other public Ministers and Consuls, the Secretary of State, of War, of the Treasury, and of the Navy, the Attorney General, and Postmaster General, shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the President. All justices of the peace, sheriffs, marshals, clerks of courts, registers, and notaries

public, shall hold their office for the term of two years, from the date of their respective commissions; but may be removed from office within that time by the President, at his pleasure; and all other officers whose term of office may not be otherwise limited by law, shall hold their office during the pleasure of the President.

SEC. 6. Every civil officer may be removed from office by impeachment, for official misconduct. Every such officer may also be removed by the President, upon the address of both branches of the Legislature, stating the particular reasons for his removal.

SEC. 7. No person shall be eligible to the office of President, who has not been a citizen of this Republic for at least five years, and shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years; and who shall not be possessed of unincumbered real estate, of not less value than six hundred dollars.

SEC. 8. The President shall at stated times receive for his services, a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished, during the period for which he shall have been elected. And before he enters on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

I do solemnly swear, (or affirm,) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the Republic of Liberia, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the constitution, and enforce the laws of the Republic of Liberia.

ARTICLE IV.

Judicial Department.

SECTION 1. The Judicial power of this Republic shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such subordinate courts as the Legislature may from time to time establish. The judges of the Supreme Courts, and all other judges of courts, shall hold their office during good behavior; but may be removed by the President, on the address of two-thirds of both houses for that purpose, or by impeachment and conviction thereon. The judges shall have salaries established by law, which may be increased, but not diminished during their continuance in office. They shall not receive any other perquisite or emoluments whatever, from parties or others on account of any duty required of them.

SEC. 2. The Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction in all cases affecting ambassadors or other public ministers and consuls, and those to which the Republic shall be a party. In all other cases the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the legislature shall from time to time make.

ARTICLE V.

Miscellaneous Provisions.

SECTION 1. All laws now in force in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and not repugnant to this constitution, shall be in force as the laws of the Republic of Liberia, until they shall be repealed by the Legislature.

SEC. 2. All judges, magistrates, and other officers now concerned in the administration of justice in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and all other existing civil and military officers therein, shall continue to hold and discharge their respective offices in the name and by the authority of the Republic, until others shall be appointed and commissioned in their stead pursuant to this Constitution.

SEC. 3. All towns and municipal corporations within this Republic, constituted under the laws of the Commonwealth of Liberia, shall retain their existing organizations and privileges, and the respective officers thereof shall remain in office, and act under the authority of this Republic, in the same manner and with the like powers as they now possess under the laws of said Commonwealth.

SEC. 4. The first election of President, Vice President, Senators, and Representatives shall be held on the first Tuesday in October in the year of our Lord eighteen hundred and forty-seven, in the same manner as elections of members of the Council are chosen in the Commonwealth of Liberia, and the votes shall be certified and returned to the Colonial Secretary, and the result of the election shall be ascertained, posted, and notified by him as it is now by law provided in case of such members of Council.

SEC. 5. All other elections of President, Vice President, Senators and Representatives, shall be held in the respective towns on the first Tuesday in May, in every two years, to be held and regulated in such manner as the Legislature may by law prescribe. The returns of votes shall be made to the Secretary of State, who shall open the same, and forthwith issue notice of the election to the persons apparently so elected Senators and Representatives; and all such returns shall be by him laid before the Legislature at its next ensuing session, together with a list of the names of the persons who appear by such returns to have been duly elected Senators and Representatives; and the persons appearing by said returns to be duly elected, shall proceed to organise themselves accordingly as the Senate and House of Representatives. The votes for President shall be sorted, counted, and declared by the House of Representatives. And if no person shall appear to have a majority of

The Legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration.

and where the Senators and Representatives choose, shall in convention, by joint ballot, elect from among the persons having the three highest numbers of votes, a person to act as President for the ensuing term.

Sec. 6. The Legislature shall assemble once at least in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in January, unless a different day shall be appointed by law.

Sec. 7. Every legislator and other officer appointed under this Constitution, shall, before he enters upon the duties of his office, take and subscribe a solemn oath or affirmation to support the Constitution of this Republic, and faithfully and impartially discharge the duties of such office. The Presiding officer of the Senate shall administer such oath or affirmation to the President, in convention of both houses; and the President shall administer the same to the Vice President, to the Senators, and to the Representatives in like manner. If the President is unable to attend, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court may administer the oath or affirmation to him, at any place, and also to the Vice President, Senators, and Representatives, in Convention. Other officers may take such oath or affirmation before the President, Chief Justice, or any other person who may be designated by law.

Sec. 8. All elections of public officers shall be made by a majority of the votes, except in cases otherwise regulated by the Constitution or by law.

Sec. 9. Officers created by this Constitution, when the constitution of the Republic do not require that they shall be elected, shall not be filled until the Legislature shall deem it necessary.

Sec. 10. The property of which a woman may be possessed at the time of her marriage, and also that of which she may afterwards become possessed, otherwise than by her husband, shall not be held responsible for his debts, whether contracted before or after marriage.

Nor shall the property thus intended to be secured to the woman be alienated otherwise than by her free and voluntary consent, and such alienation may be made by her either by sale, devise or otherwise.

Sec. 11. In all cases in which estates are transmitted the widow shall be entitled to one-third of the real estate during her natural life, and to one third of the personal estate, which she shall hold in her own right, subject to alienation, by her, by devise or otherwise.

Sec. 12. No person shall be entitled to hold real estate in this Republic unless he be a citizen of the same. Nevertheless this

article shall not be construed to apply to colonization, missionary, educational, or other benevolent institutions, as long as the property or estate is applied to its legitimate purposes.

Sec. 13. The great object of forming these colonies being to provide a home for the dispersed and oppressed children of Africa, and to regenerate and enlighten this benighted continent, none but persons of color shall be admitted to citizenship in this Republic.

Sec. 14. The purchase of any land by any citizen or citizens from the aborigines of this country, for his or their own use, or for the benefit of others, as estate or estates in fee simple, shall be considered null and void to all intents and purposes.

Sec. 15. The improvement of the native tribes and their advancement in the arts of agriculture and husbandry being a cherished object of this Government, it shall be the duty of the President to appoint in each county some discreet person, whose duty it shall be to make regular and periodical tours through the country, for the purpose of calling the attention of the natives to these wholesome branches of industry, and of instructing them in the same; and the Legislature shall, as soon as can conveniently be done, make provision for these purposes by the appropriation of money.

Sec. 16. The existing regulations of the American Colonization Society, in the Commonwealth, relative to emigrants, shall remain the same in the Republic, until regulated by compact between the Society and the Republic; nevertheless, the Legislature shall make no law prohibiting emigration. And it shall be among the first duties of the Legislature to take measures to arrange the future relations between the American Colonization Society and this Republic.

Sec. 17. This Constitution may be altered whenever two thirds of both branches of the Legislature shall deem it necessary. In which case the alterations or amendments shall first be considered and approved by the Legislature, by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members of each branch, and afterwards by them submitted to the people, and adopted by two thirds of all the electors at the next biennial meeting for the election of Senators and Representatives.

Done in Convention at Monrovia, in the county of Montserrado, by the unanimous consent of the people of the Commonwealth of Liberia, this twenty-sixth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-seven, and of the Republic the first.

The Constitution submitted to the people.—Insignia of the Republic of Liberia.

In witness whereof we have hereto set our names.

S. BENEDICT, <i>President</i> ,	} Montserrado County.
J. N. LEWIS,	
H. TEAGE,	
BEVERLY R. WILSON,	
ELIJAH JOHNSON,	
J. B. GRIPON,	} Grand Bassa County.
JOHN DAY,	
A. W. GARDNER,	
AMOS HERRING,	
EPHRAIM TILLER,	
R. E. MURRAY, <i>Secretary of Sinoe.</i>	
J. W. PROUT, <i>Secretary of Convention.</i>	

MONROVIA, July 29, 1847.

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Having finished our labors, we now have the honor of submitting to your consideration, through the governor, that constitution which in our opinion will best suit the peculiar circumstances of the people of this infant Republic. That our labors will meet the full approbation of every individual citizen, is scarcely to be expected; we trust, however, that a large majority of our fellow citizens will approve our doings, and adopt the constitution herewith submitted.

In our deliberations, we endeavored to keep our minds steadily fixed upon the great objects of civil government, and have done what we conceived to be best for the general interest of this rising Republic.—We endeavored carefully to arrange every subject that might possibly arise, calculated to disturb in the least the friendly feeling which now so happily subsists between the different counties of this Republic.—We felt deeply the importance and magnitude of the work submitted to our hands, and have done the very best we could in order to afford general satisfaction.

In view of the peculiarity of our circumstances, the new position we have assumed is indeed a gigantic one, and the government now calls to its support every citizen who is at all concerned for the safety and future prosperity of this our only home.

Knowing, however, that our cause is just, we feel encouraged, and believe that under God, by a speedy perseverance, we shall fully succeed.

In publishing to the world our *Independence*, we have thought proper to accompany that document with a declaration of the causes which induced us to leave the land of our nativity, and to form settlements on this coast, and also an appeal to the sympathies of all civilized nations, soliciting their aid and protection, and especially that they would, notwithstanding our peculiar circumstances, speedily recognize our *Independence*.

And that the flag of this Republic at no distant day may be seen floating upon every breeze, and in every land respected.

It is our earnest desire that the affairs of this Government may be so conducted as to merit the approbation of all Christendom, and restore to Africa her long lost glory, and that Liberia under the guidance of Heaven may continue a happy asylum for our long oppressed race, and a blessing to the benighted and degraded natives of this vast peninsula. To secure which is our ardent wish and prayer.

With great respect, we have the honor of being, your obedient and humble servants.

By the unanimous order of the Convention.

SAMUEL BENEDICT,
President.

FLAG AND SEAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

THE following Flag and Seal were adopted by the convention, as the insignia of the Republic of Liberia, and ordered to be employed to mark its nationality.

Flag: six red stripes with five white stripes alternately displayed longitudinally. In the upper angle of the flag, next to the spear, a square blue ground covering in depth five stripes. In the centre of the blue, one white star.

Seal: A dove on the wing with an open scroll in its claws. A view of the ocean with a ship under sail. The sun just

emerging from the waters. A palm tree, and at its base a plough and spade. Beneath the emblems, the words REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA, and above the emblems, the national motto, THE LOVE OF LIBERTY BROUGHT US HERE.

The former seal of the Commonwealth is ordered to be used until that for the Republic shall be engraved.

By order of the Convention.

S. BENEDICT,
President.

J. J. Roberts' Inaugural Address.

(From Africa's Library—Extra.)

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

*Of his Excellency, J. J. ROBERTS, President of the Republic of Liberia.
Delivered at the first meeting of the Legislature of the Republic, January 3d, 1848.*

SINCE the Report and preceding parts of this appendix went to press, we have received the following very interesting document which we stop the press to lay before our readers:

FELLOW CITIZENS:—Before I proceed to add the solemnity of an oath to the obligations imposed on me, it is with great pleasure I avail myself of the occasion, now presented, to express the profound impressions made on me by the call of my fellow citizens to the station, and the duties, to which I am now about to pledge myself. So distinguished a mark of confidence, proceeding from the deliberate suffrage of my fellow citizens, would, under any circumstances, have commanded my gratitude and devotion; as well as filled me with an awful sense of the trust to be reposed. But I feel particularly gratified at this evidence of the confidence of my fellow citizens, in as much as it strengthens the impression on me that my endeavors to discharge faithfully the duties which devolved on me as Chief Executive officer of the Commonwealth, during the last six years of our political connection with the American Colonization Society, have been favorably estimated, I nevertheless meet the responsibilities of this day with feelings of the deepest solicitude. I feel, fellow citizens, that the present is a momentous period in the history of Liberia; and I assure you, under the various circumstances which give peculiar solemnity to the crisis, I am sensible that both the honor and the responsibility allotted to me, are inseparably enhanced.

We have just entered upon a new and important career. To give effect to all the measures and powers of the government, we have found it necessary to remodel our Constitution and to erect ourselves into an independent State; which, in its infancy is exposed to numberless hazards and perils, and which can never attain to maturity, or ripen into firmness, unless it is managed with affectionate assiduity, and guarded by great abilities; I therefore deeply deplore my want of talents, and feel my mind filled with anxiety and uneasiness to find myself so unequal to the duties of the important station to which I am called. When I reflect upon the weight and magnitude now belonging to the station, and the many difficulties which, in the nature of things, must necessarily attend it, I feel more like retreating from the responsible position, than attempting to go forward in the discharge of the duties of my office.

Indeed, gentlemen of the Legislature, if I had less reliance upon your co-operation, and the indulgence and support of a reflecting people, and felt less deeply a consciousness of the duty I owe my country, and a conviction of the guidance of an all wise Providence in the management of our political affairs,—I should be compelled to shrink from the task.—I, however, enter upon the duties assigned me, relying upon your wisdom and virtue to supply my defects; and under the full conviction that my fellow citizens at large, who, on the most trying occasions, have always manifested a degree of patriotism,

Settlement of the Colony.—Intercourse and difficulties with British traders.

perseverance, and fidelity, that would reflect credit upon the citizens of any country, will support the government established by their voluntary consent, and appointed by their own free choice.

While I congratulate my fellow citizens on the dawn of a new and more perfect government, I would also remind them of the increased responsibility they too have assumed.

Indeed, if there ever was a period in the annals of Liberia, for popular jealousy to be awakened, and popular virtue to exert itself, it is the present. Other eras, I know, have been marked by dangers and difficulties which "tried men's souls," but whatever was their measure, disappointment and overthrow have generally been their fate. That patriotism and virtue which distinguish men, of every age, clime and color, who are determined to be free, never forsook that little band of patriots—the pioneers in this noble enterprise—in the hour of important trial. At a time, when they were almost without arms, ammunition, discipline, or government—a mere handful of isolated christian pilgrims, in pursuit of civil and religious liberty, surrounded by savage and warlike tribes bent upon their ruin and total annihilation—with "a staff and a sling" only, as it were, they determined in the name of the "Lord of Hosts" to stand their ground and defend themselves to the last extremity against their powerful adversary. And need I remind you, fellow citizens, how signally Almighty God delivered them, and how he has hitherto prospered and crowned all our efforts with success.

These first adventurers, inspired by the love of liberty and equal rights, supported by industry and protected by Heaven, became inured to toil, to hardships, and to war. In spite, however, of every obstacle, they obtained a settlement, and happily, un-

der God, succeeded in laying here the foundation of a free government. Their attention, of course, was then turned to the security of those rights for which they had encountered so many perils and inconveniencies.—For this purpose, a constitution or form of Government, anomalous it is true, was adopted.

Under the circumstances, expediency required that certain powers of the government should be delegated to the American Colonization Society, their patrons and benefactors—with the understanding that whenever the colonies should feel themselves capable of assuming the whole responsibility of the government, that institution would resign the delegated power, and leave the people to the government of themselves.

At that time it was scarcely supposed, I presume, that the colonies would advance so rapidly as to make it necessary, or even desirable on the part of the colonists, to dissolve that connection within the short space of twenty-five years; such, however, is the case: necessity has demanded it.

Under the fostering care of the American Colonization Society, these infant settlements soon began to prosper and flourish; and a profitable trade, in a few years, opened an intercourse between them and the subjects and citizens of foreign countries. This intercourse eventually involved us into difficulties with British traders, and of consequence with the British government, which could not be settled, for the want of certain powers in the government here, not provided for in the Constitution.—Nor indeed would the British government recognize in the people of Liberia the rights of sovereignty—"such as imposing custom dues and levying taxes upon British commerce"—so long as their political connection with the Colonization Society continued. Under these

The Colonization Society to prosecute its work as vigorously as heretofore.

circumstances, a change in our relations with the Society, and the adoption of a new constitution, were deemed, by a large majority of the citizens of the Commonwealth absolutely necessary. Such also was the opinion of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, who recommended the measure as the only means of relieving the government from these embarrassments, and the citizens from innumerable inconveniences.

In view of these facts, to have shrunk from the responsibility, notwithstanding weighty reasons, adverse to the measure, suggested themselves, would have betrayed a weakness and timidity unbecoming freemen.

Therefore, on full consideration of all the circumstances, it appeared that the period had arrived when it became the duty of the people of Liberia to assume a new position:—such a one that foreign powers would consider them an independent nation.

As you are aware, fellow citizens, the independence of Liberia has been the subject of much speculation, and some animadversion, both at home and abroad.

1st. We are told that the pecuniary assistance the government here has hitherto received from the Colonization Society will now cease; and that in a few years we will find ourselves groaning under enormous taxes, or the affairs of the government will be exceedingly embarrassed, if not totally paralyzed.

I am persuaded, however, that this conclusion by no means follows. To what extent, if at all, the Society contemplates withdrawing the pecuniary aid hitherto granted to the Commonwealth, from the new government, I am not advised; nor have I any data upon which to form even an opinion in regard to it. We have this assurance, however, from Rev. Mr. Mc-

Lean, Secretary of the Society, "That the interest of the Board of Directors, in all that concerns the people of Liberia, will not be diminished—but rather increased—by the alteration in the present relations subsisting between them and the American Colonization Society; and that it is the intention of the Society to prosecute its work as vigorously as heretofore, and on the same high and liberal principles."

We are truly, fellow-citizens, under many obligations to the Colonization Society; indeed, it is impossible for one people to have stronger ties upon the gratitude of another, than that Society has upon the people of Liberia.

To the wisdom, philanthropy, and magnanimity of the members of the Colonization Society, who, for more than a quarter of a century, have watched with the deepest solicitude the progress of these colonies, and have devoted much of their time and substance to support them, we owe, under God, the political, civil, and religious liberty and independence we this day enjoy; and I have no doubt, in my own mind, but that they will continue to aid us in every way the circumstances of the Society will admit of.

The necessity of imposing additional taxes upon the people to meet the additional expenses of the government, consequent upon the new order of things, is very evident; but I confess, fellow-citizens, I can see no just grounds of fear that they will be enormous or oppressive.

It is true, that for the first few years, in the absence of any foreign assistance, we may find our finances somewhat limited; perhaps barely sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of the government; but in a country like ours, abounding in a sufficiency of natural resources, which are so easily developed, it is

Population of Liberia proper.—Capabilities of colored people for self government.

scarcely probable that the government at any time will be greatly embarrassed—certainly not totally paralyzed.

2dly. It has been urged that the numerical strength of the government is yet too small; and that we have not sufficient intelligence, experience, or wealth, to command respect abroad; and that in the event foreign powers should refuse to acknowledge our independence, the embarrassments of the government, and its citizens, will be increased rather than diminished.

Now, according to the best computation I am at present able to make—and which I believe is pretty nearly correct—the population of Liberia proper—including, of course, the aboriginal inhabitants who have incorporated themselves with us, and subscribed to the constitution and laws of the Republic—is now upwards of eighty thousand; and we may reasonably suppose that the inhabitants will increase almost in the ratio of compound interest. I have no doubt that the natural population of the Republic, in the course of twenty years, will be doubled; and we have great reason to believe that the number of immigrants arriving from America, and perhaps other countries, will also be very considerable. The free people of color in the United States, wearied with beating the air to advance themselves to equal immunities with the whites in that country, and tired of the oppression which weighs them down *there*, are seriously turning their attention to Liberia as the only asylum they can flee to and be happy.

While we exceedingly lament the want of greater intelligence and more experience to fit us for the proper, or more perfect, management of our public affairs, we flatter ourselves that the adverse circumstances under which we so long labored in

the land of our birth; and the integrity of our motives will plead our excuse for our want of abilities: and that in the candor and charity of an impartial world, our well-meant, however feeble, efforts will find an apology. I am also persuaded that no magnanimous nation will seek to abridge our rights, or withhold from the Republic those civilities, and “that comity which marks the friendly intercourse between civilized and independent communities”—in consequence of our weakness and present poverty.

And with respect to the independence of Liberia. I know it to be a favorable object with many great and good men, both in Europe and in the United States; and I have great reason to believe with several European powers, who entertain commercial views.

3d. We are gravely accused, fellow-citizens, of acting prematurely and without due reflection, in this whole matter, with regard to the probable consequences of taking into our own hands the whole work of self-government, including the management of our foreign relations; and I have also heard it remarked, that fears are entertained, by some persons abroad, that the citizens of Liberia, when thrown upon their own resources, will probably not sustain the government, and that anarchy and its attendant ruins will be the result of their independence.

The impression, however, that the people have acted prematurely, and without regard to consequences, is evidently erroneous. And, to judge of the future from the past, I have no hesitancy in asserting that the fears entertained respecting the disposition of the people here to insubordination, are totally groundless. No people, perhaps, have exhibited greater devotion for their government and institutions, and have submitted

The people of Liberia have not acted rashly or unadvisedly with respect to their independence.

more readily to lawful authority than the citizens of Liberia; which, indeed, must be obvious to every one at all familiar with the past history of these colonies. But to return. It is well known that the object of independence has been agitating the public mind for more than five years, and that every consideration, for and against it, has been warmly discussed.

I am sensible, however, it is no uncommon thing for men to be warm in a cause, and yet not know why it is they are warm. In such cases the passion of one is lighted up by the passion of another, and the whole circle is in a flame; but the mind in the meantime is like a dark chamber, without a single ray of light to pervade it; in this case it will happen, that when the hasty passion shall have spent its force, all virtuous and patriotic resolutions which it kindled up will also die with it. As in the great affairs of religion, a strong flash of ideas on the fancy may excite a combustion of devotion; but unless the reason is engaged to feed and supply the burning, it will die away, and neither light nor heat will be found remaining in it.

It was the commendation of a certain people of whom we read in the Bible, that when the gospel was first preached to them, "they searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so." Those who, without examination, had received it, without examination might also give it up; but this more "honorable" people had maturely weighed the doctrine, and embracing it, they gave ground to believe, that as they were rational, so they would be persevering Christians.

The political concerns of Liberia have been equally the objects of attentive consideration. And it affords the most pleasing reflection that the people of these colonies have not

acted rashly or unadvisedly with respect to their independence; but all the measures which have been adopted in regard to it, are strongly marked with great caution and matured deliberation, and will bear the strictest scrutiny of reason and conscience.

The time has been, I admit, when men—without being chargeable with timidity, or with a disposition to undervalue the capacities of the African race, might have doubted the success of the Colonization enterprise, and the feasibility of establishing an independent Christian state on this coast, composed of and conducted wholly by colored men,—but, fellow-citizens, that time has past. The American Colonization Society has redeemed its pledge, and I believe in my soul, that the permanency of the government of the Republic of Liberia is now fixed upon as firm a basis as human wisdom is capable of devising. Nor is there any reason to apprehend that the Divine Disposer of human events, after having separated us from the house of bondage, and led us safely through so many dangers, towards the land of liberty and promise, will leave the work of our political redemption, and consequent happiness, unfinished; and either permit us to perish in a wilderness of difficulties, or suffer us to be carried back in chains to that country of prejudices, from whose oppression he has mercifully delivered us with his outstretched arm.

And, fellow-citizens, it must afford the most heartfelt pleasure and satisfaction to every friend of Liberia, and real lover of liberty in general, to observe by what a fortunate train of circumstances and incidents the people of these colonies have arrived at absolute freedom and independence. When we look abroad and see by what slow and painful steps, marked with blood and ills of every kind,

The redemption of Africa.

other states of the world have advanced to liberty and independence; we cannot but admire and praise that all gracious Providence, who, by his unerring ways, has, with so few sufferings on our part, compared with other states, led us to this happy stage in our progress towards those great and important objects. And that it is the will of Heaven that mankind should be free, is clearly evidenced by the wealth, vigor, virtue and consequent happiness of all free states. But the idea that Providence will establish such governments as he shall deem most fit for his creatures, and will give them wealth, influence, and happiness, without their efforts, is palpably absurd. In short, God's moral government of the earth is always performed by the intervention of second causes. Therefore, fellow-citizens, while with pious gratitude we survey the frequent interpositions of Heaven in our behalf, we ought to remember, that as the disbelief of an overruling providence is atheism, so an absolute confidence of having our government relieved from every embarrassment, and its citizens made respectable and happy by the immediate hand of God, without our own exertions, is the most culpable presumption. Nor have we any reason to expect that he will miraculously make Liberia a paradise, and deliver us, in a moment of time, from all the ills and inconveniences, consequent upon the peculiar circumstances under which we are placed, merely to convince us that he favors our cause and government.

Sufficient notifications of his will are always given, and those who will not then believe, neither would they believe though one should rise from the dead to inform them. Who can trace the progress of these colonies, and mark the incidents of the wars in which they have been engaged, without seeing evident tokens of pro-

vidential favor. Let us, therefore, inflexibly persevere in exerting our most strenuous efforts, in an humble and rational dependence on the great Governor of all the world, and we have the fairest prospects of surmounting all the difficulties which may be thrown in our way. And that we may expect, and that we shall have difficulties, sore difficulties yet to contend against, in our progress to maturity, is certain:— And, as the political happiness or wretchedness of ourselves and our children, and of generations yet unborn, is in our hands, nay more, the redemption of Africa from the deep degradation, superstition, and idolatry in which she has so long been involved, it becomes us to lay our shoulders to the wheel, and manfully resist every obstacle which may oppose our progress in the great work which lies before us. The Gospel, fellow citizens, is yet to be preached to vast numbers inhabiting this dark continent, and I have the highest reason to believe, that it was one of the great objects of the Almighty in establishing these colonies, that they might be the means of introducing civilization and religion among the barbarous nations of this country; and to what work more noble could our powers be applied, than that of bringing up from darkness, debasement, and misery, our fellow-men, and shedding abroad over them the light of science and christianity.— The means of doing so, fellow-citizens, are in our reach, and if we neglect, or do not make use of them, what excuse shall we make to our Creator and final Judge? This is a question of the deepest concern to us all, and which, in my opinion, will materially effect our happiness in the world to come. And surely, if it ever has been incumbent on the people of Liberia to know truth and to follow it, it is now. Rouse, therefore, fellow-citizens, and do your

Appeal to the citizens of the Republic of Liberia.

duty like men; and be persuaded, that Divine Providence, as heretofore, will continue to bless all your virtuous efforts.

But if there be any among us dead to all sense of honor and love of their country; if deaf to all the calls of liberty, virtue, and religion; if forgetful of the benevolence and magnanimity of those who have procured this asylum for them, and the future happiness of their children; if neither the examples nor the success of other nations, the dictates of reason and of nature, or the great duties they owe to their God, themselves, and their posterity have no effect upon them;—if, neither the injuries they received in the land whence they came, the prize they are contending for, the future blessings or curses of their children, the applause or reproach of all mankind, the approbation or displeasure of the great Judge, or the happiness or misery consequent upon their conduct, in this and a future state, can move them; then let them be assured, that they deserve to be slaves, and are entitled to nothing but anguish and tribulation. Let them banish, forever, from their minds, the hope of ever obtaining that freedom, reputation, and happiness, which, as men, they are entitled to. Let them forget every duty, human and divine, remember not that they have children, and beware how they call to mind the justice of the Supreme Being: let them return into slavery, and hug

their chains, and be a reproach and a by-word among all nations.

But I am persuaded, fellow-citizens, that we have none such among us;—that every citizen will do his duty, and exert himself to the utmost of his abilities to sustain the honor of his country, promote her interests, and the interests of his fellow-citizens, and to hand down unimpaired to future generations the freedom and independence we this day enjoy.

As to myself, fellow-citizens, I assure you I never have been indifferent to what concerns the interests of Liberia—my adopted country;—and I am sensible of no passion which could seduce me knowingly from the path of duty, or of justice: the weakness of human nature, and the limits of my own understanding may, no doubt will, produce errors of judgment. I repeat, therefore, that I shall need all the indulgence I have hitherto received at your hands. I shall need too the favor of that Being, in whose hands we are, who has led us, as Israel of old, from our native land, and planted us in a country abounding in all the necessities and comforts of life; who has covered our infancy with his Providence, and to whose goodness I ask you to join with me in supplications, that he will so enlighten the minds of your servants, guide their councils, and prosper their measures, that whatsoever they do, shall result in your good, and shall secure to you the peace, friendship, and approbation of all nations.

ERRATUM.—On page 17, sixth line from bottom of first column, read *selected* instead of *liberated*.

CONSTITUTION

OF

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

"Article 1. This Society shall be called 'The American Colonization Society.'

"Art. 2. The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

"Art. 3. Every citizen of the United States who shall have paid to the funds of the Society the sum of one dollar, shall be a member of the Society for one year from the time of such payment. Any citizen who shall have paid the sum of thirty dollars, shall be a member for life. And any citizen paying the sum of one thousand dollars, shall be a Director for life. Foreigners may be made members by vote of the Society or of the Directors.

"Art. 4. The Society shall meet annually at Washington on the third Tuesday in January, and at such other times and places as they shall direct. At the annual meeting, a President and Vice Presidents shall be chosen, who shall perform the duties appropriate to those offices.

"Art. 5. There shall be a Board of Directors, composed of the Directors for life and of Delegates from the several State Societies and societies for the District of Columbia and Territories of the United States. Each of such societies shall be entitled to one Delegate for every five hundred dollars paid into the treasury of this Society within the year previous to the annual meeting.

"Art. 6. The Board shall annually appoint a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of seven persons; all of whom shall, *ex officio*, be honorary members of the Board, having a right to be present at its meetings and to take part in the transaction of its business; but they shall not vote, except as provided in article 7.

"Art. 7. The Board of Directors shall meet annually in Washington, immediately after the annual meeting of the Society, and at such other times and places as it shall appoint, or at the request of the Executive Committee. Seven Directors shall form a quorum. But if, at any annual meeting, or meeting regularly called, a less number be in attendance, then five members of the Executive Committee, with such Directors, not less than four, as may be present, shall constitute a Board, and have competent authority to transact any business of the Society; provided, however, that the Board thus constituted shall carry no question unless the vote be unanimous.

"Art. 8. The Executive Committee shall meet according to its own appointment, or at the call of the Secretary. This Committee shall have discretionary power to transact the business of the Society, subject only to such limitations as are found in its charter, in this Constitution, and in the votes that have been passed, or may hereafter be passed, by the Board of Directors. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be members of the Committee *ex officio*, with the right to deliberate, but not to vote. The Committee is authorized to fill all vacancies in its own body; to appoint a Secretary or Treasurer whenever such offices are vacant; and to appoint and direct such agents as may be necessary for the service of the Society. At every annual meeting, the Committee shall report their doings to the Society, and to the Board of Directors.

"Art. 9. This Constitution may be amended, upon a proposition to that effect by any of the Societies represented in the Board of Directors, transmitted to the Secretary, and published in the official paper of the Society, three months before the annual meeting; provided such amendment receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at its next annual meeting."

AN ACT OF THE LEGISLATURE OF MARYLAND,

PASSED MARCH 22, 1937.

Enacted "An act to incorporate the American Colonization Society."

Witnessed by a vote of the General Assembly of Maryland, entitled "An act to incorporate the American Colonization Society," passed at its winter session, 1831, chapter 189, the said Society was incorporated with perpetual existence. And when it is represented to this General Assembly that the rights and interests of said Society have been manifestly injured, and its funds to be further depredated by certain alleged contractors on the part of said Society to give assistance to said slave. Therefore,

[illegible][illegible]

See, e.g., *United States v. Estate of Howell*, 358 F.2d 832, 835 (CA-9, 1966), cert. denied, 384 U.S. 941, 16 AFTR2d 66-5811 (CA-9, 1966).

[illegible]

Fig. 2. *about the 11 countries. That this method has proven itself reliable (as granted thereby) may be in any case expected, so long, provided as changed, or the constitution of the Council has been.*

THIRTY-SECOND

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

✓
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

27.5
5624
AND OF THE

SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING,

JANUARY 16, 1849.

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WASHINGTON:

C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,

F STREET, NEAR WAR DEPARTMENT.

1849.





THIRTY-SECOND

# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

✓ AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,


WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

27 5 2  
561 1/2  
AND OF THE

SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING,

JANUARY 16, 1849.



WASHINGTON:

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THIRTY-SECOND

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

January 16th, 1849.

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Death of Hon. Samuel Wilkeson—Tribute to his Memory.

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It is our privilege to record that a kind Providence has carefully watched over the operations of this Society during the past year. As Christians and Philanthropists, we are called upon to praise the great Ruler among the nations, for his manifold mercies. He has clearly shown us how we can most successfully bless and save a large portion of his erring children. He has prolonged *our* lives and invigorated our faculties, that we may co-operate with him in the accomplishment of his vast schemes of benevolence, and he has signally prospered the feeble efforts which we have made. Success, beyond what we could reasonably have anticipated, has crowned our labors. "To his name, be all the glory!"

While it is our privilege thus to acknowledge his goodness, it is our duty also to confess his solemn admonitions. Some, who had long sympathised and labored with us, have been gathered to the silence and inactivity of the grave.

The HON. SAMUEL WILKESON, departed this life on the 7th of July. He had long been the warm friend and zealous supporter of this Society; at the time of his death he was one of its vice presidents. Formerly, and for several years, he was Chairman of the Executive Committee, and President of the Board of Directors, and devoted his whole time and energy to its advancement. The Board of Directors, at their called meeting in July, adopted the following tribute to his memory :

"The Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society, at its sessions in New York, 20th July, 1848, having received intelligence of the death of the Hon. Samuel Wilkeson, for many years the able and efficient President of this Board, and the unfailing advocate and generous patron of African Colonization, do express their heart-felt sorrow at the fall of so prominent a standard-bearer in our cause. His generous endeavors in its behalf during a season of critical financial embarrassment, and his successful appeals to the humane and benevolent for relief, attest

*Deceased Mrs. Wilkenson, Mrs. Sherman, and Dr. Everette.*

the sincerity of his professions, and suggest this tribute to his memory.

*Resolved*, That the condolence of this Board be tendered to the surviving members of his family, with their due acknowledgement of his worth as a Christian and a Philanthropist, and of his services as an officer and member of this Society."

Not long before his death, his wife had been called away. She was a lady of great energy and cultivation of mind, of enlarged benevolence and of purest and most perfect character. Her devotion to the interests of this Society was not inferior to his; and every person acquainted with them while residents of this city, is aware of the fact, that nearly her whole time and strength were given to the advancement of its interests.

The loss of two such friends and coadjutors we deeply feel.

Mrs. ELIZABETH SHERMAN, widow of the late *Hon. Roger M. Sherman*, died at Fairfield, Connecticut, on the 3d of August, in the 75th year of her age. Her intellectual powers and accomplishments were of a superior order. She was a friend of the friendless, and the firm supporter of "whatever was pure and lovely and of good report." She was a constant and generous patron of this Society. Many and liberal were her donations to its funds while she was living, and in her "last will and testament" she left substantial evidence of the high place it held in her regards, by bequeathing it a legacy of *four thousand dollars*. "Blessed is the memory of the just."

"She rests from her labors, and her works do follow her."

DR. CHARLES EVERETTE, of Albemarle Co. Va., died in October last, in the 81st year of his age. He was one of the most distinguished physicians in that part of the country. In the distribution of his large estate he left his slaves, 33 in number, to be freed and settled in Liberia at the expiration of five years. It is understood that this term of time has been prescribed to prepare them for their new mode of life, by a discipline and education suited to make the change a blessing to them. Ample means have been appropriated by the testator to render them comfortable, if not independent in their new abode. Dr. Charles D. Everette, the executor and principal legatee, is we are assured, diligently engaged in instituting judicious measures to carry out the provisions of the will. During the past year, we have sent 443 emigrants to Liberia. The *Nehemiah Rich* sailed from New Orleans on the 7th of January, 1818, with 129; the *Amazon* from Baltimore, 4th of February, with 41; the *Liberia Packet* from Baltimore, 11th of April, with 140; the *Col. Howard* from Savannah, 6th of May, with 99; and the *Liberia Packet* from Baltimore, 6th of September, with 31.

Of these people 324 were liberated for the purpose of going to Liberia; 2 were recaptured Africans, the remaining 117 were free.

They resided in thirteen different States, and in the District of Colum-

Emigrants sent in 1848—Applicants for 1849.

bia, as follows : 170 were from Virginia—60 were from Georgia—47 were from South Carolina—37 were from Louisiana—35 were from Mississippi—28 were from Kentucky—23 were from Alabama—10 were from Washington City—9 were from Pennsylvania—7 were from Illinois—5 were from New York—5 were from North Carolina—5 were from Georgetown, D. C.—1 was from Ohio—and 1 from Michigan.

On their arrival in Liberia, they were located in nearly all the different settlements, and are now successfully prosecuting the various branches of business.

Their health has generally been good. Only 4 adults and 8 children have died with the acclimating fever. There were some deaths from other causes, not in any way attributable to the climate of Liberia.

These 12 deaths occurred among 412 of the emigrants. The 31 by the Liberia Packet are not included, as they had not arrived when our last advices left. Twelve deaths out of 412 emigrants is not an alarming mortality.

To Dr. Lugenbeel and his assistant, Dr. Roberts, great praise is due, for their untiring attendance upon the sick and their skillful treatment of the acclimating fever.

In addition to the above emigrants already sent to Liberia, we had anticipated, and made partial preparations for, despatching a vessel from New Orleans on the first day of this year, with upwards of three hundred

people. But the *Cholera* commenced its work of death in that City on the 16th of December, and prevailed to such an alarming extent that it was considered best to postpone the sailing of the vessel until the disease should disappear or so abate as to render it safe for the emigrants to come into the city. This was a great disappointment to the people, who are eager to embark for their new home, and will be attended with some extra expense to the Society.

Application has been made to us for a passage to Liberia, from 245 in Mississippi—69 in Tennessee—27 in Indiana—24 in Kentucky—2 in Ohio—64 in Virginia—60 in South Carolina—6 in New York—7 in Connecticut—1 in Georgetown—5 in Washington City—16 in North Carolina—and 125 in Georgia; making a total of 657.

Those who expected to have sailed from New Orleans on the 1st inst. are included in this number.

Reasoning from the past year we may fairly calculate, that before the close of the present year, we shall receive applications for a passage for at least five hundred more, provided we can send out the present applicants as fast as they are ready to go. Should the Society, however, be unable to do this, it will produce discouragement, and immediately check the spirit of emigration.

Of these who are now ready to go, very few are able to pay any thing toward defraying their expen-

Inducements to go to Liberia.

ses. A large number are slaves, whose freedom depends on their removal to Liberia. For some of these, abundant means have been provided by the will of their masters. The great majority of them depend entirely upon the Society.

It will at once be seen, that if the Society were to adopt the policy of sending out none but those who pay their own expenses, or who are provided for by the persons liberating them, the business of emigration would soon be greatly diminished. Let any person look around him and see how few of the free colored people make anything more than a bare living, and he will soon be convinced that for the present, and for some time to come, until the spirit of emigration becomes more earnest and determined, the Society must perform the benevolent office of transporting them to Liberia, and supporting them during their acclimation.

From present appearances, we are led to infer, that emigrants anxious to go to Liberia, and capable of doing good there, will multiply faster than will the means of defraying their expenses. During the last two years we were assured by our friends in various parts of the country, that we need entertain no fears on this subject, that the grand difficulty would be to find people willing to leave this land of their birth for a new and somewhat trying home, in the land of their fathers. On the basis of these assurances we encouraged the

spirit of emigration; took vigorous measures to circulate correct information about Liberia among the free people, and to inform masters who were anxious to send their slaves to where they could be *really* benefited, that the Society was in circumstances to accommodate a limited number of them. In addition to this, the inducements held out by Liberia to the colored people of this country, to make it their home, have been greatly augmented, and are still on the increase. Experience has shown to the satisfaction of all who are acquainted with the facts, that the full development of their faculties, and the highest rewards for honorable exertions can be obtained only in Liberia. Both for their present good and future advancement, the only broad clear field is opened there. The more intelligent and the more educated they become, the more certainly will they appreciate the advantages of citizenship in Liberia. The organization of the free Republic of Liberia, and their great prosperity since, have removed the violent prejudices which many entertained against the enterprise.

These, with other incentives to emigration, will not only continue to operate, but will gather strength with time, and assume new aspects and exert fresh influence with every change in the moral aspect of society.

Is there a probability that funds sufficient can be raised to transport to Liberia, and sustain during accli-



## Receipts and Expenditures—Debts.

mation, the increasing numbers who have no other hope or dependence but the Society?

Upon this question the history of the Society's financial endeavors during the past year does not throw as cheering a light as we could desire. And yet from what has already been said and done in favor of the Society, we are assured that if all its friends would contribute as they are able, annually, we should have means to make a large advance on any thing which has been done.

The total amount of our receipts from all sources during the past year were \$50,114 37. The expenditures amounted to \$51,953 46—leaving a balance against the Society of \$1,839 09, on the supposition that the balances now due the Society are all good. This however is not the case. By reference to the balance sheet appended to this Report, it will be perceived that our bills payable and other liabilities amount to \$8,746 39. All these must inevitably be paid. But we cannot say the same of the amount due the Society, which is only \$6,907 30. Some part of this we cannot expect to receive. It will be a long time before some of the others will be settled. So that we must calculate to provide for paying a larger portion of the debts we owe, from some other source than from the debts due us.

To meet the exigencies of the past year, the Society has been compelled to exercise the most rigid economy;

has been obliged to put forth every effort in its power to raise funds and husband resources, and to use its credit as far as could be done with propriety. The necessity for sending out the emigrants who have gone, and at the several times of their departure, has been so urgent, that for nearly the whole year the expenditures have been made in advance of the receipts. This at times has subjected us to very considerable embarrassment. But the work to be done was of such a nature that we could not conscientiously postpone it.

This state of things will account for the present indebtedness of the Society.

In the history of the Colonization movement in various parts of the country, during the past year, many things have taken place, which encourage us to hope for greatly enlarged receipts during the year upon which we are now about to enter. There has every where been a manifest advance of public sentiment in our favor. A large number of ecclesiastical bodies, after full and free discussion of the subject, have adopted with great unanimity, resolutions approving of the principles and operations of the Society, and recommending to pastors of the churches to take up collections in aid of its funds. Some of these bodies have never before thus given the seal of their approval; others have not done it for many years past. The agents of the Society are every where re-

Prospects for 1849, encouraging.

ceived with great kindness, and in many more places than formerly, admitted to the pulpits to plead for the cause on the Sabbath, and before the regular congregations. Often they have found persons willing but unable to contribute at the time, who have promised them a welcome reception and liberal donations, when they make their next yearly visit.

Several new Auxiliary Societies have been formed, which promise much efficiency. We have succeeded in getting agents for Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina. In these States, no regular, systematic efforts have been made for years. The New York State Colonization Society have secured the services of the Rev. J. B. Pinney, so long and favorably known in connection with Liberia and the cause in this country. The Louisiana State Colonization Society has been re-organized and have secured an act of Incorporation from the State Legislature. A tract of land on the Sinou river has been set apart for the occupancy of emigrants from that State. The officers and managers of the Society are anxious to commence a settlement there as soon as they can send out a company of emigrants. A gentleman in Cincinnati, Ohio, of great wealth and distinguished liberality, has made a most liberal offer of means to purchase Cape Mount, or Gallinas, and offer it to the colored people of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, if they will emigrate and form a new settlement under the auspices of the

Republic of Liberia. A gentleman in Tennessee, who owns about three hundred slaves who have been accustomed to the manufacture of iron, proposes to settle them in Liberia, defraying all the expenses himself, in the neighborhood of some beds of iron ore, probably at New Cesters. And a number of gentlemen in that State propose to make a contribution of funds sufficient to secure a good tract of land for the occupancy of emigrants from that State. In all parts of the country, the condition and prospects of Liberia are matters of thought and discussion. The various public prints circulate among their readers correct information. Men are reasonable beings. They must be affected by these things. They are sympathetic. They must feel for the needy and depressed. They cannot long look at the immense field of usefulness opened before them both in this country and Africa, without entering heartily into the work. The influences pressing upon them are becoming tremendously powerful. The calls for aid are growing louder and coming with greater rapidity. While Colonization was an *experiment*, they could hesitate and quiet their consciences. While it was not demonstrated beyond possibility of doubt, they could wait for further light and fuller developments. But these times have now gone by. The scheme can no longer be regarded as chimerical. None can now predict its failure. The feeble efforts which have already

been made, have been crowned with a success which has few parallels in the history of the world. Liberia is able to receive advantageously thousands of emigrants annually. They have sufficient territory for millions of inhabitants. They need more citizens in every department of industry. Thousands and thousands of the native Africans are open to the influences of civilization and christianity. There are people enough in this country who are anxious to go to Liberia. Now is the favorable opportunity for doing a work of Divine benevolence on the grandest scale, and with the largest reward. Who can be made to see and feel these things and remain inactive? Is money needed, it can and must be had. The rich and the poor will unite together and pour their offerings in the treasury!

During the last session of Congress, the memorial praying for compensation for the support of the recaptives of the "Pons" was presented to the Senate and referred to the appropriate committee, who subsequently reported a bill in favor of the Society. No further action has been taken with reference to it. It is earnestly to be hoped that the Senate will take it up and pass it, and that it will speedily receive the sanction of the other House. In the present emergencies, it would afford great relief to the Society.

The Liberia Packet has continued her regular voyages to Liberia, with great advantage to this Society.

The relations which are hereafter to subsist between this Society and the Republic of Liberia have been settled in a satisfactory manner. At the meeting in January last, the Legislature of Liberia appointed Commissioners, duly authorized to act on this subject. They arrived in New York in July, and on the 12th of August a deputation from the Executive Committee met them there by appointment, and continued their deliberations until the 18th, when the Board of Directors met, received the report of the Committee, and heard the Commissioners in person, and after three days deliberation, articles of agreement were unanimously adopted.

These articles are yet subject to the approval of the Legislature of Liberia, before they are finally ratified and binding. We presume that they will receive the full and hearty assent of every true Liberian.

They are as follows:

"Articles of Agreement between the Republic of Liberia and the American Colonization Society, entered into by the Directors of the Society and the Commissioners of the Republic, in the city of New York, on the 20th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1848; and which, if ratified by the Government of Liberia, within the space of twelve months from this date, shall be binding both on the Society and the Republic:

"Article I. The Society hereby cedes all its public lands within the limits of Liberia to the said Republic subject to the following provisions, viz:

"1. The Government shall allow

*Articles of Agreement between Society and Liberia.*

to emigrants the quantity of land heretofore allowed them by existing regulations, out of any unoccupied or unsold lands; and when the Government sells any of the public lands, every alternate lot, or farm, or section, or square mile or miles, shall be left unsold, to be assigned to emigrants.

"2. All sales shall be at public auction to the highest bidder. Lands after having been offered at auction and unsold, may be sold at private sale not below a price to be fixed by law.

"3. The tracts reserved for emigrants may, with the assent of the Society, be exchanged for others of equal value; or sold, and the proceeds devoted to the purposes of education.

"4. The Government of Liberia shall appropriate at least ten per cent. of the proceeds of the sale of public lands to school or educational purposes.

"5. The Government of Liberia shall hold the land heretofore appropriated to the Kentucky Society for the occupancy of emigrants from said State; and the land heretofore assigned to the Mississippi Society shall be held for emigrants from that State, and the Blue Barre territory shall be assigned to emigrants from the State of Louisiana; it being understood that all these lands are to be held by the Republic on the same terms and provisions as the other public lands.

"6. The Society shall retain the right of locating emigrants in any of the present settlements.

"7. New settlements are to be formed by the concurrence and agreement of the Government of Liberia and the Society.

"8. The lands held by the Republic for the occupancy of emigrants shall be exempt from taxation.

"9. The Society shall retain pos-

session of one hundred acres of land around the United States building for recaptured Africans, for the use of the United States Government.

"10. The Society shall retain the public farm, the colonial store and lot and wharf; also the lot in Greenville; and if requested the Government shall deed to the Society a lot in Bassa county, and a lot of suitable size in each of the new settlements formed on the coast; which property and all the improvements which the Society shall make on it, shall be exempt from taxation: but the Society shall take such care of said lots as the citizens are required to take of theirs, in order to prevent their becoming nuisances; and in case of neglect, the town authorities shall be authorized to abate such nuisances at the expense of the Society.

"Article II. The Society shall have the privilege of introducing and selling in the Republic any and all the articles included in the monopoly of said Republic, the proceeds to be appropriated to the support of emigrants after their arrival in Liberia.

"Article III. The Government shall allow the Society to introduce all its stores, provisions, and furniture, for the support and use of emigrants, free of duty; and the vessels chartered by the Society and carrying emigrants, shall be free from light house and anchorage duties.

"Article IV. Recaptured Africans shall be admitted as heretofore, the United States Government making provision for their support.

"Article V. The Society shall give to the Republic of Liberia the Government House, furniture, and public offices, Fort Johnson, and such munitions of war now in Liberia as were presented by the Government of the United States to the Society.

"Article VI. These articles may



## Legislature met—Purchase of Territory.

be altered at any time by the mutual agreement of the Directors of the American Colonization Society and the Government of Liberia.

“*Article VII.* It is hereby agreed, that after the said Republic shall have acted upon and duly ratified the foregoing articles, as herein provided for, and shall have furnished the Society with the duly authenticated evidence thereof, the Society shall be bound, and hereby binds itself to execute and transmit to the said Republic such instrument of writing or deed as shall be by said Republic deemed necessary fully to confirm, convey and vest in said Republic the title in fee simple to all the said lands, subject only to the conditions and reservations herein contained.

“In testimony whereof, the commissioners of the said Republic, and the chairman and secretary of the Board of Directors, and secretary of the Society, duly authorized to sign the foregoing agreement, have respectively set their hands and seals in duplicate.”

BEVERLY R. WILSON, [SEAL.] } Com's

JAMES S. PAYNE, [SEAL.] }

JOHN MACLEAN, [SEAL.] }

*Chairman of Board of Directors.*

JOSEPH TRACY, [SEAL.] }

*Secretary of the Board.*

W. McLAIN, [SEAL.] }

*Sec. Am. Col. Soc.*

“Signed, sealed and delivered in our presence,

M. ST. CLAIR CLARKE,

ELLIOTT CRESSON,

JOHN N. MCLEOD,

PAUL T. JONES,

JOHN B. PINNEY.”

The first Legislature of the “Republic of Liberia” assembled in Monrovia on the 3d day of January last. His Excellency, J. J. Roberts, President elect of the Republic, delivered an appropriate Inaugural address, before being sworn into office.

The members of the Legislature seem to have been impressed with a consciousness of the great responsibility which rested upon them, and of the vast importance of the work committed to them as the representatives of a free, sovereign and independent people.

Thus far, the Liberians have proved themselves capable of self-government. They have passed the critical period of a change of organization. They have consolidated their strength, and become familiarized to the privileges of freedom and the responsibilities of self-control. No people have ever exhibited greater devotion to their government and institutions, or submitted more readily to lawful authority. We have every reason to believe that the Government of the “Republic of Liberia” is now fixed on as permanent a basis as human wisdom is capable of devising.

The purchase of territory has been prosecuted with vigor, and is nearly completed. The line of coast from Little Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, a distance of 320 miles, is now all under the jurisdiction of the Government of Liberia, and held in fee simple by it, with the exception of a few small tracts, amounting to about 20 miles. It is gratifying to know that they have purchased *New Cesters*, the only remaining slave factory on that part of the coast. It cost \$2,000. The slave traders established there, refused to break up and depart at the warning of the authorities of

*Boundary of Liberia.*

Liberia. They armed several hundred of the natives who were in their pay, intending to defend their premises. There is no doubt however that they will soon be routed. When Gov. Roberts was in this country an effort was made to obtain from our Government an armed vessel, to be placed for a few days under the direction of the President of Liberia, to aid in breaking up the slave factory. But the Executive entertained some doubts as to their power to do it. While in Europe, President Roberts represented the case to the English and French Governments; and the former ordered the Commodore on the African coast, to render to the Republic whatever assistance was necessary to enable the Liberians to break up the slave trade on that part of the coast; and the latter, placed at their disposal two men of war for the same purpose!

The following is the boundary of Liberia, as declared by the last Legislature thereof, viz:

"A line commencing at the mouth of Grand Cape Mount river, on the north-west, running along the centre of that river to its source, or to the interior frontier of the Cape Mount section of the Vey Territory, thence by a line running eastwardly, separating the territory of the Vey and Dey tribes from the territories of the contiguous interior tribes, until it strikes the northern boundary of the Millsburgh purchase; thence along the north-eastern boundary of the Millsburgh purchase, and through the tract of country lying between the said Millsburgh purchase and Junk, until it strikes the northern

angle of the purchase of Junk territory, thence along the interior boundary of the purchase from Bassa to the St. John's river; thence across the St. John's and along the interior boundary of the territory of the Atlantic tribes from whom the purchases were made, until it reaches the south-eastern front of the Grand Cesters territory; thence in a south-westerly direction to the ocean at Grand Cesters in  $1^{\circ}$  and  $41'$  north latitude, and  $8^{\circ}$  and  $8'$  west longitude, being a mean parallel distance from the ocean of forty-five miles; thence along the sea coast in a north-westerly direction to the place of commencement; including all rivers, harbors, bays, islands, and such a distance out in the ocean as is determined by the law of nations to be just and proper in such cases, or as security, protection and a wholesome jurisdiction may demand.

"APPROVED, *February 1st, 1848.*"

General peace and prosperity have prevailed throughout the Republic for the past year. The inhabitants are busy and happy in the prosecution of their various avocations.

Greater attention has been paid to the cultivation of the soil. The value of this branch of business is becoming more correctly estimated. The lovely banks of the St. Paul's and St. John's rivers will soon present a beautiful prospect, adorned with rich fields of rice, sugar cane, and coffee. The cultivation of ginger, pepper, arrow root and coffee is engrossing many minds. They have exported considerable quantities of these articles during the past year. Coffee will undoubtedly be the most valuable of all the productions of Liberia. It is easy of cultivation. It yields a

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 Recognition of Independence by England and France.
 

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large crop in five years after being planted; and its quality has been pronounced by competent judges equal to any in the world.

The cause of education has received increased attention. The churches have mostly been blessed with revivals of religion. The native tribes are becoming more subject to the laws, and accustomed to the manners and habits of civilized life. From present prospects there is no limit that can be fixed to the good influence which Liberia and her institutions can exert upon the native tribes, but the entire temporal and spiritual regeneration of Africa!

The American Squadron on the coast of Africa has been of great advantage to Liberia. The officers have all taken the most friendly interest in the welfare of the Republic. The United States Government, early in the past year, appointed a Commercial Agent to reside in Liberia, and have in various ways shown their approbation of the stand taken by the citizens thereof, in organizing an independent government.

The respective governments of England and France have both acknowledged the independence of the Republic of Liberia, and the former has entered into a treaty of commerce and amity; thus placing Liberia on an equality with the most favored nations. They received President Roberts in the most respectful manner, and treated him and his country with all distinguished courtesy, as will be seen by the fol-

lowing letter which he wrote shortly before leaving England, in which he gratefully acknowledges his high estimation of the things which have been said and done for him and his country.

DEVONPORT, Dec. 6, 1848.

*"My Dear Sir:—*Since my return from Paris my engagements have been so numerous and pressing that I have not been able to send you even a line to advise you of my doings. I am happy now, however, to inform you that I have succeeded in Europe quite to my satisfaction. The English and French governments especially have been exceedingly kind. I have concluded with the British government a treaty of amity and commerce, which places the Republic upon the footing of the most favored nation.

Upon an application which I had the honor of making to her Majesty's government, they have kindly ordered the British commodore on the African coast to render to the Republic the necessary assistance to enable the Liberian authorities to remove from their recently acquired territory at New Cesters the slavers established there. The French government have also placed at our disposal two vessels for the same purpose.

We have every prospect of obtaining from her Majesty's government the necessary assistance to enable us to secure the territory of Gallenas. They have also promised to present to the Republic a small vessel, to be fitted and sent out soon, to be employed against slavers on the Liberian coast, which will enable us with the pecuniary aid to purchase Gallenas, no doubt thoroughly and effectually to abolish the inhuman traffic in slaves from the entire coast lying between Sierra Leone and Cape Palmas.

At Brussels I found the Govern-

*President Roberts' Letter from England.*

ment so engaged as not to be able to devote any time to my business, unless I could remain there several days, which I could not conveniently do. I have not been able to visit any of the German States. Chevalier Bunsen, the Prussian Minister in London, informed me that his Government had been notified of the change which had been effected in the political relations of Liberia, and that he was authorized to say that the Prussian Government would follow the example of England and France, and recognise the independence of the Republic. I have addressed a letter through their embassy at London to the Prussian court, asking a recognition, and proposing a commercial treaty. I have every assurance that it will be favorably received, but I must leave Europe without arranging anything definitely with that court. A reply to my communication will be forwarded to Liberia.

I embark to-morrow with my family on board her Majesty's ship *Amazon*, in which vessel the Government have been kind enough to grant me a passage to my own country. Therefore I leave England under many, very many obligations to her Majesty's Government for the kindness and attention I have received at their hands. Not only am I indebted to all the officers of the British Government with whom I have had to do; private individuals also have rendered me important services. Dr. Hodgkin, Samuel Gurney, G. Ralston, George Thompson, and Petty Vaughan, Esq., have been unwearied in their efforts to serve me. Indeed, sir, to name all from whom I have received great attention and kindness during my visit to this country would be impossible.

I have every reason to believe that my visit to Europe will result in great good to Africa in general, and

to Liberia in particular. I found much ignorance here with regard to Liberia, and the operations of the Society, and many sincere good friends of the African race totally misinformed with respect to the real objects of the Colonization Society, and in consequence prejudiced against it. You, however, are aware of these prejudices, and of the arguments used to sustain them. During my sojourn here I have conversed freely with many who hitherto have been violent in their opposition to the Society, and think in many instances I have succeeded in correcting their erroneous impressions.

I cannot fail to mention that in Paris I received great attention and assistance from that unwearied friend to liberty, Hon. George Washington Lafayette. He did all in his power, backed by all the members of his family, to facilitate the objects of my mission. I am sure that it was by his assistance, and the assistance of letters furnished me by his son-in-law, Mr. Beaumont, French Minister at London, to his Government, that I succeeded in arranging my business so quickly at Paris.

I have not time, dear sir, to write another letter; I beg, therefore, that you will inform the Rev. Messrs. McLain, Pinney and Tracy and Mr. Cresson of my doings in Europe, as far as I have been able to detail them here. When I reach home, the Lord willing, I will send you and them a full account of my proceedings. I cannot omit to mention a noble and generous act of my friend Samuel Gurney, Esq. of London, who, when I informed him of the desire of the Liberians to secure the Gallinas, that they might extirpate the slave factories at that place, and effectually abolish the slave trade at that point, and that the natives were disposed to sell the territory, but that the consideration demanded was more than the



## Closing Remarks.

present ability of the Liberian government to meet, pledged himself for *one thousand pounds* to aid them in the purchase.

I beg that you will remember me kindly to all your family. Say to Messrs. Dodge, Stokes, Altenburg, and your son Anson, that I can never forget their kindness to me during my stay in New York. I shall entertain a grateful remembrance of them as long as I live. I am also under lasting obligations to your dear daughters."

I am, dear sir, yours, &c.

J. J. ROBERTS.

ANSON G. PHELPS, Esq.

In view of all these events, can there be a doubt upon any mind whether the Liberians have improved their condition by leaving the United States and planting themselves on the shores of that once barbarous land? In what bold relief do now stand out the practical wisdom of the colonization enterprise, the far-reaching sagacity and benevolence of its founders! Now it is that hostility to African Colonization is seen to be hostility to the colored race!

The acknowledged nationality of Liberia is a fact not to be gain-sayed or resisted. The bare existence of such a Republic of colored men on the coast of Africa creates a strong public sentiment in their favor, and is the most effectual preparation the world has ever seen, for the civil, social, and religious elevation of the entire colored race! There may be those

among the colored people in the United States who are incapable of fully appreciating the blessings of colonization; others there are, who may de-pise the promised land; but their posterity will view things in a different light. The political happiness or misery of themselves and their children, and of generations yet unborn, is inseparably linked with the fortunes and destiny of Liberia; the future prospects, and to a great degree, the everlasting interests of their race, teeming in millions over the hills and valleys of that land of the sun, are to be in an essential manner controlled and determined by the influences already operating upon the Western coast!

Who are the friends of the colored race? Their hearts must respond and their hands contribute to the advancement of this cause. Liberia has spread her banner to the breeze, having inscribed upon it "*The love of liberty brought us here!*" Millions of their race may find protection and enjoy new life under its ample folds!

Shall they be gathered there? Without the Colonization Society, how can this be done? Is there any cheaper, speedier, or more successful agency that can be employed? None has ever yet been discovered. The value of colonization, then, may be estimated by what Liberia now is, and may become!

*Thirty-second Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.*

WASHINGTON, JAN. 16, 1849.

THE American Colonization Society met in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at 7 o'clock, P. M., according to the Constitution.

In the absence of the President of the Society, Hon. H. CLAY, the Hon. E. WHITTLESEY, the oldest Vice President present, took the Chair.

The Rev. R. R. GURLEY opened the meeting with prayer.

The Secretary presented a summary statement of the contents of the Annual Report; and then moved that the Report be referred to the Board of Directors for their consideration.

The Hon. R. W. THOMPSON, of Indiana, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

*Resolved*, That the history of the past year, as developed in the report which has just been read, has strengthened our confidence in the great principles of the Colonization Society, and that in their purity and strength we see satisfactory evidence of their ultimate triumph.

The Hon. ROBERT J. WALKER, Secretary of the Treasury, with some appropriate remarks, introduced the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That in founding a new republican empire on the shores of Africa, introducing there civilization and Christianity; in banishing the slave trade from a large portion of its western coast, and accelerating its expulsion from that whole continent; in opening commerce and intercourse with the savage tribes of

the interior, soon to be followed by a rapid advancement in their condition; in laying the foundation of a system destined to facilitate the ultimate separation of the two races of Ham and Japhet in this confederacy by universal consent, for the great advantage of both, and the gradual and peaceful restoration of the former to the land of their forefathers, regenerated by the light of Christianity, and trained in the principles of our free institutions: and especially in fixing a basis upon which the friends of religion and humanity, of freedom, of the constitution, and of the Union, can every where, in every State, north and south, east and west, unite their efforts for the advancement of the happiness of both races, and at the same time accomplish the glorious purpose of preserving the harmony, and perpetuating the union of the States; the American Colonization Society, embracing the whole country and all its parts, has established a claim upon the efficient aid and zealous co-operation of every lover of his country and of mankind."

The Hon. JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL, of Pennsylvania, seconded the resolution, and addressed the meeting thereupon, after which it was adopted.

The Hon. ROBERT M. McLANE, of Maryland, offered the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted:

"Whereas the institution of domestic slavery in the United States exists as the creature of local municipal law, so recognised and respected in the Federal Constitution: Therefore—

*“Resolved, That in all action affecting this institution in its social or political aspect, the American citizen and statesman who reveres the Federal Union has imposed upon him the most solemn obligations to respect in spirit and letter the authority of such local and municipal sovereignties, and to resist all aggressive influences which tend to disturb the peace and tranquility of the States, that may have created or sanctioned this institution.”*

*“Resolved, further, That the efforts of the American Colonization Society to facilitate the ultimate emancipation and restoration of the black race to social and national independence are highly honorable and judicious, and consistent with a strict respect for the rights and privileges of the citizens of the several States wherein the institution of slavery is sanctioned by municipal law.”*

HUGH MAXWELL, Esq., of New York, was called upon, and having made an address, offered the following resolution, which was adopted :

*“Resolved, That the influence which the scheme of African colonization exerts to suppress the slave trade, to spread the English language and the principles of republican government, and to open new markets for American products, and extend American commerce, should commend it to the favorable consideration of the respective State Legislatures and of the General Government.”*

After which, on motion, the Society adjourned to meet in the Colonization Rooms at 12 o'clock to-morrow.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,

January 17, 1848, 12 M.

The Society met according to ad-

journalment, Mr. WHITTLESEY in the Chair.

A committee consisting of Messrs. Cresson and Reese was appointed to nominate officers for the ensuing year. They subsequently reported the following persons, who were duly elected :

PRESIDENT,

HON. HENRY CLAY.

VICE PRESIDENTS,

1. General John H. Cocke, of Virginia.
2. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.
3. Charles F. Mercer, of Florida.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.
5. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of N. Y.
6. Louis McLane, of Baltimore.
7. Moses Allen, of New York.
8. General W. Jones, of Washington.
9. Joseph Gales, of Washington.
10. Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia.
11. John McDonogh, of Louisiana.
12. Rev. James O. Andrews, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
13. William Maxwell, of Virginia.
14. Elisha Whittlesey, of Ohio.
15. Walter Lowrie, of New York.
16. Jacob Burnet, of Ohio.
17. Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Mississippi.
18. William C. Rives, of Virginia.
19. Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of Washington.
20. Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi.
21. James Boorman, of New York.
22. Henry A. Foster, of New York.
23. Dr. John Ker, of Mississippi.
24. Robert Campbell, of Georgia.
25. Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey.
26. James Garland, of Virginia.
27. Right Hon. Lord Bexley, of London.
28. William Short, of Philadelphia.
29. Willard Hall, of Delaware.
30. Right Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tenn.
31. Gerard Ralston, of London.
32. Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, N. J.
33. Dr. Hodgkin, of London.
34. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Massachusetts.
35. Thos. R. Hazard, of R. J.
36. Dr. Thomas Massie, of Virginia.
37. Maj. Gen. Winfield Scott, of Washington.
38. Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., of N. J.
39. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
40. James Railey, of Mississippi.
41. Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., of Phila.
42. Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., of Phila.
43. Elliott Cresson, of Philadelphia.

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Meeting, Board of Directors—Members present.

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|----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 44. Anson G. Phelps, of New York.                              | 57. James Lenox, of New York.            |
| 45. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., Massachusetts.                  | 58. Bishop Soule, D. D., of Tennessee.   |
| 46. Jonathan Hale, of Maine.                                   | 59. Prof. S. C. Upham, of Maine.         |
| 47. Rev. Beverly Wagon, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Baltimore. | 60. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.         |
| 48. Rev. Dr. W. B. Johnson, S. C.                              | 61. Hon. Thos. W. Williams, of Conn.     |
| 49. Moses Sheppard, Baltimore.                                 | 62. Hon. Simon Greenleaf, of Mass.       |
| 50. Bishop McIlvann, of Ohio.                                  | 63. Rev. John Early, D. D., of Virginia. |
| 51. Rev. Dr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.                           | 64. Rev. Lovick Pierce, of Georgia.      |
| 52. Rev. P. Lindsey, D. D., of Tenn.                           | 65. Hon. R. J. Walker, of Mississippi.   |
| 53. Hon. J. R. Underwood, of Kentucky.                         |                                          |
| 54. Hon. C. Marsh, of Woodstock, Vt.                           |                                          |
| 55. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.                        |                                          |
| 56. H. L. Lumpkin, Esq., Athens, Geo.                          |                                          |

After which the Society adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1850, at 7 o'clock P. M.

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Extracts from the Proceedings of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

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WASHINGTON,

January 16, 1849.

The Board met at 12 M. according to appointment, at the Society's office.

Present:

From the Massachusetts Colonization Society, Rev. Joseph Tracy, Delegate—from New York Colonization Society, Anson G. Phelps, Esq., Life Director; Hugh Maxwell, Esq., Delegate; D. M. Reese, M. D., Delegate—from the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, Paul T. Jones, Esq., Delegate; Elliott Cresson, Esq., Life Director—District of Columbia, Rev. Wm. McLain, Life Director; Hon. Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Dr. H. Lindsly, of the Executive Committee.

The Hon. Matthew St. Clair Clarke, was chosen Chairman. At the request of the Chairman, the meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. Wm. McLain.

The Rev Joseph Tracy was chosen Clerk.

The minutes of the last meeting

of the Society and of the Board were read by the Secretary of the Society, and were approved.

The annual report of the Executive Committee for the year now ending, was then read; when, on motion of Dr. Reese, it was

*Resolved*, That the Secretary be requested to read to the annual meeting this evening, such abstract of the report just read, as can be presented in ten minutes.

Adjourned, to meet at this place at 6½ P. M.

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EVENING.

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The Board met according to adjournment. Messrs. Whittlesey, Bradley, Bacon, and Gunton, of the Executive Committee, appeared and took their seats.

To give opportunity for attending the annual meeting of the Society at the Capitol, the Board adjourned, to meet at this place to-morrow at 10 A. M.

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January 17.

The Board met according to ad-



Election of Secretary and Executive Committee.—Resolutions.

jourment. The Chairman being absent, the Hon. Elisha Whittlesey was called to the chair.

The minutes of the previous sessions were read and approved.

The annual report having been referred by the Society to this Board, it was

*Resolved*, That the report be referred to a Committee.

Messrs. Tracy, Pinney and Cresson, were appointed as this Committee.

On motion,

*Resolved*, That the Treasurer's account be referred to a committee. Messrs. Phelps and Jones were appointed.

On motion,

*Resolved*, That the price of the African Repository be reduced to one dollar per annum.

The hour of 12 M. having arrived the Board took a recess till after the meeting of the Society.

After recess, the Hon. Matthew St. Clair Clarke took the chair.

Messrs. Reese and Cresson were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year.

This committee nominated the following officers, who were elected, viz:

Rev. William McLain, Secretary and Treasurer—Matthew St. Clair Clarke, H. Lindsly, Elisha Whittlesey, Jos. H. Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, and William Gunton. Executive Committee.

Adjourned, to meet this evening at 7 P. M. —

EVENING.

Met according to adjournment.

The committee to whom the annual report was referred, reported, recommending that the said report be referred to the Executive Committee for publication, which was adopted.

The committee on the Treasurer's account, reported that they had carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and found it correct and satisfactory. The report was adopted, and is as follows : [See page 23.]

The Board then adjourned to meet at 10 A. M. to-morrow.

January 18.

The Board met according to adjournment. The Hon. E. Whittlesey was called to the chair.

The minutes of yesterday were read and approved.

On motion, it was

*Resolved*, That in the opinion of this Board, the interests of the Colonization cause, demand that we proceed with confidence and energy in our work.

*Resolved*, That we recommend to the Executive Committee to receive all well qualified applicants for emigration to Liberia, and give them a passage on the usual terms, relying upon the liberality of the friends of the cause, and the blessings of a favoring Providence for support.

*Resolved*, That it is desirable that the State Legislatures be prevailed upon to appropriate from their Treasuries, funds to aid in colonizing such free persons of color as in their respective States may desire to emigrate.

*Resolved*, That the Board of Di-

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*Statement for 1842.*


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rectors feel it to be due to the Secretary and to the Executive Committee, upon whom the arduous and successful labors of the Parent Society have chiefly devolved during the past year, to express our high gratification with the energy, efficiency, and economy, with which the business of Colonization has been conducted under their joint administration.

*Resolved,* That in view of the very promising aspect of the Republic of Liberia, and especially the increasing spirit of emigration manifested in the numerous applications for the transportation of persons emancipated for the purpose; and, also, from free people of color who desire to remove thither, the Board

would earnestly recommend that renewed and more vigorous efforts be made by the several State Societies to raise funds and transmit them to the Treasurer of the Parent Society at Washington, in aid of the expenses necessarily called for during the present year.

Adjourned to meet at this place, on the third Tuesday in January, 1850, at 12 o'clock at noon.

Concluding prayer was offered by  
Rev. J. B. PINNEY.

ELISHA WHITTLESEY,  
*Chairman.*

JOSEPH TRACY, *Clerk.*

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*Statement for 1849.*


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By reference to the financial report on the next page it will be seen that the present indebtedness of the Society amounts to \$8,746 39. Of the debts due the Society only a very small part will be available during this year, toward the payment of what the Society owes. Therefore we must look to the public collections for means to pay our present debts.

To send to Liberia and support them six months, the 657 persons who want to go at present will require \$32,850. These two items make \$41,596 39. In addition to this are all the expenses of the home department of our operations, and the expenses necessarily devolving on the Society in Liberia. There is hardly a week passes that we do not receive some new applications for a passage to Liberia. Supposing the whole number who may yet apply to be only 100, we want for them \$20,000. So that the lowest estimate which can be made of the funds necessary to the increased demands of the Society this year is \$75,000.

Many of the emigrants now wanting to go to Liberia must be sent out soon. Probably before the 1st of May we shall have sent four expeditions.

From this fact it will be seen at once that there is no time to be lost by our friends who intend to aid us. We want funds immediately, and if they are not furnished us by our friends, we shall be compelled to borrow them. We call upon all to consider this fact very fully.

In this connection we refer to a resolution passed by the Board of Directors, authorising the Executive Committee to receive all applications for a passage to Liberia, &c., and to rely upon the liberality of a benevolent public and the blessing of Heaven for the means to pay their expenses. This is our only reliance. Depending therefore on our friends and our auxiliary societies to send us the means, we shall go forward and send off as fast as we can those who want to go. We trust that the means will be furnished.

## Receipts and Expenditures of the American Colonization Society.

Dr. *Receipts and Expenditures of the American Colonization Society,* Cr.  
*From 1st January, 1848, to 1st January, 1849.*

|                                              |             |                                                 |             |
|----------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------|
| To Cash in hand per last report, -           | \$268 46    | By Balances due by the Society per last report, | \$2,573 77  |
| Balances due the Society per last report, -  | 7,376 54    | Payments for the following objects, to wit:     |             |
| Receipts from the following sources, to wit: |             | Goods consigned to the Colonial Store for       |             |
| Donations -                                  | 18,725 04   | the purchase of territory, and other ex-        |             |
| Colonial Store, -                            | 8,161 58    | pensitures in Liberia, -                        | 10,326 45   |
| Colony of Liberia, -                         | 55 00       | Salaries of the Governor, Colonial Secre-       |             |
| Legacies, -                                  | 2,530 00    | tary and Clerk, support of Emigrants,           |             |
| Emigrants, -                                 | 9,458 43    | schools, purchase of territory, public          |             |
| Subscriptions to the African Repository,     | 1,371 65    | buildings, &c. -                                | 9,546 88    |
| Other sources, -                             | 2,164 87    | Passage of Emigrants, &c. -                     | 19,697 50   |
| Profit and Loss, -                           | 2 80        | Salary of Secretary Am. Col. Society, rent      |             |
| Balances due by the Society this day, -      | 8,746 39    | of office, clerk hire, &c. -                    | 2,447 09    |
|                                              |             | Salaries of Agents, and other expenses in       |             |
|                                              |             | collecting funds, -                             | 4,306 09    |
|                                              |             | Contingent expenses, -                          | 277 71      |
|                                              |             | Paper for the African Repository, and           |             |
|                                              |             | printing, -                                     | 2,036 37    |
|                                              |             | Fees and other expenses in collecting           |             |
|                                              |             | legacies, -                                     | 149 00      |
|                                              |             | Profit and Loss, -                              | 592 60      |
|                                              |             | Balances due the Society this day, -            | 6,907 30    |
|                                              | \$58,860 76 |                                                 | \$58,860 76 |

COLONIZATION ROOMS, *Washington, January 1st, 1849.*

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.  
*January 17, 1849.*

NOAH FLETCHER, *Book-keeper.*

ANSON G. PHELPS, *Auditors.*

PAUL T. JONES, *Auditors.*

Address of H. R. W. Thompson.

## Addresses Delivered at the Annual Meeting.

THE HON. R. W. THOMPSON said:—

There is one fact connected with the introduction of the colored people into this country, which deserves a moment's consideration at the outset.

Who brought the Africans first into America? By what process were they introduced as slaves? Not by *us*. Not by our consent. The citizens of Virginia protested stoutly against the mother country for forcing them upon their new colony, contrary to the wishes and the interests of the colonists themselves. England brought them here! England pocketed their price, and for a series of years carried on the traffic as a source of gain.

Let this fact be borne in mind, in all our plans to improve *their* condition and *ours*.—The Africans were forced upon us at a time in their history when they were at the lowest point of humanity. They were heathens and barbarians. Their civil, social and religious condition was forlorn, almost beyond possibility of aggravation.

Their situation among us, though bad in itself, has had a redeeming influence upon them. They have been instructed in the arts of civilized life; many of them have been taught the rudiments of a common education, and upon hundreds of them Christianity has exerted its healing, saving power.

But still they have been in an unnatural condition among us, not calculated to secure either their or our highest welfare. This was early felt in Virginia, and the idea of *Colonization* was entertained—and Mr. Jefferson incorporated it in the first draft which he made of a Constitution for the State, shortly after the Declaration of Independence.

But no scheme of Colonization was perfected until the formation of

this Society, in which was engaged the best intellect of the nation. It is astonishing with what wisdom, prudence and foresight they acted. The subject was environed with difficulties. There was no record on any page of the world's history from which they could read lessons of instruction to guide them. In all the past there was no model which they could copy. And yet they were guided, Heaven guided doubtless, in the formation of a scheme which with scarcely a single alteration has been carried out with the most triumphant success. The policy of this Society is at once simple and safe. It exercises all needed safeguards to the rights and interests of all concerned. It does not interfere with the relation of master and slave. It does not offer any oppression or injustice to the free. It proposes to colonize with their own consent those who are free, and it appeals to the humane and philanthropic, it summons the highest motives of patriotism, and in the name of all that is noble and great, it calls for aid to carry out its designs of mercy!

With what success, the present prosperous condition of the independent Republic of Liberia can tell.

It has made the Bible the basis of all its operations. It has sent out the farmer and the mechanic, the merchant and the teacher, the Christian minister and the missionary, to a land shrouded in more than Egyptian darkness. With the Declaration of Independence in one hand, and divine benevolence in the other, it has gone forth to conquer, and the influence of these great truths has already been infused into that immense continent! There now stands that infant Republic, vigorous and healthful, like a young giant, shaking the dew from his mane!



Address of Hon. R. W. Thompson.

Had it proposed to the master to break asunder and at once the bonds of his slave, and cast him helpless abroad upon the world, it would have failed in the accomplishment of any good. It is not even pretended that those who have urged this policy, have benefitted the slave or his master, or the country. But adopting the policy which it did, we stood ready, when an enlarged philanthropy should give freedom to a slave, to take him up, and place him in circumstances where that freedom would be a real blessing to him. Who is there that has seen the condition of the nominally free in the free States, but has felt that something more was necessary to his welfare than could possibly be gathered around him there? Every feeling of humanity is aroused in their behalf. But ingenuity and benevolence are both outwitted by the stern reality of the case. We may sympathise with them, we may extend a helping hand—but after all has been done that can be done in their behalf, they wither before the overpowering shadow of the Saxon, and the truth compels the acknowledgment that the white and the colored race cannot subsist together on terms of perfect equality. Hence the motives necessary to produce the full development of their powers cannot be brought to bear upon them here. If you propose to make them feel and think and act like men, you must open to them an unobstructed field. You must furnish them with the means of removal to a place where their natures will not be bound—where their aspirations will not be crushed—where they shall hold in their own grasp all that make men and freemen in the most favored country. Such a place is LIBERIA! There they have already displayed a mental energy which has astonished the world. And there too, when

civilization and Christian institutions shall have spread their influence far and wide, blessing and saving the millions now accessible to their influence, the question may be asked, as the past history of the race is reviewed, has no good influence sprung from the existence of slavery? It will then doubtless be seen that a wise Providence suffered their race to pass through a long season of depression, in order that ultimately they might be elevated. They were under a curse for sin. The trial was a very sore one. But the seeds were sown in their hearts as American bondsmen, which, when transplanted, sprang up in great glory and fruitfulness. Surely we may set this down as a signal instance of that wonderful Divine wisdom which “causes the wrath of man to praise Him, and restrains the remainder of His wrath.”

This fact cannot too frequently be impressed upon the American mind: How shall we get clear of the influences which almost daily agitate *this Hall*, and cause excitement and agitation which almost threaten the dissolution of this glorious Union?

Could there arise some one man, who by the greatness of his wisdom, the acuteness of his reasonings, and the variety and power of his council and his influence, could exorcise the spirit of fury and madness from all sections of the land, and breathe into this Hall that quietness and peace, that sublime union and fidelity which dignifies legislators and honors freemen, we should be almost tempted to pronounce him a second Washington! We should think of him at the same time that we think of the Father of his Country, who stood up in such sublime grandeur in a “time that tried men’s souls,” and consolidated the original union of these States, and gave the world its grandest illustration of freedom!

This Union—I speak, I am sure, the sentiments of every heart here—the Union must not be dissolved. There are too many destinies depending on its perpetuation! It shall not be dissolved!

Is there then no common ground on which we can meet, and where we can harmoniously stand? There is! This Society is that blessed spot. In its organization, in its past history, in its present advocacy, I see enrolled a long list of worthies from the North and the South, the East and the West! All sections, all parties are represented here. And here, with safety and with success, may meet and mingle, all religious denominations, all patriots and philanthropists, all judges and legislators, and pour in this wide channel the swelling stream of their patriotism and benevolence! Is not this common ground? On it let us gather! and the world shall acknowledge the deed!

In conclusion, I cannot repress one thought. What a glorious Republic this American Union is! Can we compare it to any thing better than its Father, “first in war, first in peace, and first in the destinies of the world?” What a glorious chart of freedom our fathers left us. They sealed it with their blood! We have sworn to maintain its purity, and hand it down to posterity unimpaired! This can be done. Let us maintain the integrity, not of the States, but of the *Union of the States!* and to the latest generation our posterity shall be blessed in the deed.

The Hon. R. J. WALKER, said:—

Having long been deeply interested in the Colonization Society, it gives me great pleasure to be present on this occasion. I have carefully watched the progress which Liberia has made. With the greatest satisfaction have witnessed the good

which has been accomplished. But highly as I prize this Society, deeply interested as I am in the prosperity of Liberia, it is not in my power this evening to extend my remarks farther. I have prepared, and propose to offer, the following resolution. [Mr. Walker evidently spoke with much difficulty, owing to his feeble state of health; but he was listened to with the most profound attention.]

“*Resolved*, That in founding a new republican empire on the shores of Africa, introducing there civilization and Christianity; in banishing the slave trade from a large portion of its western coast, and accelerating its expulsion from that whole continent; in opening commerce and intercourse with the savage tribes of the interior, soon to be followed by a rapid advancement in their condition; in laying the foundation of a system destined to facilitate the ultimate separation of the two races of Ham and Japhet in this confederacy by universal consent, for the great advantage of both, and the gradual and peaceful restoration of the former to the land of their forefathers, regenerated by the light of Christianity, and trained in the principles of our free institutions: and especially in fixing a basis upon which the friends of religion and humanity, of freedom, of the constitution, and of the Union, can every where, in every State, north and south, east and west, unite their efforts for the advancement of the happiness of both races, and at the same time accomplish the glorious purpose of preserving the harmony, and perpetuating the union of the States; the American Colonization Society, embracing the whole country and all its parts, has established a claim upon the efficient aid and zealous co-operation of every lover of his country and of mankind.”

Address delivered by Hon. J. R. Ingersoll.

The Hon. J. R. INGERSOLL seconded this resolution, and said:—

Mr. President: I consider the resolution which the Hon. Secretary has offered, an admirable epitome of the past history, present condition, and urgent claims of the Colonization Scheme.

It is strange that such a subject as this should excite any emotions but the most generous and noble. And yet it is a fact, that there is scarcely a point in that resolution, which has not awakened jealousy, excited suspicion, or given rise to some sinister designs.

But I am happy to believe that in this assembly we are all agreed as to the purity of the great principles of the colonization scheme, and their adaptation to benefit the two races now on this continent. And I am persuaded, that throughout the country a better public sentiment is beginning to prevail; that all harsh and angry feelings are becoming tranquilized; that animosity is greatly mitigated, if not destroyed. Indeed I do not understand how any one can look at the facts as they now stand forth to the world, and not be convinced of the great wisdom, and high claims of this enterprise.

This is a happy day for Liberia—once your *Colony*, but now an independent Republic! Who has not watched its rise and progress with deepest interest? With what anxious hearts the early pioneers have struggled on through toil and hardship, until now they stand up in a noble nationality and recognized independence! They have been admitted to an honorable standing among the nations of the earth!

I regret that other governments have gone ahead of our own, in that which was our peculiar work, and ought to have been our distinguished privilege! Humanity and justice demanded that we should extend to

that infant Republic the hand of encouragement, and award to them that acknowledgment of their independence which they undoubtedly deserve! They were once dwellers among us. They went forth from this land. Here they learned the first principles of government. They have adopted in the formation of their constitution the model of our own. They are the *only* republican government on that great continent. We ought to be proud of them, and acknowledge them as an additional evidence of the goodness of our own institutions! There is something very pleasantly significant in the flag of that Republic. The *stripes* are copies of those on our flag, thus indicating the country whence they sprung, and the *single star* tells us that amid our *stars* there was no home for them, that there is but one *LIBERIA*, but one single spot on the face of the whole earth where they can be men, and stand up in all the dignity of a renovated nature!

Under these circumstances I regret that our own country was not the first to recognize the Independence of the Republic of Liberia.

It is pleasant, however, to see that the moment President Roberts set his foot on the shores of Europe—those shores on which “if a slave sets foot his chains fall off”—he is recognized as the chief executive officer of an independent nation should be.

As you have heard from the Secretary, England and France have both acknowledged the independence of Liberia. And, if I mistake not, a third government either has, or is about to do the same!

And when President Roberts had completed the business which took him to Europe, he was furnished by the Government of England with a passage for himself and family to Liberia in a government vessel. A

Address delivered by H. J. R. Ingersoll

friend handed me this evening a London paper, which I now hold in my hand, containing a print of the departure from Liverpool of his Excellency. The fine sloop "Amazon" is drawn out, with the President on board, other vessels are firing a salute to that charming little British Queen, as in her yacht she glides along to hail the departure of the President, and wish him God speed on his voyage!

I trust, Mr. President, we shall not be long behind these most powerful governments of the old world in imitating the glorious example which they have set us; that we shall shortly acknowledge in every way that we can, a country that owes its existence to the divine benevolence of citizens of our own.

Our Government is not generally found behind in any good work. It is well known that we were the first to take a decided stand against the slave trade, to declare it a misdemeanor of the highest grade, and to punish it accordingly. We have ever resisted it as a gross outrage on humanity, not for a moment to be tolerated!

Consistency therefore requires that we should extend our sympathy and our comity to that people who have done more, a hundred fold, to put down the slave trade than we ever have done, or with our present policy can do. They have done a noble work! And they are yet extending their influence farther and abolishing that horrid traffic to the utmost limit of their power. We can aid them and we must do it.

It may not be unprofitable in this connection to allude to an institution in France, the existence of which throws some additional light on the wisdom of the scheme of colonization which we have been pursuing. There was formed in Paris in 1858 the "African Institution," for the

redemption of the native tribes, and the extinction of the slave trade. It originated in the belief that the only way to accomplish these desirable results was to transplant the institutions of civilization, education, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, the arts, moral and political economy, literature and the fine arts, all these were to be carried to Africa by Africans themselves, and planted and nurtured by them, until they should increase and spread from one extremity of the land to the other, and having circled the whole country, should penetrate the interior, until every valley and mountain, every hill and plain, should become vocal with the songs of civilized men!

This was a private enterprise in the beginning, but the then Government made some appropriations to aid it, and the present Government may do the same, and it may yet accomplish great good.

It may be worth while to turn our attention to the slave trade—to its early history—to that Dutch vessel which brought the first hundred Africans into Virginia and sold them for slaves. There grew up a singular state of things in England after this. The British Government obtained a sort of monopoly of the slave trade, and carried it on as a great money making scheme! the British Government was put in possession of the power to extend the slave trade, and to farm it out, as it were. Their immense wealth and power were enlisted in the traffic. They brought them, as we heard this night, to this country. It was in vain that laws were passed prohibiting their introduction. The South protested. The Pilgrim came and poured his offering at the shrine of liberty. The Quaker came and stood beside the Southern Planters and the Pilgrim, and they all united in deprecating a traffic so odious!



Address delivered by Hon. J. R. Ingersoll.

Why did not the British Government hear them, and obey the dictates of humanity and abandon the traffic? It was not merely that they loved the gain of it! they had a motive above and beyond that. They wanted to break down the liberty of this country—they wanted to destroy the independence of the states! and they believed that the most effectual way was to fasten slavery upon us. But they have not succeeded in *this effort*, any better than they did in *that other* attempt to crush our rising greatness, when it became so vigorous as to be no longer held under their yoke! They however have entailed a curse upon us. They have done a deep and lasting injury to the Africans and to our own country.

It is to alleviate, to remove these evils, that this Society was formed. It is in this noble work that it has so perseveringly labored, and been so astonishingly successful.

The great effort of the Colonization Society is, with gradual and useful efforts, to bring about a separation of the two races, a result alike beneficial to them both: to restore to Africa her children, taken from her by avarice and cupidity, restored to her by benevolence and liberality; and by means of them to spread her benign influence of Christianity, and the useful institutions of civilization among her native tribes. The patrons of Colonization and the citizens of Liberia desire that the most friendly relations should subsist between the two countries; that commerce should bring to both enriching treasures! They want to send to us their camwood, their palm oil, their ivory, their gums, and their coffee—and they want from us in return our tobacco, and our powder, and the thousand articles which teem from our manufactories.

We say not too much when we speak of Colonization as the great

safety valve of this Union! It furnishes to the colored race an opportunity to escape from a country where their condition is the most unhappy. It affords to us an opportunity to repair in some small degree the breaches which we have made upon their race for centuries past; and to offer some slight atonement for the wrongs which we have done them.

The only reasonable objection which can be made to the Society is the smallness of its means. This only shows that the Government ought to take it up; that government vessels ought to be employed in transporting all who are anxious to go! That the state governments ought to make annual appropriations for this purpose.

If we consult the statistics of the northern parts of the country in Philadelphia or New York, or any place where they are treated as well as they are any where, show that, while in the south they increase with great rapidity, at the north they are not more numerous than they were 20 years ago.

What is the influence from this state of things? Why that even in the free states they are under disabilities which they cannot surmount—that the only mode of permanently benefitting them, and redeeming our country, is to remove them from their present disadvantageous position, and place them on the bold, broad platform of freedom, where unfettered and free as the air they breathe, they may exercise and enjoy all the rights and privileges of freeman, unawed and unimpressed by the presence of a dissimilar race.

These are some of the considerations which give to the Colonization scheme its grandeur and importance, and should gather around it the warmest sympathy and most liberal aid of the wise and the good in all parts of our land.

Address delivered by H. R. M. McLane

H. R. M. McLANE said:

It is difficult for any gentleman residing at the seat of the Federal Government, and looking at the great question which agitates the North and the South, not to feel great concern and increasing anxiety as to the result. Every other question seems unavoidably subsidiary to this.

As one of the friends of the A. C. S., I desire to have it distinctly understood at the outset, that I desire to interfere with no vested rights; and yet, that I look to and desire the elevation of the whole colored race and its restoration to all the privileges of civil and social independence on the shores of Africa. I could not stand here and advocate the interest and claims of this Society if I had in view any object subordinate to this.

That we may speak right and be understood right, that we may labor right and stand right in the public estimation, it is important that we should *start right*. I have written the resolution which I have the honor to offer for this very purpose. We regard slavery as a civil institution, regulated by the laws of the States in which it exists. It is no part of our business to interfere with these laws, or with the rights and interests of any body. The Society has never interfered with slavery in any way. It has rigidly adhered to the line of operations laid down in its Constitution. It stands aloof from all agitation—it leaves the laws and institutions as it finds them.

In view of all the agitation which exists in the U. S. on the subject of slavery, the Society has gone and still goes steadily onward in its gentle, constitutional work; laboring, however, under great embarrassments, having been opposed both by the North and South, chained as it were at every step, by the influences of fanaticism on the one hand, and by the ultra slavery notions, that the negro cannot, under any circumstan-

ces whatever, be elevated on the other.

Here then, we stand bound by the very Constitution of the Society, not to interfere with the relation of master and slave, in any way whatever. Leaving all civil questions to the persons and powers to which of right they belong.

With this reservation, this definition of our policy and purposes, I am ready to go with the best and the foremost in all wise and prudent efforts looking to the welfare of the African race! And there has never been any scheme proposed which promises as much as this Society does. I go for it with all my heart and all my influence.

If we look at the missionary character of the Society, we are persuaded it is doing a work for Africa which cannot be done in any other way. If we look at its social influence, we see it doing for the colored people in this country and in Africa, what can never be done otherwise. If we look at it as a civil institution, or rather as aiding the colored people from a political state, we behold through its agency a new Republic, prosperous and happy! There is a grand exhibition of what this Society has done, and can yet do! I would that the U. S. Government had been the first to step forward and acknowledge Liberia as an independent political empire in the world!

When the American citizen looks abroad over Europe and Asia, he finds people standing as high as the highest in the list of this world's worthies, who can know the African as a man, as a man made in the image of his Maker; finds Governments that can acknowledge the Republic of Liberia as a fellow among the nations entitled to the favor of the list; and shall we, because we have inherited a social evil connected with this race, shall we, a people who have spread out, from settlements

Address delivered by Hon. R. M. McLane.

on the Atlantic, to the shores of the Pacific, shall we be intimidated by this social evil at home, and therefore shut out the light which shines from that lone star on the African Coast.

Whatever the political excitements of the day may be, and however fiercely the contest may be waged, looking upon the dark and gloomy picture, every one who sympathises with the A. C. S. may know and feel that he can respect the rights of every American citizen, and yet each man in his own home can labor for the improvement of the colored race, for their restoration to freedom, their social elevation and civil independence!

What northern man can see the degraded condition of the free people there, and not feel that their degradation is partly his own responsibility? And seeing this, who will shrink from doing all in his power for bettering their condition?

Whatever others may do, I am determined to labor on for this cause. Those who have gone before me, have set me a noble example. Maryland stands pledged to this work.—Maryland in Liberia is a flourishing colony, planted by an appropriation by the Legislature of Maryland, with Maryland people, and to the honor and glory of the State! I am proud to stand here and tell of what my State has done, to mention her annual appropriation of \$10,000 to the Colonization Society of Maryland—and I wish every State in the Union would do the same! Where is the difficulty? The States have no doubtful powers. At home they are sovereign, they can do what they please—if the free people are a tax, they can help them to a place where they will be MEN. If these 30 States were to vie with each other in this noble work, they would give a practical illustration of this question—a prac-

tical demonstration of the success which may be enjoyed!

If we pass now to consider the condition of the African race even in the free States and to enquire what can be done for them, we shall make the discovery that they are going down lower and lower; even in New York, where so many spires point to Heaven, and such beautiful evidences of civilization smile upon us, who can deny that the race has gone down year after year, politically, socially and in numbers. On them rests a moral misfortune; there is no power at work to remove it. There is not a citizen of that State that can look at home and not feel and see that the very nature of things is driving the African race down into material misery—hope is gone, and fate rests upon them. And yet in this race, when they are cared for, and placed in different circumstances, hope springs up and life assumes new worth. We then can help them. The free race are in our power.

May I not ask this assembly, may I not ask all here, and every where, who are in the habit of giving, if the charity that is the most pressing, is not that which is presented by this state of things?

I wonder when I see the American people nursing and caring for the Indians in our midst, and the American Legislature making immense appropriations of money to transport them beyond our borders, carrying them away to the beautiful prairies of the west, removing them from contact with our own people, furnishing them with provisions, schools, printing presses, books, bibles, teachers, the plow and the anvil; when I see our government for these purposes appropriating hundreds of thousands annually to elevate this race, I wonder why they should do less for the African race. We have federal power in the one case, why



Address delivered by Hugh Maxwell, Esq.

not in the other? Does not philanthropy in the one case call as loudly as in the other? Why then should we not carry them and theirs to the land of their forefathers? This is a work of the nation in which all may unite.

One word more and I have done. Before our revolution there were men who worked out that problem. They saw that this continent would all be needed for the Caucasian race. They prayed that the slave trade might be stopped then.

May we not feel in looking back and say, would that it had then been stopped? Shall we not now do all that we can to repair the wrong? Shall we not labor on to relieve ourselves and our children from the evils which have followed!

A suggestion has been made, which it becomes us all to heed, which should be remembered by all those who manufacture public sentiment;—would the condition of the colored race be less wretched if the American Union did not exist? Would they be benefited by the dissolution of this Union? They now feel a sense of security wherever the star spangled banner floats! Does any body believe that were we scattered asunder they could be better situated?

These reflections no man ought to lose sight of! Every man, of whatever color, owes to this Union a responsibility great beyond what ever he has conceived of! By upholding and aiding this Society in its great and benevolent work, he may exert an influence for the perpetuity of the Union not possible in any other way.

Let then the rich here pour in their abundance, and the poor give of their poverty! We perceive by the Report that a great work needs to be done this year. It cannot be done without means. The resources of the Society ought to be greatly en-

larged. The whole country ought to rise and pour into the treasury until the hand of kindness and aid could be given to every person who wants to go to Liberia!

HUGH MAXWELL, Esq., of New York, commenced his address by some allusion to remarks which had been made by the other gentlemen, and then said,

I suppose, Mr. President, we are met here to encourage each other in this great work of colonization. For one, I feel great confidence in this Society, and in the Republic of Liberia. I regret that the United States Government has not acknowledged the independence of that infant nation. It is worthy of such recognition: and it is a political duty, and a religious duty on the part of the United States to grant it.

The South are greatly interested in Colonization. The large free population there, are in circumstances demanding attention. Mr. Jefferson, and all the wise statesmen of Virginia, repudiated the idea that the colored race could find a permanent quiet home on this continent, and they all sought a means of relief in the establishment of a refuge elsewhere for the free and those who might be set free.

The Society has had to encounter many obstacles. Do you remember the death of *Mills* and *Ashmun*, and the pioneer colonists? How have the difficulties been overcome? By a firm trust in God. Under his gracious Providence colonization has gone on, till now we behold the result, a nation on the western coast of Africa, admitted to an honorable standing among the nations of the earth. Industry marks their various settlements. Wisdom guides the councils of their legislators. Social civilities govern their intercourse with each other. They feel none of that sickly sentimental delicacy which is felt here.



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Remarks by Mr. Maxwell—Position of the Am. Col. Soc.

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These are some of the benefits of the scheme. Others are found in the extinction of the slave trade, and the civilization of the natives.

I am glad to see England take the stand that she has now taken. I cannot however forget some circumstances connected with the past. It is worthy of note, just at this time, that the British Government now so anxious to make a display of their philanthropy and willingness to acknowledge Liberia, during all the discussions of Peel and Palmerston touching the slave trade, and the measures most effectual for its suppression, no allusion was ever made to Liberia and her influence! Until Roberts went to England, and was acknowledged as the head of the Republic, it had never been mentioned that Liberia existed with such power, for the suppression of the slave trade.

May we not hope that now they will pay Mr. Benson of Bassa for the vessel and goods which a British officer took from him without the least shadow of excuse?

I do not intend to go into the subject—but let me just inquire what are

the apparent motives of England in the policy which she has now adopted? The English Government knows very well that Liberia will grow up and become one of the most powerful and prosperous governments on the African continent; that there is every probability that Sierra Leone will ultimately fall in and become a part of that great free Republic of Liberia, and that this Republic, the only one on the face of the earth where the colored people have a fair chance, will still spread and extend its possessions for thousands of miles along the coast and back into the interior and become possessors of that vast country, and control the trade and the capital and the commerce thereof! And she wants to come in for her full share of that commerce. She now has nearly the whole of it. The vessels of other countries amount to comparatively nothing. She intends it shall so continue.

Mr. Maxwell closed his speech with an earnest appeal to all to come and help forward the cause by every means in their power.

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#### Appropriations by Congress and the State Governments.

THE American Colonization Society was organized for the purpose of making an experiment of what could be done for the elevation of the colored race. It has succeeded to an extent beyond any original expectation. With small means, with inexperience, against numerous obstacles, and surrounded by difficulties, it has colonized in Africa, with their own consent, a population who have formed and are capable of maintaining a prosperous and independent government.

The work is now comparatively easy. All the preliminaries are settled. All the plans are laid. All the means are understood. The business is reduced to a perfect system. The settlements in Liberia are capable of receiving new emigrants to any extent, and rendering them comfortable. There are many more persons anxious to emigrate than the Society has means to accommodate.

The Society has therefore, by this fact, shown what could be done if the adequate means were at com-

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The Society's possessions. Appropriations already made.

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mand. It has demonstrated the possibility of removing the whole free population from the United States in such a manner as would greatly improve their condition, and in many important respects ameliorate the state of society among ourselves.

The Society has expended on the work already done, nearly a million of dollars. It has to show for this, a capital stock, as it were, of very large value. It has a territory of more than 12,000 square miles under its control. It has a well organized government, with laws and institutions, and schools and churches, and farms, and workshops, and commerce, and houses and physicians, and a knowledge of the diseases of the country, and an influence over the natives, and a thousand other means and appliances of civilization, whose value is not to be measured by dollars and cents. It has taken not merely the above sum of money to purchase the present possessions of the Society. There have also been expended many years of hard labor, and deep thought of officers and agents of the Society, but poorly paid for by their salaries; the time and labor and zeal of all the early colonists, and the lives too of the many agents and colonists who have fallen victims to their zeal in the cause, and the unavoidable casualties incident to any new enterprise of the kind.

The Society has also a most valuable and available interest in the hearts of the American people. It possesses their confidence. They consider the

scheme of colonization both desirable and practical. This is the product of more than thirty years cultivation!

In estimating therefore the present position of the enterprise, all these facilities for *future enlarged operations* must be taken into consideration.

It was never imagined that the Colonization Society would be able to accomplish all the good contemplated, by *private resources* alone. The completion of the work, the ultimate success, must depend on the patronage of the general and state governments. This was contemplated in the original formation of the Society. Hence we find in the 2d article of the constitution of the Society this clause, "the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the general government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject." The Society has ever fondly hoped to obtain this patronage, and not entirely without success. The State of Maryland several years since made a liberal appropriation "to aid in colonizing such free persons from that State as wish to go, and such slaves as may hereafter become free." Tennessee also made an appropriation of \$10 a head for each one whom the Society removed from that State, for several years. Virginia also made a very large appropriation, which however was rendered unavailable to the Society by certain limitations and restrictions upon its application.

## Constitutional power of the General and State Governments.

The time has now come when the resources of the Society must be very greatly enlarged, or it cannot accomplish one half of the work which it is earnestly called upon to undertake. Something therefore must now be done, compared with which, all the past is as nothing.

This whole nation is now summoned by the highest considerations of duty, interest and charity, to come forward and aid in the work. A spirit should go abroad through all the land, kindling the hearts of the people, and calling upon every lover of man and of God, to bring forward his contributions to aid in accomplishing a work on which depends our nation's highest glory and Africa's redemption! Ten thousand hearts should respond to every appeal of the Society, and ten thousand hands should be stretched out with the necessary relief.

But this is not all. The time has now fully come, when the State Legislatures and the General Government should take the subject in hand and make liberal appropriations to help it forward.

There can scarcely be a doubt in any unprejudiced mind that the general and State governments have the constitutional power to appropriate money in furtherance of the objects contemplated by the Society. Every reason and argument which commends the scheme to the support of the individual citizens of this nation, commends it to the patronage of the nation itself. Every motive which induces the citizen of a State to con-

tribute to the removal of the free people from that State, should operate upon the State itself or the government thereof. If the presence of the various tribes of Indians in our midst was a great evil, which the government was called upon to mitigate, and if a great national good was done by removing them beyond our borders: then surely is the existence of the colored race in the United States a great political evil, and their removal would be an immense national blessing. And if the government had power to act in the one case, has it not power to act in the other? On the other hand, if their presence in the United States has been a political good, a social blessing to us, but not to them, then are we bound as a nation, in view of the injury we have done them, and their degradation to which we have largely contributed, to bestow on them the richest gifts and the costliest blessings which we are able. There is a moral fitness in this which commends itself to every mind. The work to be done is a great one, and is worthy of a nation like this!

In the succeeding pages we present two arguments in favor of State appropriations, from two different sources, presented to two different legislatures. One of them has been prepared by our agent in Ohio, and presents the considerations which should induce the Legislature of that State to make an appropriation for the removal of any of their free colored people who want to go to Liberia. The other was prepared by

Memorials and Petitions recorded.

our agent in Virginia, and laid before the Virginia Legislature. It shows considerations which should induce them to render aid immediately. We present these together, as they represent in a certain sense, the two great sections of the Union.

We beg to commend them to the earnest consideration of every person into whose hands they may come. The appeals are forcible; the occasion great, and the good to be accomplished unbounded!

It is probably not going too far to say, that could the citizens of those two States give a direct vote, there would be an overwhelming majority in each in favor of making an immediate and liberal appropriation. Had we space here to go into the argument, we could prove conclusively that the American people are sensible of the merits of Colonization, and that an appropriation by the general government would meet the hearty concurrence of the great body of them. Let any person call to mind the fact that the Legislatures of more than half the States have passed resolutions approving of the object and operations of the Society, and recommending its general support; that the most distinguished men in every part of the Union, and in every political party, have been the advocates of the Society; that the leading ecclesiastical bodies of every denomination of Christians have expressed their approval of the Society, and urged the propriety of the general and State governments making appropriations; and that wherever you

meet with any company of individuals and converse with them five minutes on the subject, you will find a majority of them in favor of the general and State governments aiding in Colonization—and he will soon be convinced that there is no enterprise on earth, which has enlisted in its favor so much of the sympathy and interest of the whole American people as the scheme of Colonization. There is no other enterprise to the advancement of which the general and State governments could devote their means, and meet with as hearty approval from as many of our citizens. And could our various legislators know the public sentiment of their constituents, there is not a doubt that they would, without delay, take action on this subject.

One thing therefore becomes manifestly and urgently the duty of the friends of Colonization in every State and part of the country during the present year, viz: to prepare and send up memorials and petitions in every form and in the strongest language, to their Senators and Representatives in Congress, and in all the State Legislatures. This ought to be begun at once, and carried on faithfully throughout all the year. Every village and hamlet ought to send up its memorial. Every church and society ought to present its prayer. Every patriot and philanthropist ought to urge his petition. Let the public sentiment in favor of the Society be organized and consolidated, and rolled in upon our legislators with such respectful ur-



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Duty of the friends of Colonization.—Memorial of David Christy, Esq.

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gency and power that they can no longer hesitate as to the path of both duty and interest.

In conclusion, we beg leave to suggest that the destinies of the free people, now in this country, are in a very important sense, soon to be settled. Their number is increasing. In many quarters they and their friends, so called, are making violent efforts to bring them up to a social and political equality with the whites in this country. Several States have already acted on the subject, and adversely to their feelings and wishes. Other States must soon follow. The subject is pressed upon their attention in a manner they cannot resist. In most instances we can now tell what will be done, when the time for definitive action comes.

In these circumstances the friends of Colonization cannot mistake their duty. Every possible means should be used to diffuse throughout the whole community correct information, so that whatever is done, may be done understandingly and according to truth. It must not be forgotten by our legislators while they are providing for their own security, and the welfare and peace of their offspring, that as a Christian nation, we owe an immense debt to those

who have been the victims of avarice and oppression; and that we are bound to offer them a comfortable and secure home in the land of their ancestors, and to make provision for their removal there. We hold it therefore to be a sacred duty of the general and the State governments to take this work in hand and carry it forward with all the vigor possible. As a nation we are bound to restore to Africa all her children who are willing to return. We are bound to pay her the debt, which centuries of patient suffering have given her the irresistible right to demand of us. Every State is bound to make provision for the welfare and happiness of the free people resident in it. If, for this purpose, wisdom and prudence point to their removal to Liberia, the State is bound to make the appropriations indispensable to accomplish it.

Here then we leave the subject, trusting that our friends will not let the present year pass, without having exerted every influence both to increase the voluntary contributions to the Society, and to memorialize their respective legislators on the subject.

W. McLAIN, *Sec. A. C. S.*  
COLONIZATION ROOMS,  
*Washington City, Jan. 1849.*

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### Memorial.

*To the Hon. the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Ohio.*

The undersigned, acting as agent of the American Colonization Society, would respectfully ask leave to call your attention to

the following facts connected with the position which the State of Ohio occupies in reference to the free colored population of the United States.

A careful examination of the census tables,

## Emigration to the Western States.—Increase in Ohio.

together with a knowledge of many other facts connected with the subject, proving very plainly, that the Ohio valley must soon become the home of a large population of the free colored people.

The ratio of increase of the color of our population, who are affected by emigration, is two per cent. per annum. The fact being known, it is easy to determine the extent of this increase in the race in any State or group of States.

Prior to 1830 the six New England States had large emigration of the people of color, by emigration from the States lying South of them. But during the next fifty years, ending with 1880, their ratio of increase was rapidly diminished, and fell so far below the natural rate that, from 1820 to 1880, with a free colored population of 21,248, they had no increase, in those ten years, of only 83 persons. The aggregate for the whole period stands thus: In 1820 they had a free colored population of 19,488, and in 1880 but 21,276, being an increase of only 1,791, while their natural increase, if retained, would have augmented their numbers to 31,188. This diminution must have been caused by emigration back again towards the South.

While this rapid emigration from these north-eastern states was progressing, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania had a corresponding increase, showing that the current of emigration was southwards. But from 1830 to 1880, these states also commenced repelling their free colored population, and the ratio of increase was reduced to 1 per cent. per annum, being considerably below the natural increase.

Delaware, Maryland and Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, also repelled nearly one half of their natural increase between 1820 and 1880, proving that the tide of emigration from the more north-eastern states, had not flowed in that direction.

Contrary to the west, we find that while this continuous stream of colored emigrants has been pouring out of all the states north-east, east, and south-east of us, they have been concentrating with almost equal rapidity in the Ohio valley.

Look at the facts. Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, in 1800, had only 300 free persons of color in their bounds. In 1810 they had increased to 2,905, in 1820 to 6,398, in 1830 to 11,831, in 1840 to 28,105, and if the index since 1840 has equaled the previous period, and it has no doubt been greater, these three states will, at this moment, have a colored population of 50,000. Of this number the share of Ohio is 30,000.

To afford a more striking contrast of the position in which we stand, as compared with the six New England States, it is only necessary to say that the ratio of increase of the colored population of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, from 1820 to 1880, doubled their number in eight years, while that of the for-

mer States would require, to double their colored population, a period of two hundred and fifty years.

But to evade a charge of a want of candor in exhibiting a short period, and that the most favorable for our purposes, let us embrace a longer space of time, and we have still more startling results.

Taking, then, a period of fifty years, from 1800 to 1850, we find that the six New England States, where the greatest efforts have been made in behalf of the colored man, did not increase their colored population quite one third, while Ohio, Indiana and Illinois have doubled *eight* times on their original number. Our increase, therefore, when compared with theirs, for a period of fifty years, is as 55 to 1.

From all these facts, it appears that causes, having a uniform action and producing uniform results, are exerting a repelling influence upon the free colored population of the fifteen States above named, and that nearly the whole current of this emigration, thus set in motion, is pouring into the Ohio valley. And further, the events which have transpired in many of the slave States, since the last census, teach us that these repelling causes are augmenting instead of diminishing their force. These influences have also been extended to many of the States not above named, and the conclusion is therefore forced upon us, *that the Ohio valley is now the focus towards which nearly the entire free colored emigration of the country is concentrating.*

Nor can we check this movement by any ordinary precautions, were we disposed to make the effort, because we cannot, by any legislation of ours, reach the causes which compel them to leave the other States. We cannot change the climate of the north-east, nor mould the African constitution so that it may endure the rigors of its winters; and much less can we impart to the colored man a spirit of energy and activity in business which shall enable him to compete with the New Englander. We are still less able to roll back the mighty wave of foreign emigration, which, annually, supplies to the east a surplus of cheap labor, and drives the man of color from his employments and compels him to wander to the west in search of bread. And it is still more impracticable for us to induce the slave States to repeal the laws and give up the prejudices which drive out the free colored man from amongst them.

In view, then, of all these facts, it appears evident that we cannot, by any legislation of ours, reach the causes which force the colored man into the west, and that the Ohio valley is therefore to become the asylum for the victims of slave oppression, and has been selected by the colored man as the theatre upon which the great battle for the achievement of his rights is to be fought.

It is also a fact, equally well known, that

## Ohio in Africa.—Emigrants and Delegates.

there is a fixedness of purpose in the great majority of our white citizens, never to grant the colored race equal social and political privileges within the limits of the State.

What course should be adopted by your honorable body, under these circumstances, to guard against the difficulties and collisions to be apprehended from a greater increase of colored men amongst us, your petitioner will not venture to advise; but will proceed to the presentation of the object in view in offering this memorial.

The framers of the constitution under which you act, never designed to Africanize the State; and its white citizens, judging from past and present indications, will yet oppose, to the utmost, any change of that instrument which will give to colored men equal social and political privileges. This decision is not the result of hostility to the colored man, but is based upon the conviction that the true interests of both classes will be best promoted by a separate political organization. It is unwise, therefore, for any one to urge them to a prolonged and fruitless warfare for citizenship in Ohio. And such a course seems, at the present moment, to be particularly unwise, when all the advantages of social, civil, and religious liberty, everything for which they are here pleading for in vain, is now freely offered to them in the new Republic of Liberia, by the united voices of 80,000 freemen.

But besides the advantages offered by Liberia to the colored men of Ohio, there is a much more munificent gift awaiting their acceptance.

It has been believed, for a few years past, that there is sufficient talent and intelligence amongst the colored men of the west, if called into action under favorable circumstances, to achieve the great object they have in view—their intellectual and moral elevation. Fully convinced of this fact, an appeal was made to the public last April, for funds to purchase additional territory on the coast of Africa, to form a new State for colored emigrants from the Ohio valley, where they may be able to give an example of their capacity for self government.

The first response to that appeal has been an offer, by a gentleman of ample means, to purchase two hundred miles of coast, outside of the present limits of Liberia, as soon as it can be had on reasonable conditions. This territory he will offer to the colored people of the west upon which to organize a new State, in connection with Liberia, to be called *Ohio in Africa*.

The work now to be commenced, and in the accomplishment of which your co-operation is solicited, is the prosecution of the enterprise here proposed. There are in Ohio, a large number of colored men who express a willingness to emigrate to Liberia, as soon as they can be convinced of the truthfulness of the reports in relation to the present prosperity of the Republic of Liberia. The re-

cognition of its independence by England and France, and the neglect of our government to extend to it the same courtesy, is beginning to dispel the illusion that African colonization is a scheme of the slaveholder. The prejudices of colored men against colonization are now beginning to yield. But they still distrust white men, and wish to send out colored delegates to investigate the claims of Liberia to the colored man's attention, and to judge whether Africa is a suitable theatre for the future struggle of the colored race for national existence and national independence. They should not be asked to bear the expense of these delegates. The colonization society is willing to afford to such a deputation every facility in their passage out to Africa, but the funds placed at its disposal must be appropriated to defray the expenses of *emigrants* and not of *delegates*.

Under these circumstances we are constrained to appeal to your honorable body for aid in this important crisis in the affairs of African colonization. And there is much to encourage us in adopting decisive measures to divert the current of emigration towards Liberia. All the delegates who have gone out, recently, bring back favorable reports. The colored people of Illinois sent out one last year, who has returned, and a large number have resolved to emigrate, nine of whom will leave in the next expedition. Indiana presents a list of fifty emigrants who are enrolled for Liberia, twenty-seven of whom are also to sail with those of Illinois. The leader of this band, the Rev. Mr. FISKLEY, a colored man, has pledged himself to settle in our *Ohio in Africa* as soon as the scheme is perfected. The Rev. MOSES WALKER, a colored man, of Portland, Jefferson county, Ohio, who also visited Africa last year, has returned and reports favorably. He will remove to Liberia with his family, but is anxious to traverse the State and make his report personally to the colored people before he leaves. The Colonization Society are desirous of thus employing him, but are unable on account of their having pledged themselves, the last year, to send out 1010 emigrants. The Society are also desirous of engaging some of the present citizens of Liberia, who have long resided in the Colony, to visit the West, and present the facts, in relation to the new Republic, before the colored people.

In this emergency, and in view of the great importance of disabusing the minds of colored men on the question of colonization, and of encouraging their emigration to Liberia, or to *Ohio in Africa*, it is respectfully requested that you make a suitable appropriation to aid the American Colonization Society for a few years to come, in carrying out its designs in relation to the colored people of Ohio, and in promoting the spirit of emigration to Liberia.

Very respectfully, yours,  
DAVID CHRISTY,

*Agent of Am. Col. Soc. for the State of Ohio.*



Mr. Jefferson's plan.—Formation of the Colonization Society.

### Memorial to the Legislature of Virginia.

The Report of the *Special Committee*, to whom was referred that part of the Governor's Message which recommends the removal of the free people of color from the Commonwealth, will soon call you to deliberate on a subject of grave import. You will give it, I doubt not, your well-studied and matured consideration, holding it neither too delicate a subject to be approached, nor too difficult for legislation.—The time has fully come when, if we do not boldly grapple the difficulties and control them, they will control us.

Slavery was not of voluntary adoption by those who constructed the elements of society in this Commonwealth. Introduced by the authority of Great Britain, it was found at the period of our independence a constituent of the body politic; was subsequently recognized by the Federal and State constitutions, and became a part of our inheritance. It is, therefore, politically and socially, *constitutional*. Yet like all other things human and earthly, it has difficulties and evils. There were so distinctly perceived by the foresight of our ancestors, that they resisted the introduction of the system itself and sought to avert it. When introduced they labored to mitigate its evils to both races, and make the institution, if possible, a blessing to each. How far this christian effort has been faithfully and successfully pursued, we are willing our enemies themselves should tell to the world in the facts they are compelled to record, and out of which ages to come will form their estimate of our character. Let us leave all feverish anxieties on that subject, and go boldly forward in the high duty imposed by Providence on us now.

Among the evils that are contingent to slavery, may be reckoned a large class of *free colored people*, the descendants of slaves, constituting a *lower caste* in society, and yet elevated above the slaves whence they originated. This evil was early contemplated by far reaching and patriotic minds, defined and sought to be modified or averted.

Mr. Jefferson, as early as 1777, proposed to the Legislature of Virginia, to be incorporated in the revised code of the State, a plan for colonizing the free colored population. This is the earliest conception distinctly announced of a plan for African Colonization. The magnitude of the enterprise and the state of the country, then at war, prevented at that time, the prosecution of the plan. Dr. Thornton, a native of Virginia, and resident at Washington, attempted ten years afterwards, to form a company of free blacks to emigrate and establish a colony on the coast of Africa. This also proved abortive for want of means. The legislature of Virginia took action on the subject in the year 1800, and again in 1816; and Mr. Jefferson continued to agitate it until the formation of the Colonization Society, in December, 1816, at the city of Washington.

Although eminent and good men from other States were concerned in the construction of this noble Society, and to the honored name of Finley is correctly attributed the principal instrumentality in its actual organization—yet the mighty conception may be found in our Virginia, the "Mother of States;" and the embryo of this great political structure may be traced to the brain of the author of the Declaration of Independence, who is now seen to be the real Jupiter of that political Minerva, the young



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 Probable increase of the Colored Population of Virginia.
 

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“Republic of Liberia.” Liberia is indeed our twin sister; finds her rights asserted in the same declaration; and though of longer gestation is now triumphantly born, and destined like us to regulate and govern a continent, with our liberal constitution adopted as hers, and the Bible as her great moral code.

Standing by the birth of the Colonization Society or aiding in its incipency, we find Bushrod Washington its first President, and Henry Clay its second—John Randolph, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Judge Marshall, Bishop Meade, John Taylor of Caroline, Andrew Jackson, C. F. Mercer, F. S. Key, E. B. Caldwell, and others, Virginians by birth and in feeling, though citizens of the world by their works. We will seek in the labors of that Society a co-operation suited to the part we took in its formation and to the inheritance we claim in its fame. But for the present I return.

The free people of color, now numbering not less than 60,000 in Virginia and increasing more than four hundred per cent. in fifty years, will, without some action to prevent it, form a population of 240,000 in the year 1900, a period that will arrive during the natural life of our children. In 1950 our grand children will encounter this population increased to a numerical force of about one million—thirty per cent. greater than our present white population—and our great grand children will see a free black population of 4,000,000 in Virginia. In order to realize how near in time this result is to our own day, we have only to reflect that the active men of the present time—many whom I address as legislators—are descendants of the fathers of our independence of only the second and third generations. Some, who now live, may, before they die, see the free black popula-

tion of Virginia, greater in number than the present white population.

It is readily admitted that various causes may occur to modify these calculations. But it is enough that they are seen to be the natural results of an uninterrupted progress of existing causes, and therefore possible—even probable. For, while the wide west and south-west are inviting with still stronger motives the emigration of our sons, the barriers to the emigration of our free blacks to other States are multiplied and strengthened, both by legislation and popular expression. While, therefore, our white population may be stationary, or decreased by emigration, the free blacks will be steadily advancing in an increasing ratio. But I have no time to multiply these and similar aspects of the subject. Every reflecting mind will develop them.

Connected with this series of numerical calculations, however, I ask the consideration of the fact, that history furnishes no instance of one people residing in the midst of another people as a lower caste, and excluded from an equality of civil rights, that have stopped short of violence and rebellion so soon as their strength gave reasonable hope of a successful struggle.

Mr. Jefferson perceived distinctly this evil when the cloud was not yet larger than a man's hand, and he endeavored to brush it away. It has, however, been suffered to increase till it lowers now on the horizon, and before our children's children shall occupy our places, it will obscure the sun and settle upon our fair land a darkness that may be felt. Those degenerate sons of illustrious sires who say, “let posterity take care of that,” *should be rebuked*. Those who periled their lives for our liberties, said not so—else we now had been riveted to a hopeless despotism.

The question which now requires your investigation is "*How shall we legislate for our free colored population?*" The answer, which instructs the legislator, is given in all History, and is unequivocal: They must either be *amalgamated* with the whites and thereby annihilated as an inferior caste,—or *raised* to a civil and social equality—or *removed*. It will be my object at a future time to show that the last is the only remedy;—that it may be done by consent of both parties—that it ought to be done, and that now is *the time to do it*.

I have said that the rapid increase of the free colored population of Virginia will soon bring us to the conviction that they must either be annihilated as an *inferior caste* by *amalgamation* with the whites, or raised by law and common consent to a *civil and social equality*, or be *removed* from the State.

The first cannot be. Even abolitionists revolt at it when practically urged, and plainly show that their sympathies are factitious and unnatural, and therefore not only impracticable in the experiment, but null and void as a moral obligation. "This inferior caste can never be lost by amalgamation."

It is equally certain that they can never be raised to an equality in civil and social rights and privileges. This may be attempted—but it will be a failure. It *has* been attempted; but when has the experiment ever succeeded? Let St. Domingo give the answer, full of solemn instruction and full of warning. Soon after the early introduction of slavery into that Island, the spirit of emancipation began to create there, as it has done here, a free colored population, an inferior degraded *caste*.—When in 1790 their number began to approximate to that of the whites, they petitioned to be admitted to the rights

of suffrage and other privileges of free citizens. The National Assembly of France decreed—what the Colonial authorities rejected—*the civil and social equality of the free negroes*. In the progress of events these soon made common cause with the slaves, civil war ensued, and the Island was deluged in blood till the whites were exterminated.

As far as the experiment has proceeded the results have been strikingly similar. Their number, increasing at a ratio much greater than the whites, will bring their tread upon our heels but ere the generation now cradled and in their nurses' arms shall have acted their part on the stage of life and died. They will naturally be clamorous for privileges. They will be urgent in petition, then in argument, then in demand. They will be first persuasive, then accusatory, and finally insolent. They are *men*, and even if we had no record of history, in which to read the future by the past, we may know what they will do! And will they find no sympathy, no co-operation, no aid from the whites? He must be a dull scholar indeed, who, even without the teachings of history, cannot *infer* the future from the present. You have made a law that the slave emancipated, shall leave the State. But you need not be told how often this law is violated, and how many may be found in every country, retained contrary to the law by a common sympathy in their behalf. It is a generous impulse which violates the law;—but a judicious law which demands a suppression of those sympathies. Thus are the free blacks increasing rapidly by the double process of birth and emancipation.

Extension of privilege is the order of every community and wider room is yielded at every demand. I come not to "repress this genial current

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The appropriation of \$90,000 in 1833, could now be made available.

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of the soul." I am not prepared to say the free people of color yet have the point of elevation assigned to them which they deserve—and some of them are very meritorious. But we look beyond the present. Where do these paths lead to? What is the point to which these finger boards we now read direct us? What are the tendencies, consequences of what we are now doing? As certain as there is no assignable limit to human progress, we shall in process of time find this class of our population requiring more room and demanding more privileges, 'till they will come to the doors of your legislative halls and ask: "Are we not men—men of property, of intelligence, and of numbers sufficient to be known, recognized, heard *among* you?" I will not assume to write this history in detail. What it must be in effect all, not politically blind, can see. When it comes to this or anything like it, the answer must be like that of the Colonial Assembly of St. Domingo. The rest is known. They can never be admitted to an *equality in civil and social privileges*. It only remains, then, that they be *removed* from the State. It will be my next object to show that this *may* be done, that it *ought* to be done, and done *now*.

If we have calculated and reasoned rightly, the removal of the free colored population from the State is now *desirable*, and will soon become *absolutely necessary*.

The question then arises, Can it be done—ought it to be done, and *done now*? We answer affirmatively—It *can*, *ought* and *must* be done.

They can be removed and settled in Liberia. Remaining here, we hold them unchangeably disfranchised and degraded. Can it be doubted, then, that we do our duty if when our safety and interests require their removal, we place them

in a community of free men, themselves free and equal, the proprietors in fee simple of the soil they cultivate, and under the protection of good laws like our own in their fatherland. This we may do by providing for their emigration and settlement in Liberia.

By an act of the Legislature of Virginia in 1833, an appropriation was made of \$90,000 to be paid in five annual instalments for the deportation of the free colored people to Liberia—thirty dollars to each emigrant. No part of this appropriation was ever drawn from the Treasury, because no voluntary emigrants were to be found.

Now if the Legislature, instead of a forcible removal of this people, should revive the act of 1833, making an appropriation of \$90,000, or what would be still better, twice that sum, what would be the effect? Would the free negroes avail themselves of the provision? And if they should, would its disbursements make any sensible impression on their numbers, either to extinguish or greatly reduce them? Are they willing to go? Can they be induced to go?

That the appropriation could now be easily applied to its object, there can be no reasonable doubt. It may readily be shown that Liberia is the proper home of the free colored man. He can be made to see that. It was very different in 1833, when the former invitation was extended to him and rejected. Liberia was then a colony, struggling with difficulties incident to its unsettled state, its climate not well defined, its virgin soil hardly turned by the ploughshare, its resources not developed, not even counted in their number and value, the savage border tribes still restless and of doubtful friendship, and all the early calamities of the colony in its infant state still



Increase in the number of applicants for emigration.

fresh in recollection. Now the Republic of Liberia stands among the nations of the earth, recognized by other nations, inviting the emigrant to a free government of constitutional laws; to a soil not surpassed in fertility; to social, intellectual and religious privileges by no means inferior to those he leaves. We say, then, he may become a *voluntary* emigrant, because it is for his interest to go. It is not expatriation, but rather the return of the exile home. So he sees it, when he looks beyond his prejudices to the facts in the case.

But we are not left to probabilities in this matter. We are told by those who have addressed them on the subject, that they are easily made to desire a removal to Liberia. Receiving the facts in the case well authenticated, they say—“*let us go to our father land.*” The Colonization Society has now more applicants than means of transportation. This is the natural flow of the current when unobstructed. When Paul Cuffee, a noble negro of Bedford, Mass., carried the first emigrants to Africa in 1815, a company of 28 in his own ship, at his own expense, it was believed every man of color in New England was then anxious to go. Would we know why this current has been checked and turned back?—we must ask the abolitionists of the North—not Virginia, whose legislature repeated in 1816 her testimony of 1800, and has uniformly adhered to the opinions of her great statesmen, early and uniformly expressed.

Having then, arrived at the conclusion that the emigration of our free colored people can be secured—it only remains that we consider the ways, the means, and obligation.—*How can it be done? Ought it be done?*

The only question now is, Can

*we make an appropriation available to the great object of universal desire—the entire removal of the free colored population?* We suppose now they are willing.—The Colonization Society for \$50 take out an emigrant in their Packet and settle him on five acres of land, which is made his own in fee simple, and provide for him sustenance and medical attendance for six months. Thus they are constantly doing. They have by the voluntary contributions of the friends of the cause, sent out nearly one thousand within the last year, and 6,000 in all. Let there be an appropriation of \$30,000 a year for five years, and let the amount appropriated to each emigrant be limited to \$25. This will deport 1,200. We may suppose that number will be found, who with suitable direction and encouragement will readily exert themselves to earn a sum equal to the State appropriation, to secure their passage and settlement. We may then suppose this movement will awaken an equal number of enterprising men among them to earn the *entire amount* necessary to give them passage with their brethren. Then still another duodecimal emigration may be found among those already able to transport themselves; for not a few have some property. Then taking an equal number of children, who can go with their parents with little or no expense, and we have nearly 5,000 emigrants a year from Virginia, sufficient to reach, in twelve years, the full number now in the State. If the means proposed seem inadequate to the results now stated, let it be considered also, that the Colonization Society is constantly collecting funds from the benevolent for the same great object—attainable, we believe, by a great, united and persevering effort, on the plan here proposed.



Are not these results probable from the causes we propose to create? and will not the awakening influence of personal effort better prepare the emigrant, who has labored to some extent to provide for himself. The moral effect of first awakening desire and then making labor the means of gratifying that desire, will do much to qualify him for his new and elevated position in his new citizenship. The agencies now in the field under the organization of the American Colonization Society are adequate to promote and produce these results; and when our State Colonization Society is revived, as we trust it will soon be, these agencies become a part of its organization, the best possible machinery, and ready to your hand to execute your plans with economy and despatch.

We say, then, this is a work which *ought* to be done and *done now*. Every pecuniary, moral and social interest requires it. With some honorable exceptions, the free negroes are, as a class, indolent, vicious and dishonest. They underwork the poor white man, when they work at all, depress and discourage him—they corrupt the slave and aid him in every evil course—lie as an incubus on society without profit to themselves or any definable benefit to society. They form an excrescence on the body politic, which requires amputation.

With such considerations before us, can we too urgently ask for immediate action? While we delay, the evil is in progress. While we sleep, it gathers strength. While we stand still, time passes, children are born, grow to manhood, our free colored population multiplies. While we ask time to consider, the demands upon us are increased. When in 1777 Mr. Jefferson first proposed the remedy we now propose, a few hundred free blacks, composing the

whole evil in Virginia, could have been easily removed. Ten years afterwards, Dr. Thornton's proposition had to grapple with thousands. Our Legislature of 1800, with deep concern, sought the removal of 15,000 free negroes. In 1816 they again bring the subject into consideration, and find that number doubled. In 1833 they look at it again—the number is trebled, and they hasten to appropriate \$90,000 for their removal.—*You* look again in *eighteen hundred and forty-nine* and they are quadrupled. Do nothing still, and that quadrupled *quadrupled* will be the inheritance of your children. Speak quick or the evil may be beyond control. If we are afraid to look it in the face and meet it now; it will tread with iron heel on the necks of our children.

Liberia, as a place of emigration for our free colored people, demands special notice in connection with the subject in hand.

The first purchase of land from the native chiefs for the Colony of Liberia was made in 1822, by Dr. Ayres on the part of the Colonization Society, and Capt. Stockton of the U. S. Navy, on the part of his government. Soon after, in the same year, Cape Mesurado, comprising the present site of Monrovia, was occupied by our emigrants. This was the practical commencement of the project, first recommended by Mr. Jefferson to the Legislature of Virginia, and afterwards approved by the Legislature in their recorded acts of 1800, and again in 1816, and again in 1833—to which enactments you are respectfully referred.

*The Republic of Liberia*, as now defined, extends from Cape Mount on the western coast of Africa to Cape Palmas, a sea coast distance of more than 300 miles; it embraces, also, in form, if not in fact, Maryland colony on the South of 35 miles

sea-coast, and also 100 miles lately ceded by the Native Chiefs—and on the north it will soon probably be extended by purchase 200 miles from Cape Mount to Sierra Leone, stretching N. W. and S. E. through 4° to 8° N. Latitude. It extends interior on an average of 15 miles. It comprises the whole extent of coast formerly most visited by slavers, with excellent harbors, a soil of unsurpassed fertility, and a climate of well proved healthfulness. The present number of emigrants and recaptured Africans is upwards of 1000. Its commercial, agricultural and mechanical progress indicates an active and energetic population,—and the staple commodities of Coffee, Sugar-cane, Indigo, Rice, Cotton, Arrow Root, &c., all indigenous, demonstrate, by the experiments already made, that in no part of the world, is agricultural labor more liberally rewarded. Its exports for the last few years have averaged nearly \$30 to the head of its entire population, while those of the United States have not exceeded \$7.

Monrovia, the principal sea-port and capital of the country, has now 1,000 inhabitants, who enjoy in their houses, furniture, and tables, all the comforts, elegancies, and even luxuries of life, common to a settlement of the same size in this or any other country. Its national existence, as the "REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA," commenced on the 24th Aug. 1847, by a formal declaration of Independence and the adoption of a constitution modelled after our own. The operations of the government have since proceeded with the utmost regularity. Governor Roberts, who held his office under appointment of the Colonization Society, has been elected President of the Republic. Its independence has been acknowledged by England and France and very advantageous treaties formed with

both those nations. Its trade has for many years been valuable, and will be of increasing importance to the commercial world.

As a religious community, Liberia is unsurpassed. By reliable statistics, we learn that about one-third of its entire emigrant population are members of the Christian Church, honoring their profession by their lives. Twenty-five church edifices, all convenient, and some costly, of stone, brick, and wood, employ the services of forty preachers, several of them pastors well supported and wholly devoted to their work, all regularly inducted into the sacred office and some of them not only intelligent but learned and eloquent.

Their School system is, to say the least, much better than ours. Provision is made by law for free schools throughout the Commonwealth. A liberal appropriation of the public lands is made, and a capitation tax imposed for this purpose. And more than this, every man is required under a penalty, *to send his children to school and educate them.* They have two high schools, a Lyceum, two newspapers, and are providing for a University.

The native tribes are cultivating a friendly intercourse and doing homage to this new nation in Africa. Disputes, formerly conducted by bloody wars, and thus by sale of captives taken on both sides, furnishing victims to the slave trade, are now settled by reference to the government of Liberia. Missionaries and school teachers are eagerly sought by the barbarous interior tribes, who seek by those means, to become "American men." It is now probable that Liberia—as fast as her emigrant population will enable her to take possession and enforce her laws—may reclaim from barbarism, the entire western coast from Sierra Leone to the Cape colony, closing all ac-

## Influence of Colonization on the Slave Trade.—The Ashburton Treaty.

cess to the piratical slaver, and diffusing civilization and the christian religion through this whole border country. From this rim of light central Africa will be illuminated, its darkness, intellectual and moral, expelled, its fertile lands reclaimed from sterility, its physical resources regenerated, and Africa—whence civilization and the arts passed into Greece more than three thousand years ago, through Rome to England and thence to America—Africa the land once fruitful of heroes and scholars and christians, of Hannibal, Hanno, Jugurtha, Terence, Origen, Tertullian, Augustine, and Cyprian—of a race that wrought the pyramids, chiselled the proudest monuments of marble, and left in her tombs the evidence that she has done all for the material body but to give it eternal life—*this Africa* will be again raised to her place among civilized nations, received to the circle of the human family, and for the civilization she has, centuries ago, imparted to others—repaid by *civilization* and *CHRISTIANITY*, TOO.

There on the coast of Africa, you now see the *beau ideal* of your great statesmen—a colony for our free colored people. There you see precisely that which your predecessors in Assembly proposed in the first year of the present century, and subsequent legislatures repeated and urged by reiterated decimosextal action in 1816 and 1832-3. The periodic time has again arrived, and in 1849 you are called on to consider these precedents, and to do what remains to be done—to use the colony successfully founded, and now ripened into a nation—as a place of deportation for your free colored population who are awaiting your action, and in their comparative dependence, reaching to take your counsel and your helping hand.

The object of the AMERICAN CO-

LONIZATION SOCIETY is to provide for the removal to Liberia of the free colored population of the United States. All, except the abolitionists, agree in opinion that the object is good—good in relation to those who go, and to us whom they leave—to the black man and the white man—to both continents—to Africa and to America. In no subject perhaps is there a greater unanimity of opinion. Yet the work goes on slowly. With a nation's approval, it fails to secure a nation's energies. Much is done; but not enough. On no subject probably is *your constituency* more united, and the apathy that has so long prevailed is rapidly giving place to deep feeling, conviction, action. You can hardly now go before public sentiment in bringing legislative action to bear on the great and benevolent objects of Colonization Society. Every view of it is awakening. Take it, if you please, as a *national* measure, and as such, consider it in one aspect only—in its influence on the slave trade. By the Ashburton treaty our government is pledged to keep a naval force of 80 guns on the African coast to suppress this inhuman traffic. It cannot be doubted that, if the United States would settle their 500,000 free negroes on the African coast, lining its exposed ocean border from Liberia to the Cape Colony, through 30° of latitude, it might effect on the whole coast, what Liberia, with her five or six thousand people have done through all her territory—the entire extinction of the slave trade. But the transportation and settlement on purchased land, of this half million at the maximum, would cost only \$30,000,000, a capitation tax of not more than a dollar and a half on our entire population. Can we hope to make a better speculation in the next half century than that would be? Might not our mountains of



The Purchase of Cape Mount.

gold in California be well exchanged for such an expurgation?

England alone is estimated to have expended more than twice that sum in an almost fruitless attempt to suppress the slave trade, and for many years, France and the United States have co-operated with England in maintaining a large naval force on the African coast. How easily, then, could these combined powers accomplish through colonization what they have fruitlessly attempted by other means? The work belongs properly to *the world*. Shall nations combine to preserve a "balance of power" to prevent oppression, and shall they not co-operate to give political birth to a nation, to redeem a continent?

The whole amount heretofore expended by the American Colonization Society in the purchase of land, sending out emigrants and maintaining the government of Liberia; in prosecuting this experiment, now triumphantly completed, falls short of a million of dollars. Take then an amount equal to that expended by the three great maritime powers, England, France and the United States, and expend it in a judicious and extended plan of Colonization in a co-operation with this Society; and all that has been done for Liberia and her neighboring tribes, might be done for Africa, with its hundred millions of people. England begins to see this, and Lord Palmerston has spoken of placing at the disposal of President Roberts, \$10,000—a sum which would hardly maintain one of her armed ships of the smallest class for one year; and the President on the part of Liberia, has engaged, for that sum, to purchase and defend forever against the slave trade, the whole line of coast from Cape Mount to Sierra Leone, a distance of 200 miles.

Let the christian world, then, come

to this work and it will be done—done with a great saving of expense now needlessly employed—and it will be done at once. The world can supply the means and the Colonization Society can furnish the plan and execute it.

Let England alone apply her expenditures in this way and the work is done. The simple interest for one year on the whole sum she has already expended would bring a revenue greater than all which Liberia and her incalculable benefits to Africa have yet cost.

Let the government of the United States apply its expenditures through this channel and they will be made available to their objects twenty fold.

Let Virginia consult her true interest in the expenditures for her free colored people, and see how much richer she may be. In the first place, she will be doing much in the great work of benevolence. She will add to the free coast population of Africa, 60,000 people. Worthless, and more than worthless here, we may yet suppose that, under the new motives of their new position, they would rise to what others of their race have done in similar circumstances, to the character of industrious and useful citizens. They will constitute a strong and efficient guard to defend the coast where they are colonized, against the approach of the slavers, and exert an influence to civilize and christianize the interior tribes. Simultaneously with the benefits extended, Virginia will receive four-fold into her own bosom. She will be rid of her entire free colored population and all its present and apprehended dangers, with a provision that the evil shall not again accrue. She will be rid of two-fifths of the crime now punished under her statutes, with all the expense attending the loss of property to



individuals in the acts of crime itself, and in the prosecution of the offenders, in their maintenance in the Penitentiary, and in their bad influence on others, especially on the slave population.

Is not this, then, a work that CAN be done—that OUGHT to be done—and DONE NOW?

THE PUBLIC SENTIMENT of Virginia on the subject of African Colonization has long been unequivocal and well defined. Her Legislature in December, 1800, adopted a resolution in secret session, requesting the Governor, James Monroe, to correspond with the President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, to procure lands in Africa or some other foreign country, for this purpose. The first resolution on record is dated December 31, 1800. A second, more definite and full, of the same import was passed on January 16, 1802. Another, still, February 3, 1804—followed up by still another, January 22, 1805; in which last the Senators and Representatives of Virginia, in Congress, are instructed to use their efforts to obtain from the general government “a competent portion of Territory in the country of Louisiana,” for colonizing our free people of color.

In December, 1816, again the Legislature of Virginia passed the following resolution, with but nine dissenting voices in the House of Delegates and one in the Senate:—*Resolved*, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place, not within any of the States or territorial government of the United States, to serve for an asylum of such persons of color as are now free, and may desire the same; and for those who may be emancipated within this Common-

wealth, and that the Senators and Representatives of this State in the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid the President of the United States in the attainment of the above objects.

Contemporaneously with these measures in the Virginia Legislature, but a few weeks after the foregoing resolution, the *American Colonization Society* was formed in the city of Washington, through the agency of Gen. Chas. F. Mercer (who was the mover of the Virginia resolution,) and other noble Virginians before mentioned. Through the personal exertions of the same gentleman, aided by F. S. Key of Georgetown, Robert Purviance of Baltimore, and Bishop Meade of Virginia, a subscription of \$5000 was obtained to defray the expenses of Messrs. Mills and Burgess, who were employed to explore the coast of Africa in order to select a suitable place for the proposed colony.

The Colonization Society was formed in the city of Washington December 21, 1816, and Bushrod Washington was appointed President with thirteen Vice Presidents—eight of whom were slaveholders, including H. Clay of Kentucky, Wm. H. Crawford of Georgia, John Taylor of Virginia, Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, and General Mason of Georgetown, D. C., and a board of twelve managers, all of the District of Columbia.

At the meeting which effected this organization, the Speakers were H. Clay, John Randolph, E. B. Caldwell, and Robert Wright of Maryland. The Board of Managers were instructed “to present a memorial to Congress on the subject of colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color of the United States, in Africa, or elsewhere.”—This duty was ably and faithfully

Case, *See* also Dr. Ayres—Purchase of a tract of land for the Colony.

executed by the Board, and the memorial was presented by Mr. Randolph, referred to a committee who reported favorably, concluding with a joint resolution for immediate action. While perfect unanimity seemed to prevail, other pressing business prevented the resolution from being called up at that session. On the 15th of December, 1821, Capt. Richard T. Stockton and Dr. Ayres, under authority of the United States government and the Society, effected a purchase of a tract of land for the colony on which Monrovia now stands, and thus commenced THE AFRICAN COLONY in fact, which was contemplated in all the foregoing resolutions of the Virginia Legislature, and which was the germ of what, in its flower and fruit, is the *Republic of Liberia*, and which now invites to all the privileges and protection of a free and well constituted government, the free colored people of Virginia and her sister States of this Union.

Again in 1832-3, the Legislature of Virginia had the subject of African Colonization before them, and appropriated \$90,000 to aid in peopling Liberia with our own free colored population. The law making this appropriation has never been repealed, and may, therefore, be regarded, perhaps, as wanting nothing but another action of the Legislature providing the ways and means to make it available, and in equity with an addition of interest, now equalling the principal. All these several resolutions and enactments have uniformly met the hearty approbation of the people at large.

In view of these facts—can it be doubted that the mind of Virginia is made up? Do you ask for public sentiment? Read the history of the Commonwealth for the last half century. Trace the records of her legislation on this subject by the

references here made. Ask counsel of your constituents in detail, of your fireside sympathies, your experience, your hopes, your just fears, your judgment, your pockets, your love of your country's glory and her fame. They all alike—with one voice, strong, harmonious, admonitory,—all say, *our free colored population can be removed—ought to be removed—and removed now.* Now, at the present session, let a *beginning* be made. The completion will require a course of years, begin when you may.

We have now arrived at the following conclusions where I respectfully leave the subject with you.

1. It is desirable and necessary to both races that our free colored people should be removed without delay from the State.

2. Liberia, in Africa, is their proper home, and it is for their interest to emigrate to that land of liberty and law.

3. We extend to them their due share of justice and mercy when we provide for their removal there.

4. The Colonization Society is a proper, convenient, and economical agency to effect this removal.

5. In making a liberal appropriation for this object, the present Legislature is carrying out the opinions distinctly entertained and repeatedly expressed by former Legislatures of Virginia for half a century, and meet the public sentiment of their enlightened constituency at the present time.

6. Notwithstanding the unvaried opinion of Virginia on this subject, expressed and approved, through a period during which her free negroes have quadrupled—notwithstanding she was early, if not first, in asking for an African Colony, and a liberal appropriation was once made by her on its behalf, yet no contribution from our Treasury has ever been employ-

## Virginia in Africa.—List of Life members of the A. C. S.

ed in this object, although the *thing desired* has been done, and *Liberia* now stands out the wonder of the world, and the inquiry is already one of deep historical interest—who has done this?

7. Finally, it belongs to the Legislature of 1849—while we are asserting our claim to a large inheritance in the fame of its founders—to link our name to that of *Liberia*, by an appropriation of an annuity amply sufficient to transfer within a reasonable time, our 60,000 free colored people to their father-land—and preserve all of local affection they may feel for the good old State of their nativity by giving them true freedom

and dignity as free citizens of a separate State there, which we will call VIRGINIA IN AFRICA.

To  
Sir—

THE facts and reasonings contained in the foregoing—addressed to the Legislature of Virginia through the Enquirer, the Republican and other papers, seem to be so correct and important, that I take the liberty earnestly to ask your personal and studied consideration of them.

Respectfully,

R. W. BAILEY, *Ag't of the Am. Col. Soc. for Va.*

## Life Members of the American Colonization Society.

WE publish below, a list of the names of all persons who have been constituted LIFE MEMBERS of this Society, as perfect as we are at present able to make it. The first part of the list, which is arranged according to States, was published in 1834. The remainder of the names are arranged according to the order of time, and are put down at the place of their residence, when they became Life Members.

It is our wish as soon as we can, to make out a *perfect list* of the *living Life Members*, with their *present residence*.

We will be thankful to our friends to enable us to supply any names not found in the following list, and to erase the names of such persons as have deceased, and to change the location of any who may have changed, and to make out in every respect, a perfect list.

LIFE MEMBERS OF THE A. C. S.  
*by the contribution of \$30 or upwards at one time, to the funds of the Institution.*

## MAINE.

Rev. Seneca White, *Bath*.  
Rev. S. L. Pomeroy, *Bangor*.  
*Brunswick*.

John Dunlap,  
David Dunlap,  
Rev. T. C. Upham.

## Hallowell.

Rev. S. Everett,  
Rev. E. Gillett, D. D.  
*Kennebunk Port.*

Charles A. Lord,  
Daniel W. Lord,  
Rev. J. P. Fessenden,  
Rev. C. H. Kent.

## Kennebunk.

C. W. Williams,  
Rev. N. H. Fletcher,  
Rev. D. Thurston, *Winthrop*.  
*Portland*.

Rev. S. Tenbrook,  
Rev. Mr. Ripley,  
Rev. Asa Cummings,  
Rev. Cyril Pearl,  
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Rev. G. S. Beckwith,  
Rev. Wm. T. Dwight,  
Rev. Mr. Douglass, *Alfred*.  
Sarah Cleves, *Saco*.  
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*Gorham*.

Rev. Thaddeus Pomroy.  
NEW HAMPSHIRE  
*Dover*.

Rev. J. N. Maffit,  
Joseph W. Clary,  
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Rev. Nathan Parker, D. D.  
Rev. J. B. Waterhouse,  
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## VERMONT.

Charles Marsh, *Woodstock*.  
Ethan Andrus, *Middlebury*.

## Life Members.

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D. L. Fawcett, *Cambridge.*  
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*Gratton.*

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Rev. S. Holmes, *New Bedford.*  
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Rev. Stephen Bailey,  
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F. M. Hubbard,  
*Worcester.*

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Rev. Converse Francis,  
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Mr. Paine,  
Ebenezer Rhoades,  
F. W. Holland,  
Charles Stoddard,  
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Rufus Leavitt,  
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Ansen Blake,  
Stephen Allen,  
Silas Brown,  
Ralph Olmstead,  
W. Couch,  
R. H. McCurdy,  
R. T. Haines,



## Life Members.

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 James Boggs,  
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 Herschel Foote, Euclid, Ohio.  
 W. Wright, Woodstock, Vt.  
 Rev. John White Cluckering, Portland, Me.  
 D. Henderson, Jersey City, N. J.  
 Abel Conner, Henneker, N. H.  
 Major John Alexander, Lexington, Va.  
 Rev. E. Edwin Hall, Guilford, Conn.  
 Mrs. Jane Mc Masters, Princeton, Ind.  
 Mrs. Ann Flemming, do. do.  
 Rev. D. H. Hamilton, Trumansburg, N. Y.  
 Charles N. Talbot, Esq., New York, N. Y.  
 Mrs. E. M. Monroe, do. do.

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 George Douglas, Esq., do. do.  
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 John Latemore, Esq., Wilmington, Del.  
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 Charles J. Du Pont, Esq., do. do.  
 Moses Bradford, Esq., do. do.  
 Rev. John M. P. Atkinson, Warrenton, Va.  
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 Rev. E. Carpenter, Southbridge, Mass.  
 Darcy Paul, Esq., Petersburg, Va.  
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 H. Tupper, Esq., Hallowell, Maine.  
 Daniel P. Rogers, Portsmouth, N. H.  
 Rev. W. W. Ellis, Newburyport, Mass.  
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 William Garnett, Esq., Norfolk, Va.  
 Mrs. Martha B. Olmsted, Cincinnati, Ohio.  
 Dr. Daniel Wasburn, Stowe, Vt.  
 Andrew H. Wright, Esq., Paris, Ky.  
 Mrs. Catherine Laird, Lexington, Ky.  
 John Stoddard, Esq., Savannah, Georgia.  
 Geo. B. Cumming, Esq., do. do.  
 Wm. B. Hodgson, Esq., do. do.  
 George Jones, Esq., do. do.  
 Maj. A. Porter, do. do.  
 Dr. A. M. Walker, Sharpsburg, Ky.  
 Miss Charlotte M. Johnson, Branford, Ct.  
 Moses P. Ives, Esq., Providence, R. I.  
 Robt. H. Ives, Esq., do. do.  
 Isaac Wetherell, A. M., Bangor, Me.  
 Mrs. Ann Atkinson, Langsbery, Ga.  
 A. Devereaux, Esq., Preston Hollow, N. Y.  
 Rufus Kittredge, M. D., Portsmouth, N. H.  
 Ichabod Goodwin, Esq., do. do.  
 Rev. A. P. Peabody, do. do.  
 Rev. Alvan Tobey, Durham, N. H.  
 Hon. James H. Duncan, Haverhill, Mass.  
 David Marsh, Esq., do. do.  
 Dr. John Shackelford, Maysville, Ky.  
 Gurdon Trumbull, Stonington, Conn.  
 Onslow Stearns, Concord, N. H.  
 Hon. Nathan Appleton, Boston, Mass.  
 Prof. S. Collins Brace, Pittsfield, Mass.  
 Rev. John Todd, do. do.  
 Rev. S. S. Buckingham, Springfield, Mass.  
 Rev. J. N. Danforth, Alexandria, Va.  
 Rev. J. Spottswood, New Castle, Del.  
 Miss Lydia White, Haverhill, Mass.  
 Rev. Joel Rockwell, Wilmington, Del.  
 Rev. Geo. F. Simmons, Springfield, Mass.  
 Mrs. Z. P. Banister, Newburyport, Mass.  
 Rev. Jno. Edwards Emerson, do. do.  
 Rev. Dr. Dwight, Portland, Maine.  
 Levi Keese, Esq., Louisville, Miss.  
 Rev. Caleb Hobart, North Yarmouth Cen-  
 tre, Massachusetts.  
 Abner Wasson, Esq., Gillespieville, Ohio.  
 Rev. John M. Jones, Alexandria, Va.  
 Rev. Joel H. Linsley, D. D., Greenwich, Ct.  
 Rev. Charles Dickinson, Birmingham, Ct.  
 Rev. Isaac Jennings, Stamford, Ct.  
 William Albert Ferris, Greenwich, Ct.





THIRTY-THIRD

# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

✓  
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,

AND OF THE

SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING,

JANUARY 15, 1850.

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WASHINGTON:

C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,

F STREET, NEAR WAR DEPARTMENT.

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THIRTY - THIRD
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

JANUARY 15th, 1850.

Progress of the Cause.—Condition of the Republic of Liberia.

THROUGH the merciful kindness of our heavenly Father, we are permitted to celebrate the Thirty-third Anniversary of the American Colonization Society. Another year of distinguished prosperity has drifted by. We contemplate the past, with feelings of gratitude and exultation. Progress has been made. Principles have received new strength and enlargement. The fountains of benevolence have poured forth their fertilizing streams. The tokens of divine favor, and the manifestations of Almighty Power have been liberally granted in every emergency. The spirit of emigration has been gradually increasing. Favoring gales have safely wafted the Society's vessels, freighted with expectant freeman, to their new homes on the shores of Africa. From their newly erected houses and their humble abodes, they have sent back such a voice of contentment, and such good news of the land, that many of their kindred

and acquaintances, are preparing to follow them. The Republic of Liberia, though young as to years and small as to numbers, has displayed much of the wisdom of riper age, and the strength of vigorous manhood. Peace and prosperity have been in all her borders. The monster vices peculiar to that coast have felt, and withered under, the increasing influence of civilization and christianity. The native tribes have more tenderly felt the wretchedness of their barbarous condition, and been inspired with new zeal to imitate their more highly favored neighbors. Among the nations of the earth the fame of what Liberia has already done, has spread far and wide, and confidence in the stability of her institutions has been greatly augmented.

In illustration of these general statements, we present the following details of operations of the past year.

Huma—Packet—Expenses increased by the Cholera.

chartered, the purchases made, and the emigrants from Kentucky were on their way: so that instead of upwards of 100 emigrants, only 21 were sent in this vessel.

It will thus appear, that both the expeditions from New Orleans have been greatly interfered with by the prevalence of the cholera there, and rendered much more expensive to the Society.

The emigrants in Tenn. who went to New Orleans more than a year ago, and returned on account of the cholera, are yet in Tenn., awaiting another opportunity.

The barque Huma sailed from Savannah, Geo., 14th May, 1849, with 181 emigrants, of whom 116 were from Georgia, and 65 from S. Carolina. Few companies of better people than these have ever gone to Liberia. They were generally well supplied with the comforts and conveniences of life. One hundred and three of them could read, and thirty could write. Twenty-four of them had purchased themselves and paid an aggregate of \$15,750, the product of their own industry. Several of them were manumitted by their masters, that they might accompany their kindred and friends who were going to Liberia. As most of these were valuable slaves, their masters deserve much credit for their great liberality. Few individuals in any part of the country, have contributed

as largely during the year to colonization purposes as they.

Four of the company were preachers, and 69 were professors of religion; and five of them were native-born Africans, who though at an advanced age, seemed thrilled with joy at the idea of again seeing the land of their birth!

The only other expedition which we have sent out during the year, was by the Liberia Packet, which sailed from Baltimore, August 1, 1849, with 14 emigrants, of whom 11 were from South Carolina, 2 from Virginia, and 1 from this city!

There were others who wanted to go in this expedition, but the Society was so much in debt, for those already sent, that it was deemed prudent to postpone their departure to some future time.

By reference to the account current appended to this report, it will be seen that the whole outlay for the transportation and support of emigrants during the year has been \$33,650 12. This is considerably above the average of \$50 for each emigrant, and is accounted for by the fact already stated of the prevalence of the cholera at New Orleans, by which the expenses of two expeditions were required, to do the work of one; and also by the fact that the charter of vessels has been unusually high during the year, owing doubtless to the great number employed in the California trade.

We have made arrangements for the departure of three expeditions within the next forty days. The *Liberia Packet* will sail from Norfolk, Va., on the 23th inst. We have 224 applicants for a passage in her, but shall send only about 160. A vessel will sail from Savannah, Geo., on the 14th February, with about 200 emigrants, and a vessel from New Orleans, the 25th February, with about 100.

It is very embarrassing, with our present empty treasury, and large debt, to be compelled to send out so many emigrants, so early in the year. But circumstances over which we could exert no control have rendered it important, if not indispensable, that these people should all go at the times appointed. Not to send them, would be ruinous to their prospects, and disastrous to our hopes of future usefulness. In obedience, therefore, to the resolution of the Board of Directors at their last annual meeting, we have agreed to send them, relying upon our auxiliary Societies, and a liberal and sympathizing public for the means of defraying the expenses.

Among the encouraging events of the past year, we number the continued increase of applicants for emigration to Liberia. We think the fact is fully established that there will always be more persons desirous of, and needing, the aid of the Society, than it will be able to assist.

Strong hopes have been entertained that the states would take the matter in hand and make appropriations to aid in the colonization of their own free colored population. In Indiana, Ohio and Virginia, the people have petitioned their respective legislatures on the subject, and as far as we are informed they are very favorably disposed. Should they make liberal appropriations for the purpose, it would mark an era in the history of Colonization.

The several State auxiliary Societies still maintain their organizations, and have prosecuted the work of collecting funds with energy and zeal. From some of them we have received fewer remittances than we had anticipated; but they all speak of an encouraging interest in the cause among the mass of their citizens. The great state of New York, under the culture of the energetic and indefatigable secretary of that society, has done nobly, and taken the lead far ahead of any other. We mention the fact with a proud satisfaction, that we have received from their treasury during the past year about \$10,000, with the prospect of an increase for the year to come!

Among the individual friends and patrons of the cause, many have shown distinguished liberality. Often, in our times of trial and emergency, have our hearts been made to thrill with gratitude at the re-

 Prosperity of Liberia—The great want of Liberia.

ception of their munificent donations!

During the summer, we made an appeal for \$3,000 to send a large family of about 60, from near Murfreesboro', N. C., left by will of the late T. Capehart with the privilege of going, if the Society could defray the expenses. A gentleman in Alabama offered to be one of thirty who would give \$100 each for this purpose. We have the satisfaction of announcing that the amount has all been made up, and that the family will leave in the Liberia Packet on the 26th inst. Thanks, large and sincere we give the gentleman who proposed, and those who completed, this scheme.

In the history of the Republic of Liberia, the past year, there is much to awaken gratitude, and give encouragement for future and enlarged operations. Several new tracts of territory have been purchased, and treaties of peace and friendship made with the surrounding tribes. The slave trade at New Cesters has been entirely broken up, and at Gallinas it has been for the present stopped, with every prospect of its final extinction. To accomplish this object, President Roberts assures us in his last despatch, nothing is wanting but the means of purchasing the coast lying between the northern boundary of Liberia and the southern boundary of Sierra

Leone. The legacy of the late John Hoff, of Philadelphia, if we can receive it, together with the distinguished liberality of a gentleman in Cincinnati, and one in England, will very nearly, if not quite, make up the amount required.

The man-of-war, presented to the Republic by Great Britain, has proved a valuable acquisition, and rendered essential service to the commerce and welfare of Liberia. The income from duties and other sources, has been on the increase, and promises to be sufficient for all the expenses of the government. Considerable embarrassment, however, has been felt in consequence of the heavy debt, about \$6,000, incurred in fitting out the military expedition against the slave factory at New Cesters. Great credit is due to the men who planned and executed that undertaking.

The chief want of Liberia at present is an increased population of intelligent and industrious citizens, and enlarged resources for the support of schools, and the execution of internal improvements. On this point, it is pleasant to know that much interest is felt both in this country and in Liberia; and that measures are in progress to render them important assistance.

We have been much indebted to the Rev. John Miller, formerly of Frederick, Md., who while on a

Continued from No.

went to Europe and the cause before many distinguished individuals, and obtained some handsome donations to the funds of the Society. He appeared before a committee of Parliament and underwent a rigid examination respecting the history, plans, principles and operations of this Society, and imparted to them an immense amount of information which they embodied in their report and published to the world. In this respect, he rendered a most important service to the cause.

In conclusion, we earnestly, affectionately, and importunately invoke the philanthropic every where to continue, and increase their generosity to our cause! We are able to show diligence on our part, in prosecuting the enterprise, and frugality in the use of all the pecuniary means placed at our disposal. The expenditure of the funds contributed by private benevolence has purchased, on a beaughted coast, a territory of more than four hundred miles in extent, has chartered ships, transported to the home and continent of their fathers, 6,653 of our free people of color, who have formed, and are capable of maintaining a prosperous and independent government; has brought under the canopy of Liberian law more than 50,000 hitherto wild and untutored savages, has abolished the slave trade for several hundred miles on

the coast, has founded schools, churches, and printing presses, has cleared farms and sprinkled abroad the green tints of agriculture, has established the temples of justice, transplanted our beautiful arts to a distant continent, and carried our mother tongue to where it will become the language of millions for ages to come; and above all, and by means of all, established the institutions of our holy religion in a land hitherto shrouded in the deepest heathenish darkness! LIBERIA is a Republic reared by private benevolence. It demonstrates what may be done with adequate means at command. The work is now comparatively easy. The experiment has been made. The true policy has been discovered, and all the preliminaries settled. The means and appliances are well understood. The business is reduced to such a perfect system, that every mite now contributed can be made to achieve direct results to its utmost possible capacity. We therefore call upon all to strengthen our hands and encourage our hearts, for the work of a century yet remains to be done. Liberia needs more of our people, that she may send her influence eventually into the heart of Africa. They are anxious to go, and shall we forbid them to cherish the hope that they may one day plant their feet on the soil which once their

 Annual Meeting of Society—Officers elected.

fathers trod! The claims of humanity and the commands of the Most High summon us to redoubled zeal and activity! The time has come when the resources of the Society must be greatly enlarged, or it must falter in the work which is demanded of it. This whole nation is now called upon by the highest considerations of duty, interest and religion, to come forward and press

the work to its consummation. A spirit should go abroad every where, kindling the hearts of the people to the completion of an enterprise on which depends our nation's highest glory, and the redemption of Africa. Ten thousand hearts should respond to every appeal of the Society, and ten thousand hands should be stretched forth with necessary relief!

 Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,
Washington City, 15 Jan. 1850.

THE American Colonization Society met at 7 o'clock in the 1st Presbyterian Church.

The Hon. Henry Clay, president of the Society, took the chair.

The Rev. John Maclean, D. D., of Princeton, N. J., opened the meeting with prayer.

The Hon. Henry Clay then delivered an address appropriate to the occasion.

The Secretary, Rev. W. McLain, presented the annual Report, and read extracts therefrom. After which it was referred to the Board of Directors.

Addresses were then delivered by Robert G. Scott, Esq., of Richmond, Va., Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y., and by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, of this city.

After which it was resolved that

the Society adjourn to meet in the Colonization Rooms to-morrow morning at 9½ o'clock for the election of officers.

Adjourned.

— January 16.

The American Colonization Society met at 9½ o'clock, pursuant to adjournment.

THE HON. DANIEL BRECK, of Kentucky, was called to the chair in the absence of the President.

The minutes of the last meeting were read.

THE HON. HENRY CLAY was elected President of the Society.

The following persons were elected Vice Presidents:

1. General John H. Cocke, of Virginia.
2. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.
3. Charles F. Mercer, of Florida.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.
5. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of N. Y.
6. Louis McLane, of Baltimore.
7. Moses Allen, of New York.
8. General W. Jones, of Washington.
9. Joseph Gales, of Washington.

Annual Meeting of Board of Directors. Delegates appointed.

13. Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia.
14. John M. Drake, of Louisiana.
15. Rev. James O. Andrews, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
16. William Maxwell, of Virginia.
17. Lewis Whitham, of Ohio.
18. Walter Loring, of New York.
19. Jacob Bryant, of Ohio.
20. Dr. Stephen Decatur, of Mississippi.
21. William C. Rivers, of Virginia.
22. Rev. J. Laurin, D. D., of Washington.
23. Rev. Wm. Wright, of Mississippi.
24. Joseph Bowman, of New York.
25. Henry A. Foster, of New York.
26. Dr. John Kay, of Mississippi.
27. Robert C. Council, of Georgia.
28. Peter D. Wilson, of New Jersey.
29. James Graham, of Virginia.
30. Right Hon. Lord Brougham, of London.
31. Woodruff Hall, of Delaware.
32. Right Rev. Bishop Oak, of Tenn.
33. Gerard Robinson, of London.
34. Rev. Conrad Van Rensselaer, N. J.
35. Dr. Hodgkin, of London.
36. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Mass.
37. Tovey R. Hazard, of R. I.
38. Dr. Thomas Mann, of Virginia.
39. Major Gen. Winfield Scott, of Washington.
40. Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., of N. J.
41. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
42. James Bailey, of Mississippi.
43. Rev. Geo. W. Bateman, D. D., of Phila.
44. Rev. C. C. Coyle, D. D., of Phila.
45. Philip Croome, of Philadelphia.
46. Anne G. Phelps, of New York.
47. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., of Massachusetts.
48. Jonathan Hyde, of Maine.
49. Rev. Peabody Welch, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Baltimore.
50. Rev. Dr. W. P. Johnson, S. C.
51. Moses Sheppard, Baltimore.
52. Eliza M. Hyatt, of Ohio.
53. Rev. Dr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.
54. Rev. P. Lindsey, D. D., of Tenn.
55. Hon. J. R. Underwood, of Kentucky.
56. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.
57. H. L. Lumsden, Esq., Athens, Ga.
58. James Loomis, of New York.
59. Bishop Soule, D. D., of Tennessee.
60. Prof. T. C. Upham, of Maine.
61. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
62. Hon. Thos. W. Williams, of Conn.
63. Hon. Simon Greenleaf, of Mass.
64. Rev. John Early, D. D., of Virginia.
65. Rev. Lovick Pierce, of Georgia.
66. Hon. R. J. Walker, of Mississippi.
67. Samuel Gurnsey, England.
68. Charles McMicken, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio.
69. John Bell, M. D., Philadelphia, Pa.

After which the Society adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1851, at 7 o'clock.

Minutes of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,
Washington, 15 Jan. 1851.

The hour of 12 o'clock, to which the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society stands adjourned, having arrived, and there not being a quorum present, it was resolved that we adjourn to 9½ o'clock to-morrow morning.

January 16.

The Board met according to adjournment.

Certificates of the appointment of the following delegates to the Board of Directors were handed in:—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| Hon. J. Whitcomb, | } Indiana S. |
| Hon. E. W. McGaughey, | |
| Robert G. Smith, Esq., | } Col. Society. |
| Rev. Philip Slaughter, | |
| Amos G. Phelps, Esq., | } Virginia S. |
| Moses Allen, Esq., | |
| Rev. G. W. Postume, D. D., | } Col. Society. |
| Francis Hall, Esq., | |
| Rev. G. Spring, D. D., | } New York |
| Dr. D. M. Rice, | |
| Rev. J. Knox, | } Col. Society. |
| Rev. J. B. Poncey, | |
| Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer, | } N. Jersey. |
| Rev. John Maclean, D. D., | |
| Hon. Mr. Underwood, | } Kentucky. |
| Hon. H. Marshall, | |
| Hon. Daniel Breck, | } |
| Rev. W. D. Sawate, Missouri. | |
| Rev. J. Tracy, Massachusetts. | |
| Rev. W. McLane, Life Director. | |

The Hon. DANIEL BRECK, was

 Secretary and Treasurer and Executive Committee elected—A College in Liberia.

called to the chair, and the Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, was chosen Secretary of the Board.

The minutes of the last annual meeting of the Board were read by the Secretary of the Society.

The report of the executive committee to the Board was read by the Secretary of the Society, and ordered to be referred to a special committee. Messrs. Pinney and Tracy were appointed.

The Annual Report was referred to the same committee.

Messrs. Phelps and Maclean were appointed a committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts.

The officers for the last year were re-elected, and were as follows :

Rev. William McLain, Secretary and Treasurer—Matthew St. Clair Clarke, H. Lindsly, Elisha Whittlesey, Jos. H. Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, and William Gunton, Executive Committee.

On motion of Rev. J. B. Pinney,

Resolved, That the subject of a periodical, or the establishment of a newspaper by this society, be referred to a committee of two.

Messrs. Bethune and Slaughter were appointed.

The following paper was submitted, and referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Maclean, Phelps, and Tracy.

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, in obedience to a vote of the Society, passed at its last annual meeting, have appointed a committee to report on the formation of a Board of Trustees for a fund for collegiate education in Liberia. The committee still have

the subject in charge ; and the prospect is, that they will be able to select a small Board of gentlemen who will consent to serve, and who will entirely command public confidence, and that some amount of funds will be given.

The Board and its Committee are perfectly aware that it is impossible immediately to establish in Liberia an institution which would deserve the name of a college in this country; but they are fully persuaded that the work ought to be done as soon as practicable, and that the necessary preparatory measures ought not to be deferred.

In this stage of the business, the Board requests such notice from the parent Society as may best promote this important object.

By order of the Executive Committee,
JOSEPH TRACY,
Secretary.

Adjourned to meet at 5 P. M.

—
Wednesday, 5 P. M.—met according to adjournment.

The committee on the Treasurer's account reported, that they had examined the same and found it correct and satisfactory. The report was accepted.

A letter having been received from the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who has lately been in Liberia in the employment of the U. S. Government, offering to communicate any information in his power concerning the condition of that Republic,—it was voted, that he be invited to meet us for that purpose to morrow at half past nine o'clock, A. M.

The committee on the Report of the Executive Committee to the Board, reported in part. Their report was recommitted for completion.

The committee on the publication

A new paper on transport—C on the ground there in.

of a periodical presented their Report, which is as follows:—

The committee to which was referred the subject of a newspaper beg leave respectfully to report;

That it found on many accounts desirable that the Society should have some cheap and easily obtained communication with its friends, and that it is in accordance with the judgment of many of its members that such a publication is for the best, if an able and worthy person could be found, as well as the influence of the enterprise.

Your committee therefore recommended the establishment of such a paper, short (to say) a newspaper in the style of the American Messenger, to be issued once a month, in the city of Washington.

It appears from statement placed before your committee, that 25,000 copies of such a paper can be published at less than a cost of \$4,000 per annum, exclusive of the salary to the editor.

Should the Board adopt the recommendation to establish such a paper, your committee would recommend a discontinuance of the African Repository, and suggest that if it is thought desirable, such subscribers as may have the paper in question.

The committee do not extend their report, as the directors of the business arrangements connected with the establishment of such a paper, must necessarily be made subject of discussion by the Board and their Executive Committee.

All business is respectfully submitted.

GEO. W. BETHUNE,
PHILIP SLAUGHTER.

Adjourned to half past nine o'clock to-morrow.

—

January, 17.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The Rev. R. R. Gurley was present, according to invitation given yesterday, and communicated information concerning Liberia, after which, it was

Resolved, That the thanks of the Board be presented to the Rev. Mr. Gurley, for the interesting and interesting information with which he has been favored.

The chairman being obliged to

retire, the Rev. Dr. Bethune was called to the chair.

The same committee reported, that the annual Report be referred to the Executive Committee for publication; which was ordered.

The Committee to whom was referred the communication from the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, respectfully submit the following resolutions for the consideration of the Board—and recommend its adoption.

Resolved, That the Board have learned with much pleasure, that the subject of establishing a College in Liberia, has engaged the attention of the members of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, and to the intent of their meeting, that Board will appropriate to its project an appropriate sum, they deem it expedient to have this matter to be attended by one of itself to Massachusetts, who have already taken it in hand.

Resolved, That the legacy bequeathed by the late Mr. Samuel of Illinois, and to be expended in promoting the cause of education in Liberia, be invested as soon as received; and that this legacy be solely kept as a part of a permanent fund for the endowment of a College in Liberia, provided that the provisions of the Will, will admit of the being done.

JOHN MACLEAN, Chairman.

The report was accepted, and the resolutions were adopted.

The report on Periodicals was taken up—after discussion, it was

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, with full powers to carry into effect, should they deem it expedient, the provisions of the above report. Rev. Drs. Beane, Mayson and Mr. Parker, were appointed on said Committee.

The minutes were read and accepted.

Voted, that when this Board adjourns, it be to meet on the third Friday of January, 1851, at 12 o'clock, M.

Voted that this Board now adjourns. The meeting was closed with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Bethune.

DANIEL BRECK, *Chair'n*.
JOSEPH TRACY, *Clerk*.

Balance Sheet—Receipts and Expenditures.

Dr. Receipts and Expenditures of the American Colonization Society, Cr.

From 1st January, 1849, to 1st January, 1850.

To Balances due the Society per last report,	\$6,907 30	By Balances due by the Society per last report,	\$8,746 39
Receipts from the following sources, to wit:		Payments for the following objects, to wit:	
Donations, - - -	30,880 99	Passage of emigrants, charters of ves-	33,909 81
Colonial Store, - - -	1,816 61	sels, provisions, &c., - - -	
Colony of Liberia, - - -	105 00	Salaries of the Colonial Physician, and	1,754 49
Legacies, - - -	1,746 31	his assistants, - - -	
Emigrants, - - -	5,585 60	Paper for the African Repository, and	3,385 69
African Repository, - - -	2,013 48	printing, - - -	
Other sources, - - -	1,033 29	Salary of the Secretary of the Am. Col.	2,601 61
Profit and loss, - - -	244 26	Soc., rent of office, clerk hire, &c., -	
		Compensation to agents, and other ex-	3,847 65
Total receipts, - - -	\$50,332 84	penses in collecting funds, - - -	472 14
Balances due by the Society, - - -	12,707 37	Contingent expenses, - - -	1,025 27
		Profit and loss, - - -	
		Total expenditures, - - -	\$55,743 05
		Balances due the Society, - - -	7,297 16
			\$63,040 21

COLONIZATION ROOMS, Washington City, January 1st, 1850.

NOAH FLETCHER, Book-Keeper.

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement correct and satisfactory.

ANSON G. PHELPS, }
JOHN MACLEAN, } Auditors.

Mr. Clay's Address.—Report of

Addresses delivered at the Annual Meeting.

Mr. Clay said:—

I have been requested by gentlemen of the Society, and others, who are in attendance, to express the wish of the congregation, by whose kindness we are enabled to occupy, this evening, this house, that there was not let on this occasion, any manifestation of political opinions, which seems to be inconsistent with the place as well as with the feelings of the Society.

I take occasion to say I meet you, fellow members of the Colonization Society, with very great satisfaction. It is our annual anniversary, it is the thirty-third year of our existence as a Society. We commenced with the declared purpose of continuing our exertions to the colonization of the free people of color of the United States, with their own consent. To that great object, and to that restriction of our exertions, we have constantly and faithfully adhered. During the existence of the Society we have met with every species of difficulty and obstruction. We have been in the attitude of a person standing between two fires; the ultraism of the North, and the ultraism of the South. The great masses, however, gentlemen of the Society, in both of these sections are, I believe, impartial. The enlightened masses have been with us, and we meet upon this occasion, under circumstances of peculiar encouragement, whether we look to Africa, or at home within our own country.

In passing over Africa, we behold there the most gratifying results of the perseverance of the Society. Under the blessing of an All-wise Providence, we have brought into existence a State—a Commonwealth—a people self-governed, and that of a race which many have supposed were truly incapable of self-government; for, I understood, that there is not a solitary white man concerned in the administration of the government of Liberia. It is all their own work, and we wish discretion, judgment and good sense. Indeed, the State papers which I have sent from that infant Commonwealth, would do credit to the more ancient States of our own Confederacy. They possess stability, order, law, and the means of education, and a devotion to that God, who has blessed them and us, in the noble enterprise in which we have been engaged. If we look at home, fellow citizens, we shall find great cause for justification and satisfaction. Everywhere I think opposition to the Society, and to its progress and success, has greatly diminished.

Public opinion is becoming more and

more sound every day in regard to the solution of the great problem which the Society has presented, of the practicability of the redemption of Africa from barbarity, and the transportation from our own country of an unhappy race, which it is impossible to mix with the larger portion of the people of this country. It is no longer a debatable question, whether colonies can be successfully planted upon the shores of Africa. It is no longer a debatable question whether it is practicable, with the application of adequate and sufficient means, to transport, from time to time, free colored persons of the United States, those now free with their race, and those who may become freely so as to their owners, who may hereafter think proper to emancipate them. These are causes, fellow citizens, of satisfaction with our past exertions, and of stimulus to our future efforts. I have, however, risen upon this occasion not to make a speech. I have made these remarks merely as introductory to the proceedings of the Society. The Secretary will presently proceed to read the report of the transactions of the Society during the past year, and the present condition of the republic of Liberia—the independent republic of Liberia—the acknowledged republic of Liberia—acknowledged (and that is saying a great deal, by two or three of the greatest powers on earth).

From that report you will learn what has been done during the past year. You will learn, among other things, that there have been far less settlers transported to the Colonies of Africa than we could have desired; yet there has been an encouraging number—a number great for our means—and if the funds of the Society had been more adequate there would have been a larger number. We learn that, during the current year, a large number of applicants, amounting to six or seven hundred, are already registered, desiring to be transported to Africa; and when that public opinion, to which I have alluded, shall ripen into a settled conviction of the benefits that will flow to both quarters of the world, Africa and America, and the prosecution with vigor and energy of the great cause of Colonization, that report will show us that there has been formed a system of liberal education by public authority, and thus ultimately the efforts of the Society may be carried to an extent corresponding with their wishes, and the goodness of the cause in which they are embarked.

The Secretary will proceed, gentlemen, to read to you the reports of the transactions

Mr. Scott's Address at Annual Meeting.

of the Society during the past year, and after that other gentlemen will follow, in proposing various ways and means, making their propositions worthy of your notice, I am sure, by the eloquence which will be employed in recommending them for your adoption.

The annual report was read by the Rev. Mr. McLean, secretary of the Society.

ROBT. G. SCOTT, Esq., of Va., said :—

Mr. President.—In seconding the motion to accept the report and refer it to the Managers to be printed, I beg leave to submit to you, sir, one of the fathers of this noble and most philanthropic undertaking, who for thirty odd years has stood by, through good and evil report, (and we find you here to-night again to counsel and aid us in this great work,) and give some considerations in favor of this most admirable undertaking. Fifty years ago, from this city went up the voice of one of the best and greatest men our Union has ever produced, in favor of this, now, I will venture to say, proved admirable undertaking—blessing the white man and the black. From the pen of the President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, first was traced the suggestion, that Africa should become the home of the civilized black man. The State from whence I came, sir, and by whose authority I am here to-night, in the year 1800, through her legislature, directed their then governor of the State (Mr. Monroe,) to apply to Mr. Jefferson, who was then the President of these United States, to take action, to carry out that which this Society, like the grain of mustard seed, sown but yesterday, and now grown to be a mighty tree, has accomplished by its own unaided public—comparatively public—unaided assistance.

The subject came up, and from time to time was one of great and constant consideration for the legislature of Virginia, and in 1804, the mind of the President still being fixed upon accomplishing this great end, he addressed a communication to Governor Page of Virginia, in which he brought the subject up again and pressed it upon him for action; and it was there had. No final step was taken from that period until 1816. The public mind had not been prepared for action. It was a great undertaking, for not only those living then, but which was to go down to our children, and our children's children to the remotest generation who shall come after us. You are to direct the public mind. The subject requires consideration and deep deliberation; that was had in some degree in 1816, and then for the first time was this society organized. Thirty-

three years have passed by since we were first brought together in this great work. What do we mean to accomplish by the undertaking? By what means, I pray you Mr. President, do we mean to act? We come together to restrain no one, we come together not by the authority of the law, but by the impulses and dictates of our own hearts, actuated by our best judgments. We go to the hut of the black man, we tell him this is no place for you or yours, we offer him another home from whence his fathers came; we appeal to every passion that can operate upon the human mind and human judgment of a proper character; we present to him a bright and beautiful future, and offer him a home for all time to come; we ask not the iron hand of the law to drive him from the land of his nativity, and separate him from the ties that bind him to his kindred. No, sir, no, we rise above that; we go and teach him—appeal to his judgment, his heart and his interest, and say, if we can get him with us we are content. We touch not the rights of property, Mr. President; we leave that to the fanatics of the North; we have enemies North and South. No, no, Mr. President, I did not wish to utter the term enemy; I cannot believe that it is in the hearts of men, just, honest and fair men—men of stable judgment, who have a single particle of principle, to harbor in their breasts the feeling of enmity to this Society. No, sir, I cannot believe it. I can understand how he may be an opponent of it. I have used too harsh an expression; there can never be a man an enemy to such a noble undertaking as this; he may be the opponent, but he can never be the enemy—in the sense of the term enemy. I say we touch not the rights of property; we interfere with the rights of no one; that is not the means by which we operate; but, I pray you, Mr. President, upon whom are we acting? The black man—the free black man; the man upon whom He that has made us all, placed the mark of separation from us; who socially and politically can never mingle with the white man as his equal in the same land. There must be superiority to the one caste or the other, among us. If we release him from the condition of servitude, he is yet a slave; he must carry with him the tides to his freedom; he passes from village to village, from county to county, and possibly from State to State. But he must always carry the evidences of his right to his freedom in his possession, subject at any moment, with us at least, Mr. President, with us at the South, to be taken up and put in prison; he must produce the evidence, and also the seal of

MR. FOSTER'S ADDRESS AT ANNUAL MEETING.

that money, in which that wisdom is resented. It is no reproach, even under the sun, upon the people of the South, where the Government is so much necessary; presence and safety demand that their business and wealth be in the legitimate slave. Not only so is a freeman, but look at him—what confidence do you feel him useful? I speak of the people, not of him, Mr. President; therefore single exceptions to this. I speak of those who claim, and I speak to you, who you are wiser, and to all who are within the sound of my voice, that come from a slave-holding State. How often it is you feel a sympathy, in religious and other ways, whose kind and important matter has come upon, and we feel, and who have become freemen, a virtuous, and a drunken manhood—so often upon the pulpit is not true. How often feel, and why, I pray you, within the country we have given up every mortgage from the thousands of property, there is no other, anything of the present day, and there is no hope for the future.

Every manhood is virtuous to man, every resolve to undertake him is taken away. He lives, as the moving measure upon the face of the earth, lives also, for more and more, and that man forever be the confidence of the free black men in this country, as long as the white man is the master and even less to this country.—The pretensions are used to him—the portrait of a merciful character and equally shot on from him, but means to perform the most human duty, and rather commendation, commendation, however, to every spirit of pride, ambition or corruption, such are the motives, most worthy we propose to act. Take him away, and he had up, it will be one day before a different picture, what he shall have made upon the coast of Africa and become those a man, with all the rights of a freeman, and in the enjoyment of them. Mr. President, it is not possible that this should, upon whom we propose to act. I have endeavored to display the character at which our efforts are to be directed. In the scheme feasible? Is it possible to remove from two-thirds of these United States, all the free black population within a reasonable time? I say a reasonable time, for even at the work of a day, it is the smallest extent, and when the act of our civilization comes, it releases the black man and it leaves a double burden for the white man. In the year 1801, at the moment when the movement was first heard in Virginia, the free black population of the United States was one hundred and eighty thousand. In 1823, when the first emigrant crossed the Atlantic Ocean, and took his place upon the shores of Africa, that num-

ber had swelled up to the immense number of 258,000. In twenty years, it had more than doubled, it had added to its number 158,000 people in these United States. In that number it is now, there were 10,000 emancipated by a single law in the State of N. York. Take those Irish, and look at the increase from emigration, and the natural increase, and you find the addition amounted to 128,000. Two less more than doubled in twenty years. Mr. President, now is, how much the quarter of the increased I confess you. We cannot exactly tell that in the year 1840, we had with the same of the United States, 286,000. The free black people are growing and increasing upon us. America, who in the year 1830, had 41,000 free blacks, the number in that year has swelled up to 55,000. The new slave of Ohio, and great and mighty State of the West, has added her numbers, 30,000 free blacks. Trust in the numbers upon which we are to act. It is impossible to remove them, and their descendants, from the United States. Tell your story, Mr. President, take no movement upon the subject—that the number grow, and you have not nearly a quarter of a century of free blacks.

Ten years hence, you will have 100,000 added to the number who go on and increase—twenty or thirty years from this time, you may count one million of free blacks in these United States—but if we now act, and if the action be one from the North to the South, from the East to the West; you have at once a double even thousand of these people every year; that is almost the number of the natural increase of Ohio. I mention the sum of a hundred thousand, to meet the entire expense of removing from the United States to Africa, one of those free persons and African care of him, every year. Mr. Secretary, and I do not like it. The Treasury report that fifty dollars would do it. I have doubled the sum, I take our national dollar, that is \$1,100,000 it will cost the country. It will take 1,100,000 dollars to keep out of your expense in service during the year, a complement of some six or seven hundred men, you cost you 1,100,000 dollars. I put it to you, Sir, and I ask each one of those who hear me, from which the greatest benefit is to flow; whether to appropriate 1,100,000 dollars to keep a recruit in service or to take your 1,100,000 dollars to send 11,000 of our hundreds, degraded and unfortunate people to the shores of Africa. Where in this do you find? I have never seen yet, Mr. President, in any very great undisturbed in this country, when the appeal was made directly to the American people, but it has been responded to; they have been ready to give it help and support. I will

Mr. Scott's Address at Annual Meeting.

take the state of Ohio, and I will take the state of Virginia. For twenty years has she come up, and given ten thousand dollars a year, until she has contributed one fourth of the sum expended by the Colonization Society in this great cause; she has not given it grudgingly. In twenty years, she has given 200,000 dollars; now, sir, take one tenth part of this amount and divide it between these two states, making them give one fifth of the whole amount. You have provision to send away one fifth of the natural increase of the free blacks. Mr. President, if it has been found, that this thing is practicable, why should it not be done; Virginia has heretofore made an appropriation upon the subject; a large and very liberal one. Mr. President, the question may be asked, what will Virginia do; I answer, that during this winter, an appropriation will be made, and in a form, in which it will go with efficiency, throughout the borders of the commonwealth. I speak with some confidence upon the subject; men who have been bitter opponents of it, said, we have only hesitated and doubted, because we did not believe the thing to be practicable, and if you could get the free black men, to co-operate with us, the resources could not be had to remove them; they admit their error, and admitting, say they are prepared to vote the money. Well now, Mr. President, under such circumstances, there being 55,000 free negroes in Virginia, there can be removed 15,000 of them yearly, and soon we may be rid of this incubus.

How has it been proved to be practicable? by the establishment of a colony upon the coast of Africa, you have taken hence 8,000 emigrants. You have located them upon the western coast of Africa. We were told this was one of the most Quixotic undertakings in which men have ever embarked. No, sir, men have gone abroad, men have gone abroad to my personal knowledge; I speak now upon my personal knowledge; men have gone to the black man, and said we were attempting to take his home away; they have said to him, when they have taken you away or placed you upon the coast of Africa, you are to be a slave, you are a freeman here, you are to be made a slave there. We have received opposition of that sort; in their opinion it may be a conscientious, but it was a mistaken course, on the part of those, who have thus persuaded the free black man; but you have proved the practicability of this scheme by the establishment of your colony; and you have added thereto 700 miles of coast. But my estimate is a rough one. When I have

made 150 miles of slave coast; coast upon which the slave trade is still carried on; this is the estimate I have made; it is a rough one. But gentlemen, better informed than myself, well know they have a coast of 700 miles settled by the emigrants from the U. States, through the instrumentality of this unaided Society. You have got, Mr. President, you have got more soil; you have penetrated the country, and I brought under the government of this Republic, eighty odd thousand of the natives of the country, who submit to its authority; you have suppressed the slave trade for 700 miles upon this coast; you have built up towns, you have erected churches, you have put the school master among them; farms have been opened, and you have got all the marks of distinction of a well settled, civilized and intelligent people. I say you have done it; because here began the work; the black men have been the agents of the society. Sir, you have done more than all this; this is but the portico to the temple you have erected. Through the instrumentality of the Society, and by its agency, the National Legislature have passed a law, upon its application and by its petition, denouncing the slave trade to be piracy, and hang the creature, who should be engaged in it. This has been done by the Society; it was the instrument, the moving instrument, to work out that end, and yet, Mr. President, old England, mighty England, with all her enterprise, age and experience, with all her statesmen, she has spent \$150,000,000 in attempting to colonize the black man, but she has failed; she has failed in the West Indies; she has failed in her attempts at Sierra Leone, which she abandons: and tell me, sir, why it is, that you with a handful of men, in this young Republic, have thus risen above her. But the other day, Mr. President, she has acknowledged upon this subject, your superiority by acknowledging the independence of the young, lovely, and beautiful Republic of Liberia. Why is it? She worked in her colonization schemes and continues so far as I know, in her scheme in the West Indies by the soldier and the bayonet. Hers is to be accomplished by the bayonet, she uses the white man as one of the instruments of carrying out her system of colonization. We have learned wisdom from her failure and experience.—You work not by the troops, not by the armed vessels, not by the bayonet or the soldier; you work by the moral appeal, by reason, by acts of justice, recognized by our forefathers, by an appeal to the intelligence of those upon whom you act; but Mr. President, you act always through the main instrumentali-

REV. G. W. BETHUNE'S, D.D., ADDRESS.

ty of our black men. You work by your churches, your school houses, your work shops, your ploughshares, and you carry out your scheme of colonization by planting the black man there, making him take the first rank. But the other day, comparatively, Mr. President, the Republic was an infant. With more than a father's care, with the care of a kind mother, you have taken the infant, the nation, it could stride a step, and led him on, continuing to aid and assist him, until he has acquired the wisdom and power of a man, and then just him off to take care of himself. That is the condition of the Republic of Liberia. Yes, sir, it is the noble effort of your labor for thirty odd years, it was the labor of centuries. You have taught them many the art of self-government, and they have done very well, and good government, but one of the very best that can ever be devised. I am very particular to announce that there is a feature in that government, that marks it as one of the highest degree of wisdom. It forbids a white man a single foot of soil in Liberia, as I would forbid the black man a single foot of soil in the United States. They have taken care to follow the command of Him who commands all things; the white man and the black man can never sit down as equals. We should publish to the world, and proclaim it one of the wisest and best acts. I would punish this truth in the ear of fanaticism—it will not do to keep the white man and the free black man together; they may have the sentiment of free love, but the majority will make one the slave of the other. Mr. President, such is the work, and such is the condition in which we find it—what we go out why not? If it were to be known to-day, I would say born in, but with these cheering prospects before us, if it is a work of more than a century, we have good ground to believe, that century after century hence will only increase, INCREASE, INCREASE, as we grow older, and understand these matters better. Mr. President, a very good and a very wise man said, that, although he believed that he would die to-morrow, he would plant a tree to-day—he lived not for himself, he did not wait for the moment, he looked forward to the future; and looking to that future, if we take up this matter, and calculate it according to dollars and cents, what have we got for the future? seven hundred million of acre, and territory sufficient to accommodate all the black population of these United States, and country capable of raising all the food and great products of the tropical climates, cotton, corn, rice,

sugar and coffee, in the hands of a frugal, active, industrious people. It tells us that hereafter it is to be one infinitely broader than at present. We may hereafter see the commerce of this growing and great people upon the west coast of Africa, extending the most beneficial influence upon our own commerce; taking away from us our spare manufactures, and our spare productions; we, taking in return what they can furnish us. I pass over the gold dust which is found there, but which we are said to get, and abundance, in California; so far I have said very little, myself; I pass all these matters by, I look to the great essentials in this matter, and put the question to you, if we want to make this a question of dollars and cents, what infinite benefits we may expect upon in the future.

There has one other feature in it; the brightest, and possibly the most beautiful of the whole. It carries back to the land of their fathers the descendants of those, who have been brought away and doomed to slavery; it does not, if not ultimately destroys, the slave trade, by the laws of this nation declared to be piracy in those indulging in it. Cover this coast with such a population as that, fill it with people such as you have sent there, and you need ask no treaty with England, France, or any other nation, to put down the slave trade. Now you need not spend a yard of canvass of any one of the armed ships of these United States, filled up with such a population as that, and occupying such a position as that in which you have placed the free black man; you have created a Republic; you have put an end to the slave trade by these great blessings—in the accomplishment of this great design. Why shall not we go on? Those who are here will help us in this great work. It is owing to them, but more especially to you, sir, from whom we have received the cheering invitation to go on. We will go on with you, and help you in this great work as best we can.

The Report was accepted, and ordered to be printed.

The Rev. GEORGE W. BETHUNE, D. D., then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That gratitude is due to Almighty God for his blessing upon our cause, and we take courage and go forward with redoubled zeal.

Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D.—Address.

The Rev. Dr. BETHUNE said :

I am not in the habit, sir, of making apologies when I rise to speak, because I think when one sees reason for not speaking, he should hold his tongue. But it is due to myself, sir, to say, that but for the public announcement which had been made of my name to speak upon this evening, I would most heartily desire to leave the discussion in the hands of the gentlemen who are to follow me, not for want of zeal in the cause, or any unwillingness to lift up my feeble voice in its behalf in any place or under any circumstances, but compelled, sir, to travel the whole of last night, I find myself with a nervous headache, that almost blinds me, and deprives me to a certain extent of the command of my thoughts and my utterance.

It is true, sir, I have endeavored to supply the want of sleep of the last night, with sleep this morning, but whoever has tried to take a morning nap in a Washington hotel will know with what success, and especially a hotel where the servants are *Irish*. The chatter of a negro quarter, may be sometimes annoying to the listener, but, sir, it is like the liquid Tuscan in a Roman mouth, compared with the vehement Tipperary.

There is another reason, sir, why I should have hesitation in speaking now. I should be lacking both in common sense and common modesty, did I not feel the difficulty of speaking upon a question like this, at a time when every thing relating to the black race, coming otherwise than from a Southern man, is looked upon with suspicion and jealousy, not, sir, that I would hesitate to avow my own sentiments; I would never live where I may not speak my conscientious opinions, but, sir, we are upon, as you have very justly said, a common ground here to-night, where no advocate of this cause has a right to compromise the Society by the expression of any individual opinion which might clash or in any way seem to be antagonistic to the opinions of others. I had however this consolation, sir, in coming here. I knew, sir, if you will permit me to say, I knew that you would open this meeting with some remarks. I anticipated that they would be short, but falling from a mouth that never uttered a word without meaning, and whose one sentence is worth in expression and force more than a hundred of such as mine.

I was very sure that principles would be advanced and established behind which I might venture to speak. I have no more fear of the collision of conflicting opinions than I should fear the spray of the ocean

after it had dashed against the adamantine rock. It has been well said, sir, by yourself and by the gentleman who has preceded me, that this Society has suffered the most virulent opposition. It has been most truly opposed by the fanatics at the North, and the fanatics at the South. I call that man a fanatic, sir, who under the influence of a perverted conscience, allows malignity to take the place of benevolence; who lets himself to abuse without measure his honest and logical opponent; and is not willing to listen to reasons upon the question in which all are concerned. I care not where that man lives, whether at the North or in the South; East or the West—he is a fanatic, and he is dangerous just in proportion as he seems to himself to be conscientious, because his false conscience assumes the aspect, and to a certain extent, the force of right and of duty. There is an opposite fanaticism, and the imitation of the fanatic by those who have not the excuse, which vents itself in loud words and earnest denunciations; that I fear not. The blusterer always has been a coward, and is not to be dreaded by the wise man. Like the bubble, he bursts with his own wind.

When we began this cause, sir, or at least some time after we began it, after it gained sufficient strength to provoke the opposition of him who moves the hearts of the children of evil, we find that the Society was charged with doing absolutely wrong, wrong it was said to the cause of the black man, because it took away from the South the free black, instead of permitting him to remain like a thorn and a fester in the sides of those who were his brethren in bondage. This was charged against it. Another was that we took away the black man who had been born upon our soil, and who, by the arrangements of Providence, who gave him a birth-place here, had as much right to rest himself here as you. We were told again it was preposterous to talk of Christianizing the continent of Africa, where such instruments were to be used, the refuse, as was said, of the black race of the United States. Now, sir, what has been the consequence. What have we seen but this very remarkable fact, that the same people who have opposed the Society have adopted the very measures for which they impeach the Society, as to the taking away the black man of the South; it is notorious that they are doing it in various ways; it is notorious also, sir, that they have endeavored to establish colonies not exactly within the limits of the United States, but through their assistance, and to a certain extent liberal assistance, within the limits of the Brit-

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his Possessions on the continent, and in their efforts to subvert, have moved the black man from the South, of which we were assured in a vision, taking him away from the soil he had a right to, and moving him away to the North, sir, whose fronts are as hostile to his constitution as the heats of the South are to those of us who are born in the North. Nay, sir—nay, gentlemen, and as I am my friends with ready arms by me, I bid them to remember that I speak of him with respect. I honor him for being assumed by the very best intentions, however I might differ with him in the manner in which he pursued them out. I speak of Mr. George Smith. Would to God his large heart was with our will. He himself has crossed from his acres of wild land in the distant western of the State of New York to a Christianized scheme. It seems that, sir, that they have so considered the truth of the classic nation, that "it is lawful to bear fruit an enemy," for they have taken the first leaf out of our book. One thing, sir, we were told, was very refreshing for endeavoring to persuade the people of the United States that Africa was the proper place for the black man; that this land of Christian civilization was the place to which Providence, who maketh the ways of men to praise him, had brought him, and here he had remained. It has been said that we could not even give Africa through the instrumentality of such agents. What have they done, sir? Do you not remember the history of the mission of the Amos? God in his Providence sent them to our shores, and those very people they sent back again to Africa. Our oppressors have patterned after us, and so far as they have proceeded, their scheme is as much like ours as a badly measured wheel is to like a good one for the same purpose. Now here, sir, is the demonstration of it in the very months, in the hands of our most violent opponents at the North in favor of our scheme, and sir, no doubt of the honest men there among them, will be ready to tell. We were told on the other hand at the South, by the Union there, it was proper to think of bringing the black man; God had made him inferior; God revealed him for a servant. It was that trying of the face of Providence, to endeavor to make him any thing else, and that he never could succeed; his whole history in all the past, from time immemorial, had been that of degradation, slavery, ignorance and misery. Sir, the history is true; and has been the history of the black man, and I consider that amidst all the wonderful events of this remarkable century in which we live, there is none so remarkable as the

present condition of the Republic of Liberia. What has been the history of the black man? Every where it has been that of slavery, of degradation, of ignorance even in Africa, in his own native land, is perfectly pertinent to all who know any thing of the subject. He is in the condition of a slave who holds his life and all that he can call dear to him, at the will of his savage despotic master: but, sir, go back to that book which Providence after the lapse of thousands of years has opened for us. We may read the records of his past history.

Go to the monuments of Egypt and you will find there the black man a slave—emphatically a slave. I believe you can scarcely find an instance in which he appears more than those monuments, in which he does not bear with him trophies about his person, or bearing tribute, in token that the people from whom he came are subject to the Pharaohs of Egypt. It is supposed no one can make a caricature other than that of a supposition. It is supposed, however, that over that vast continent there can be numbered not less than a hundred and fifty millions; probably when we come to penetrate into its hitherto unpenetrated depths we shall find them to be one quarter more, to judge of the area, and by what we know of certain portions of it very recently explored.

What has Africa been? I speak not of that nation of Africa that was inhabited by other nations. I cannot go into the romance of speaking of Egypt and its people; its kings, its pharaohs, and its gods. I know very well, sir, every one knows, they were under, I speak of that portion of Africa inhabited by the black man—the wretched, degraded African, (negro,) and wherever he has been christened, he is in the deepest degradation; at least so far as explored. He has been for thousands and thousands of years so, and so far back that history tells us no other tale, and that gentleman who has but recently returned from Liberia, that gentleman who knows Liberia from a long residence, will tell you that no where upon the face of the earth—no where in time past or present has there, or does there, exist a supposition so base, so cruel, so brutal, so revolting, as that which reigns over the minds and hearts of the native Africans. It is true, sir, that the African always has been degraded; always been oppressed; always been in ignorance. It might be thought, sir, that one who had been crushed so long, could never rise, but like that giant of old, of whom we read in classic fable, upon whom Etna was put,

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that his breast is so bruised, his limbs so paralysed by the long pressure of the superincumbent weight, that he cannot erect himself as a man, and take any place in the way of advancement and civilization; but, sir, there is a light brighter than that of reason; there is a happy spring from a nobler source than that of passion; there is the light of religion and the light of promise shedding their rays far in the future.—What does that religion teach him? I know no one who has common sense will contend for the absolute equality of all men in physical strength, in intellectual, in ability to advance in the career of civilization. No one contends for this; I am speaking of those fundamental rights every man has or should be acknowledged to have. God made the black man as well as you or me, and unless we give up the Bible, which is the charter of our hopes, and the ground of our faith, we must believe he came from the same original pair, and we are brethren—brethren by the fiat of the Creator. We cannot divorce ourselves from this fraternity, except we fling off the devotion of our Father who is in Heaven, and when He who spake as never man spoke, and who justified his sympathy with the poor and the rich, and gave himself to the poor when He repeated from his divine lips the law of the ancient Israelites, and tells us we must love our neighbor as ourselves. He told you, sir, He told me, He tells all of us, that wherever a human heart beats, wherever a human mind glows, wherever a man stands in the image of God, there is our neighbor, whom we are bound to love as ourselves. I care not where he is; whether in China, whether in Africa, or whether it be in America. I care not who claims rule over him; he is my brother—he is my neighbor; I am bound to love him, and God will hold me accursed if I do not this. Nay, sir, through the teaching of God's Holy Spirit, I am taught my sins, and that there is but one fountain open for sin and uncleanness. When I follow the guiding of that Holy Spirit, and it leads me to the foot of that cross whence springs that living fountain of divine blood shed for the lost, the unworthy and the guilty, I find kneeling at the foot of that cross, washing himself in that same sacred stream, as welcome to my master as myself—as readily admitted into the family of God as the highest among the children of men; I find the black man washed in the same blood with me—sanctified by the same spirit; adopted by the same God, and made heir of the same happy immortality. How dare I refuse—how dare I refuse him all the strength of Christian sympathy and Chris-

tian benevolence; I know not how, sir. While that Bible lasts I must follow it; and sir, it is upon this principle that the Society is acting. We are, as you very justly observed, united by that simple article of our constitution which covers him, and doubtless does cover persons of different notions as a detail of its working, and gives us a right to differ; makes us sovereigns in our own spheres; while we are united in the great object; but, sir, I do not go too far. I am sure you will not refuse me permission to say, doubtless you assent to the proposition, that the Colonization Society is the combination of the true friends of the colored race in the United States. I mean the friends of the black man who desire to see him elevated. Now, sir, what do we see in the year '93 and 4? I am not good at dates, sir, but somewhere about there the negroes of St. Domingo, the whole of the population of that island, or the greater part of it, rose in revolt, and have endeavored to establish one ever since; endeavored to form themselves into some sort of a government. What do we see? Take that monkey empire, (laughter,) that has been the world's laughing stock; look at the result of their plans; Faustian the 1st, with his cordon of dukes and nobles around him, so that there can scarcely be a private man left in his dominions, (laughter.) There is the result in one part. Compare it, sir, with the Liberian Republic. Compare it with the enlightened, free and intellectual exercise of every principle and right that man can claim, moderated and held from excess by the wisest restraints and the most salutary arrangement. Sir, I do not believe there exists upon the face of the earth a government whose constitution is more liberal—more enlightened, or more judicious—having in it, we believe, the elements of greater permanence, than the Republic of Liberia. It is, sir, the black man—it is not the white man ruling over him as in Sierra Leone. It is not the white man forcing him on as in the British West Indies. Nor is it the black man where the mixed race is flogging him and chaining him as was done in the beginning of freedom in the West Indies. It is the black man governing himself—governing himself according to written statutes; governing himself with an enlightened view of his own worth, his own dignity, his relations to his fellow man, and his confidence in the power and justice of God, who loves his children—it were impossible to doubt it—who loves his children all alike, and alike vindicates his mercy by the history of that race, as well as our own. Now, sir, there is the reply that we make to the fanaticism

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of the South: Look at our Liberia, look at it, sir, we challenge invitation. The slaves of almost every civilized nation have turned at its part; emigrants from our own country, or rather messengers, have gone to examine into the existing state of things, and if testimony has been unanimous, to any nation, it is that in favor of the Republic of Liberia. Nay, sir, it has been more than hinted at by the eloquent statesman who has preceded me—Great Britain has acknowledged the superiority of our scheme over her own.

Since that, Clarkson, and by implication Wilberforce, has been actuated against us. These good men were brought into it, however, in the foolishness of their expiring years, at least Clarkson in his feebleness, to record a sentiment in opposition to our society. What has been the result? Great Britain in one of her best periodicals, and by one of her ablest men, have declared that Sierra Leone must be abandoned;—that it is a failure, and with the same voice they have pointed to the Republic of Liberia and declared it to be successful. Nay, after all the money that has been spent upon that very coast by Great Britain; by this country and others—money, sir, is but the simplest portion of the tribute we have given. We have sent our gallant officers to die upon that plague-smitten coast—many—many a family in this land—more in England, have been clothed in the sackcloth of bitterness from the loss of life wasted in good intentions, but miserable failures, to suppress the slave trade; but now, sir, for 700 miles of entire coast of that section of Africa, in a short time from the further part of Liberia to Sierra Leone, this Society will have desecrated the slave trade. What navies could not do, and what navies with millions of cartridges and hundreds of cannon, and thousands of men, our little republic with its little army and its little treasury have accomplished it. It is probable if the white man had done it, as my friend remarked, we should have exulted over it, it would have been claimed as a triumph of the white man's superiority, but, it has not. We have nursed him, sir—he was a child—but now the blackman is erect, tall and as strong as a man, but a child in intellect, in habit, and in foresight.

We had to nurse him; but he is now a man. I remember well, sir,—you remember it well, and many of us here, with what fear and trembling we ventured upon the experiment; but holy and wise men believed it possible, especially to the career of that glorious man, that martyr to that cause, whose mind and heart had a strength rarely

paralleled; I mean *Buchanan*, the last white Governor of Liberia. The people who hear me may perhaps smile at it as an exaggeration. He was one of the greatest men that God ever made, in mind, in heart, or in appearance, after his career whom God sent—it seems to me—I am sure of it, God sent him to make the way for a black man to assume the reins of government. He died, sir; and at last a colored man governs the colony, and he governs the colony better than it was ever governed before, not altogether in favor of his own credit—but also to the credit of the people, who have been nursed into self-government. What is a Republic without self-government. There is that colony—and that Republic—aye, sir, *Republics* are always longer lived than monarchies. It is the history of the world, unless perhaps some of the great empires of whose history we know comparatively very little. But, sir, that republic of Liberia will out live every kingdom of Europe, and may not live very long either to do that (applause.) Now, sir, I will not discuss this point only for a moment; here is the demonstration given that the black man can govern himself. We have made the demonstration sir, and it has been acknowledged sir, that he can govern himself. By whom, sir, have you stated that the Republic had been acknowledged—by whom, sir—would to God you had not been obliged to falter as your heart compels you to do—acknowledged by Great Britain and not by us; and why, sir? I am willing to give Great Britain the credit of philanthropy.—I do not forget that she has other qualities besides philanthropy; trade, sir, she loves trade. What was it that gave to it its pre-eminence. I can trace no characteristics in the Anglo-Saxon that gave them more force than their characters, and that is their love of trade. You can trace it, sir, in all the history of the Anglo-Saxon race; but it has been from the republic of Netherlands, we have learned the great lesson of trade, and from whose shores went the Anglo-Saxons who have given to England her great national characteristic—*trade, trade, TRADE*. This is what the Anglo-Saxon conquers by and conquers for. Find me a spot, sir, upon the face of the earth where they have not smuggled a piece of their goods and merchandise. You cannot find a British port but there you will find the haunt of the smuggler, who are protected by those very forts. The far-famed Gibraltar, with its battlements and garrison, is little better than a smuggling port to take advantage of the weaker people of the Mediterranean and its neighborhood. But, sir, what is the case now?—there is a little

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chance of trade open upon a certain coast of our own continent. It looks small as a *mosquito*; but, sir, the hum of that mosquito has not been unheard across the broad Atlantic, and the queenly Victoria shakes hand by proxy with the breechless young vagabond who is called the king. For what, sir? for trade, to make money. I do not blame them; it is right to make money—if you can do it honestly; and I am sure we are the last people in this country, if we allow the Eastern States to belong to us—to say it is not right to make money. Sir, you have the motive for the acknowledgment of the independence of Liberia—I do not say that it is the only motive; I know of no greater mistake in morals than to suppose a man's actions spring from one motive, but the concurrence and concentration of different motives bearing upon the man; some are less easier deducted than others, but still always a combination.

God forbid I should question her (Great Britain) benevolence in the acknowledgment, but I fear it was done upon the chance of penetrating Africa through those rivers—I fear that her excellent Governor, Roberts, would have gone home without his acknowledgment. Now, sir, I believe that we are a philanthropic people, and I believe that we love to make money: but I say, sir, that the statesman who refuses to acknowledge the Republic of Liberia misses greatly his duty to the United States and to his country, misses greatly, I say, his duty to the United States and his country, as a commercial people. But, sir, I am trespassing upon a point which will be handled far more ably by my friend who has just returned from the coast of Africa. Therefore, sir, I leave the subject, congratulating ourselves again upon the great success, and congratulating no one more than yourself, to whose presiding skill and energy, and to whose high example we owe so much of our success in our scheme. You contributed the noblest donation of all, when you gave your name. But, sir, we may all in our little spheres rejoice. The smallest star in the firmament rejoices in the light that God has given it. But, sir, there are those of us here, if we look back to hours of conflict, we cannot say we are scarred with a hundred fights, because fortunately our armor was so proved, that the weapons struck upon us shivered in the grasp of the hand that struck it with all the vehemence that malignity could give it; but, sir, we can remember our hours of darkness: they were many: but how bright is the future! how happy to believe we have not simply planted a little shrub but a mighty tree, that has been sown

like a grain of mustard seed, which yet shall wave its branches laden with Celestial blessings over the continent of Africa; and to the millions of the colored race, in this connection, we cannot but rejoice that the colored man was brought here. Could he have been educated for this purpose—where, I ask you, sir, where could he have been educated for that career which he is now entering upon in Liberia—but in this land where constitutional rights are thoroughly understood, where the right of self-government is so clearly propagated, where the success of our blessed institutions have shown by an irresistible demonstration, that freedom is the best heritage of man?

REV. MR. GURLEY:—

I hope, Mr. President, that it may not be thought an affected display of devotion, if I venture to present my acknowledgment to Almighty God, that He has permitted me to stand here in the midst of you this evening after a recent visit to the Republic of Liberia. It was a place visited by me in the days of my youth, and I thank God that I am permitted to stand in the presence of this Society, after having trod a second time, after a quarter of a century, the heights of Monrovia. In the year 1824, during the struggles of this Government, I stood by the side of the ever to be lamented and illustrious Ashmun, the first Governor of that colony. I know, sir, that after the impressive speeches to which this audience have listened, and at this late hour—I appear before this assembly under some peculiar disadvantages, but I should be unfaithful to the dictates of my own conscience, if I did not venture to occupy a few moments in some statements in regard to what I have observed in this interesting Republic of Liberia.

Mr. President, there has been great progress made by the settlers upon the African coast since the day when I first observed them, at that time, not exceeding 200 in number, having just pitched their tents on the borders of that great wilderness—having assembled for the first time, they erected a hut with a thatched roof which was dedicated to the service of God, and adopted their simple and imperfect form of civil government: under that government, during the period of the last twenty-five years, the town of Monrovia has come into existence, containing some 400 well constructed houses, many of them were built of durable and substantial building stone, and many of the warehouses were built of the enduring rocks dug out from the foundations of that cape: all of these were well constructed and com-

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I said, sir, I had enjoyed the opportunity of standing in the midst of the congregations—speaking to them upon the Sabbath, and meeting them in their week-day assemblies, I was particularly struck at their healthy appearance, which characterized the great mass and body of the community. I saw no signs of decay, no indications of weakness. They were a people full of life, full of activity, and full of hope.

I would remark, Mr. President, that in regard to the interests of that colony, what my friend, who has just taken his seat, has said—and said much better than I could have said it.—In regard to the constitution of that republic, to those sentiments I respond entirely. There was one clause pointed out to me by the President of that republic (Mr. Roberts) as marking it peculiar, and as embodying one of the great principles which gave existence to this Society, and which I trust this Society will ever cherish—it is a clause by which that republic binds itself to apply its resources, when they shall become sufficient, to exert its agency in the instruction and civilization of the native people of Africa. The legislature have directed, or whoever framed that constitution have directed, the chief magistrate of that republic, that whenever the resources shall become sufficient to send forth teachers and employ them in the native schools and villages, to instruct the people in the arts and morality of civilization; in law and government; and to prepare them for their introduction into the blessings of a free and christian state. I know of nothing upon the records of any country equal to this provision, evidently inserted under the influence of the spirit of the Christian Religion. When I stood upon the heights of Monrovia, my memory reverted back to that blessed man of God, Mr. Ashmun, whom I never saw after my first visit until I saw him upon his death-bed—when he was about taking his departure, and they were taking his articles to the canoe to leave that country for the last time, struck down by disease—as they accompanied him in tears to the beach, he said, “If I thought I should not return here again, I would order my things taken from the canoe, and remain with you and die.”

I went next to *Christophelis*, or the city of Christ. I have felt, I confess, that some might regard that name, although somewhat apostolic in an age like this, yet perhaps savoring a little of affectation. It showed the spirit of the man and the object of his exertions—it showed the end for which he lived and for which he died. Sir, that Republic I trust will ever so legislate, that the spirit of

Christ will approve its legislation, that is, it will be as I said in some of the last remarks I made upon a public occasion in that colony—that it will be the morning star of Africa's redemption—I doubt not, sir, it is that at present.

Mr. President, there is another idea to which I beg leave to ask for a moment the ear of this audience.

There has been in this country some idea. I believe it pervades partially the state of Maryland; it may exist in the state of Virginia; it may exist in Kentucky; the idea was that this colonization scheme was to be conducted through the agency of the separate states, and states were to rise upon the African coast corresponding to those of our own confederacy? Sir, there is no provision for this in the constitution of the Liberian Republic.

The experience we have had in regard to this separate kind of action upon that shore has thus far been very unfavorable, but I would by no means regret to see a State like Virginia, that noble mother of so many states, making appropriations by which might be realized the growth of a mighty state like herself upon the African coast. I am far from being convinced that this is the best mode of carrying forward the scheme of African colonization. Let that republic be one state; for it is perhaps a matter to be questioned, whether if our own States had not grown up from the colonial condition under the peculiar circumstances which were attendant in our own colonial affairs, it would not have been better for them to have remained one state.

Whether that would have been better or not, I see no reason why we should transfer to the African coast our dangerous and sectional jealousies and interests which arise from the union of so many conflicting and separate states. I am under an impression that the opinions of the people of Liberia are entirely opposed to it. I shall greatly rejoice when the state that is rising under the auspices of the State of Maryland, shall be merged in the Republic of Liberia: it will be greatly to the mutual benefit of the colony and also to the republic. We have begun the renovation of Africa upon the borders and skirts of the forests, which are inhabited by the natives who are in darkness and victims of the most cruel superstition; we have not only begun to rear the temple of civil liberty, but also the temple of pure christianity. I know not how it may strike others, but it struck me deeply when I was there, that possibly after the ages of trial, and the degradation, darkness and ignorance, to which they have been

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subjected in God's Providence, there might be a day come that would bring them out a purer church, and through the efforts of this Society, the establishment among them of a nobler and purer form of christianity than any existing upon the face of the earth. It was my daily prayer and my constant endeavor while I stood upon that shore, to impress upon the minds of the people of that republic the responsibilities of their position, and the greatness of the work to which Heaven had called them. Sir, I say to you that there is not a community in the world who has such claims upon us as the people of that Republic; I do not believe that the same number of human beings upon the face of the earth are accomplishing as much for the cause of liberty and civilization, and the cause of true religion. Sir, I cannot express what I feel upon this subject; in the enthusiasm of my earliest days I labored in the cause of this Society, and when it was nearly overcome by difficulties in passing the warring elements of opinion, and when in adverse circumstances, I saw a clear light shining through all these clouds of adversity. Sir, I see that light still, and believe that now it is guiding Africa to a complete redemption; and, sir, when we consider the condition of the native African population in regard to which I have obtained many very interesting, and to my mind curious and instructive facts; when we consider the cruel and barbarous superstition existing among the natives inhabiting the forests of sasswood lying along the western coast of Africa; and when we consider that before the establishment of this colony thousands and tens of thousands of persons perished under the impressions and effects of superstition; when we know, at this very day, at this very hour, many, many human beings, of every age, are forced in the presence of the community, under the charge of witchcraft—are compelled, I say, to drink narcotic poison, and even put to a cruel death; when we consider this, and if the Republic of Liberia did nothing more than drive from there the ghost of malignity and evil, it would be entitled to the thanks of the whole world. I hope and trust, Mr. President, that this Society will enlarge its operations. Among the bright pages in your own illustrious life, I am well persuaded, there will be none brighter, and there will be none upon which future ages will behold with more unmingled admiration, than your eloquent defences in the cause of universal liberty, and none more cherished than your early advocacy and your constant attachment and bold and resolute defence of the interests of this So-

ciet; and, sir, has not the time come when the Society will take a wider scope, when it should embrace all schemes of civilization upon the African shore, when it should ask for funds not merely to transport free people of color to that country, but to explore that country, improve its harbors, devise schemes of education, and make the Republic of Liberia what it desires to be—an instrument of deliverance to that quarter of the world.

Sir, I would respectfully suggest this matter to your consideration, and to the consideration of the Society.

I have as ardent a desire as any of you, to contribute as God may give time and opportunity, to advance the interests of that African republic. Sir, I have returned to this country, with the impression increased tenfold of the magnitude, dignity and glory of that scheme to which the Society is pledged. Yes, sir, you may look to that country, when in the drapery of mourning it is covered with sackcloth, and darkened with superstition, into which the Republic of Liberia introduced good laws, a just administration, education and the arts, and the Christian religion. They have introduced it under the present admirable constitution, which is to be the guide of its government, and is destined, in the wisdom and providence of God, to be the deliverer of that whole land from the jaws of death. Mr. President, there are many particulars to which I might refer, and which I have doubtless omitted in this address, which might have been of very great interest to those who give me their attention. I might speak of the families of Monrovia—the people who inhabit that beautiful and interesting town: I might speak of the welcome I received when I visited that country in 1824, and of the kindness manifested towards me upon every occasion. I might speak of the admirable deportment in all classes of the people. I might say—as I did in reply to an inquiry from a clergyman of the Methodist church, if I had seen any profligacy or intemperance, or heard any profanity—I answered that I had seen none. They hold religion to be the guide of whatever is concerned in the business of human life. I might speak of their increasing attention to education. I ask you to look in upon a single school in the town of Monrovia, where there are about sixty children; and I should like to show you the presents made to me as a representative of the friends of the cause—for I beg leave here to state, that I now disavow any vain imagination to think the thing was intended to myself personally. It was intended as an expression of their good feeling to the

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friends of this Society throughout the land. I might bring before this congregation preserved plants, presented to me by the children of that intelligent school. But, sir, I must come to a close: the memories of the dead gather around me. I might ask this congregation to go with me to the graves of the missionaries and the martyrs to this thrice-blessed cause. I wandered one day under a burning sun, to the graveyard of Monrovia, and I gathered some leaves and sticks from the graves of those who had fallen in that land of shadow. Here is a memorial from the grave of Randall, well known in this city for his virtues and energy, and interest in this cause, who fell a martyr on that shore. Here is a memorial from the grave of Buchanan, the friend of my friend. The grave of Buchanan is under a magnificent tree. I found there a piece of an old slave schooner, from which I cut a piece and brought it with me, but I have mislaid it and I have it not here. I also cut a piece from the only stick that marks the grave of Buchanan. I venerate that name not less than that of my friend. I planted an orange tree—one of the dearest trees in Africa—by the grave of Randall. I have also memorials from the graves of the Swiss missionaries. I wish I could have found the graves of those twelve men of England, who, in the war, when Ashmun stood alone and heard the firing of cannon, came and offered their services: Midshipman Gordon and others were shot. I would have given fifty dollars to have found their graves. I told the colonists that they should not let their memory perish from the earth. I told them that they must rear a monument to those brave strangers who threw themselves away for the salvation of the then nearly perishing colony.

There are many more of these memorials—one from the blessed grave of Cox, a Missionary well known to my brethren of the Methodist Church. I must be permitted to say a word in favor of this colony, as it is the home of the Missionary, but I did not mean to occupy so much of the time of this meeting. I will but say a word in relation to the interesting objects to which my attention has been directed. Nothing

has surpassed what I saw in the various Missionary Stations, most of which I was permitted to visit. I entered the schools of the native Africans at Bexley, there I found a native teacher, who was educated in the Colony, and was now laboring to instruct his brethren, of Bexley. I visited many of these stations, and it was gratifying to see respectable libraries for the use of the colored man, among which were the works of Doddridge, of Edwards, of Scott and many other valuable books upon the shelves in many of the houses; in the hamlets and every shade of the African forest have I seen the works of some of the most illustrious Divines, such as Edwards, and Bishops of the Episcopal Church. I have a letter which I received just as I left the coast, from an individual whom I had known. I will read it to show the feeling of some of the intelligent people of that Republic. It is dated Bexley, November 8th.

[Here the Rev. Gentleman read extracts from the letter.]

I prefer that we shall make that country so attractive that they would not stay here with their own consent. I know, sir, that if the people of the United States would lend that republic a helping hand, and if the general government and the states would afford that assistance which they so justly merit, and reach forth to them the aid they so truly deserve, I have no doubt, sir, that the number of emigrants would far exceed all our present hopes, and equal all that is desired for the benefit of our own population with the people of Africa. I hold here, sir, books published by the mission press, in the language of Africa. Here are some in the language of the Bassas: and here are some translations into two of the languages of the people of Cape Palmas—the Grebo, numbering about 30,000, and the Bassas, 50,000.

These are printed in the language of Africa, but it is far more desirable to make our own tongue the language of Africa, and it is destined to be so. I trust the Society will enlarge its influence and will increase its resources vastly, and the government of this country will stretch out its strong arm, and give an impulse to that Republic which it so justly merits at our hands.

APPENDIX.

A Proclamation, by the President of the Republic of Liberia.

WHEREAS, a treaty of friendship and commerce between the Republic of Liberia and Her Britannic Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, was concluded and signed by their plenipotentiaries at London on the 21st day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, which treaty being word for word as follows :

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Republic of Liberia, being desirous to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship, and to regulate thereby the commercial intercourse between the dominions and subjects of Her Majesty, and the territories and citizens of the Republic; Her Majesty has for this purpose named as Her Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

The Right honorable Henry John Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, a Peer of Ireland, a member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, a Member of Parliament, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, and Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Right Honorable Henry Labouchere, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, a Member of Parliament and President of the Committee of Privy Council for Af-

airs of Trade and Foreign Plantations.

And the Republic of Liberia, having, by resolutions of the Legislature, bearing date the 4th of February, 1848, authorized and empowered Joseph Jenkins Roberts, the President of the Republic, to conclude such Treaty on behalf of the Republic.

The Plenipotentiaries of Her Majesty, and the said President of the Republic, after having communicated to each other their respective powers, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles :

ARTICLE I.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Her heirs and successors, and the Republic of Liberia, and between their respective subjects and citizens.

ARTICLE II.

There shall be reciprocal freedom of commerce between the British dominions and the Republic of Liberia. The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty may reside in, and trade to, any part of the territories of the Republic to which any other foreigners are or shall be admitted. They shall enjoy full protection for their persons and properties; they shall be allowed to buy from and to sell to whom they like, without being restrained or prejudiced by any mo-

A Proclamation, by the President of the Republic of Liberia.

nopoly, contract, or exclusive privilege of sale or purchase whatever; and they shall moreover enjoy all other rights and privileges which are or may be granted to any other foreigners, subjects or citizens, of the most favored nation. The citizens of the Republic of Liberia shall, in return, enjoy similar protection and privileges in the dominions of Her Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE III.

No tonnage, import, or other duties or charges, shall be levied in the Republic of Liberia on British vessels, or on goods imported or exported in British vessels, beyond what are or may be levied on national vessels, or on the like goods imported or exported in national vessels; and in like manner, no tonnage, import, or other duties or charges, shall be levied in the British dominions on vessels of the Republic, or on goods imported or exported in those vessels, beyond what are or may be levied on national vessels, or on the like goods imported or exported in national vessels.

ARTICLE IV.

Merchandise or goods coming from the British dominions in any vessel, or imported in British vessels from any country, shall not be prohibited by the Republic of Liberia, nor be subject to higher duties than are levied on the same kinds of merchandise or goods coming from any other foreign country, or imported in any other vessels.

All articles the produce of the Republic may be exported therefrom by British subjects and British vessels, on as favorable terms as by the subjects and vessels of any other foreign country.

ARTICLE V.

It being the intention of the Government of the Republic of Liberia to trade in certain articles of import,

with a view to raising a revenue by selling them at a fixed advance upon the cost price, it is hereby agreed that in no case shall private merchants be absolutely prohibited from importing any of such articles, or any article in which the Government of the Republic may at any time see fit to trade; nor shall such articles, or any article in which the Government of the Republic may at any time see fit to trade, be subject to a duty of a greater amount than the amount of the advance upon the cost price at which the Government may from time to time be bound to sell the same.

In case the Government of the Republic shall at any time fix the price of any article of native produce, with a view to such article being taken in payment for any articles in which the Government may trade, such article of native produce shall be received into the treasury at the same fixed price, in payment of taxes, from all persons trading with the Republic.

ARTICLE VI.

The protection of the Government of the Republic shall be afforded to all British vessels, their officers and crews. If any such vessels should be wrecked on the coast of the Republic, the local authorities shall succour them, and shall secure them from plunder, and shall cause all articles saved from the wreck to be restored to their lawful owners. The amount of salvage dues in such cases shall be regulated, in the event of dispute, by arbitrators chosen by both parties.

ARTICLE VII.

It being the intention of the two Contracting Parties to bind themselves by the present Treaty to treat each other on the footing of the most favored nation, it is hereby agreed between them, that any fa-

A Proclamation, by the President of the Republic of Liberia.

vor, privilege, or immunity whatever, in matters of commerce and navigation, which either Contracting Party has actually granted, or may hereafter grant, to the subjects or citizens of any other State, shall be extended to the subjects or citizens of the other Contracting Party, gratuitously, if the concession in favor of that other State shall have been gratuitous, or in return for a compensation as nearly as possible of proportionate value and effect, to be adjusted by mutual agreement, if the concession shall have been conditional.

ARTICLE VIII.

Each Contracting Party may appoint Consuls for the protection of trade, to reside in the dominions of the other; but no such Consul shall enter upon the exercise of his functions until he shall have been approved and admitted, in the usual form, by the Government of the country to which he is sent.

ARTICLE IX.

Slavery and the Slave Trade being perpetually abolished in the Republic of Liberia, the Republic engages that a law shall be passed, declaring it to be piracy for any Liberian citizen or vessel to be engaged or concerned in the Slave Trade.

The Republic engages to permit any British vessel of war which may be furnished with special instructions under the treaties between Great Britain and Foreign Powers for the prevention of the Slave Trade, to visit any vessels sailing under the Liberia flag, which may, on reasonable grounds, be suspected of being engaged in the Slave Trade; and if, by the result of the visit, it should appear to the officer in command of such British vessel of war that the suspicions which led thereto are well grounded the vessel shall be sent without delay to a Liberian port, and

shall be delivered up to the Liberian authorities to be proceeded against according to the laws of the Republic.

ARTICLE X.

The Republic of Liberia further engages to permit any British vessel of war which may be furnished with special instructions as aforesaid, to visit, on the coast within the jurisdiction of the Republic, or in the ports of the same, any vessel which may be suspected of being engaged in the Slave Trade, and which shall be found sailing under any flag whatever, or without any flag; and if the suspicions which led to the visit should appear to the officer in command of such British vessel of war to be well grounded, to detain such vessel, in order to send it as soon as possible before the competent court for adjudication.

Duly constituted ports of entry in the Republic of Liberia shall be excepted from the operation of the stipulations of the present article; and no vessel shall be visited by a British cruiser within the limits of such ports, except on permission specially granted by the local authorities.

ARTICLE XI.

The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London within the space of twelve months from the date hereof.

In witness whereof the Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty, and the President of the Republic of Liberia, have signed the same, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at London, the twenty-first day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

[L. S.]	PALMERSTON.
[L. S.]	H. LABOUCHERE.
[L. S.]	J. J. ROBERTS.

 Abolition of the Slave Trade of Gallinas.

And whereas the said treaty has been duly ratified on both parts and the respective ratifications of the same were exchanged at London on the 1st day of August, 1849, by Thos. Hodgkin, agent for this Republic, and the Right Honorable Viscount Palmerston, &c. &c. &c.

Now therefore be it known, that I, Joseph J. Roberts, President of the Republic of Liberia, have caused the said treaty to be made public, to the end that the same and every clause and article thereof, may be

observed and fulfilled with good faith by the Republic and the citizens thereof.

In witness whereof, I herenunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Republic to be affixed. Done at the Town of Monrovia, this 25th day of September, A. D. 1849, and of the Independence of the Republic the Third.

By the President,

J. J. ROBERTS.

J. N. LEWIS,

Secretary of State, ad interim.

 Abolition of the Slave Trade of Gallinas;

BY JAMES HALL, M. D.

THE advices from Africa, published in our last number, contain the gratifying and important intelligence, that, the long blockade of Gallinas by the British cruisers, has induced the slavers at that place to break up their barracoons, deliver up their slaves to the commodore and to take passage for themselves and effects on board Her Majesty's vessels for Sierra Leone. This is the initiative step to the entire abolition of that traffic on the windward coast; the next, and not less important, is, the purchase of the territory by the Government of Liberia. That the slaves are given up, the barracoons destroyed, the slavers themselves removed and every vestige of this accursed traffic obliterated, avails nothing, unless proper and sure measures are taken to prevent a re-establishment of the business, the moment the coast guard is abandoned; and we doubt not, from the tenor of the advices above referred to, that ere this, either by purchase or conquest, Gallinas and its dependencies are a part and parcel of the commonwealth of Liberia—this measure, only, will ensure it against a re-en-

actment of the scenes of distress and horror which have heretofore rendered that place so infamous.

To enable those, not familiar with the slave marts on the West coast of Africa, to estimate the importance of the annexation of Gallinas to Liberia, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of their location and extent and of the late history of Gallinas. Previous to the founding of the colonies of Liberia, the slave trade was rife throughout the whole of what is termed the Grain Coast; in fact, from the Gambia to Cape Palmas, an extent of over 1,500 miles of coast line, excepting only, Sierra Leone and its immediate dependencies. The very heart of this extensive slave mart was Gallinas, to which only, Cape Messurado was second in importance. That the small band of colonists, which boldly located themselves on this beautiful headland in 1821, should have been able to maintain their position amidst the powerful combined influence and action of slavers' gold and savage natives will ever remain a marvel in the history of that Colony. But they did maintain, not only their

Account of the Slave Trade of Gallinas.

existence but their integrity and fair fame, and although it required many years in its accomplishment and all of blood and treasure which they had to give, the Liberians succeeded effectually in eradicating this traffic from the limits of their territory. After the firm establishment of the colony, the slave trade on the windward coast, or to the North and West of Cape Palmas, was mainly confined to some Portuguese settlements at Bissos, the Rio Grande, the Nuez and Pongos, Gallinas and its vicinity, Grand and Little Bassa, New Cesters and Trade Town. The Bissos and the river factories to the windward of Sierra Leone were never very prosperous, the slavers finding it extremely difficult to escape from them without being intercepted by the British cruisers. The small factories at the Bassas were much interrupted by the colonies and finally extirpated by the purchase of Grand Bassa in 1832; while those at New Cesters and Trade Town were more or less connected with and dependent upon those at Gallinas.

The Gallinas river enters the Atlantic in latitude about 7° , between Grand Cape Mount and Cape St. Ann, near one hundred miles north-west of Cape Mesurado or Monrovia. The name of the river is given to the cluster of slave factories near its mouth. This place possesses no peculiar advantages for any species of commerce, and derives its importance, exclusively, from the establishment of the slave factories there. The land in the vicinity is very low and marshy, the river winds obliquely through an alluvion of Mangrove marsh, forming innumerable small islands. The bar at its mouth is one of the most dangerous on the coast being impassable at times in the rainy season.

It is located in what is termed the Vey Country, the people of which, are distinguished for their cleanliness, intelligence, and enterprize in trade. How long Gallinas has maintained its importance as a slave mart, we are unable to say, but at the time of our first visit to Liberia in 1831, its reputation was very extended and its influences most deeply felt in the colony. It was estimated that near 10,000 slaves were, about that period, annually shipped from this place alone. The business was done, mainly, through the agency of several merchants or factors established there, the principal of which, was Pedro Blanco, a Spaniard. This man's influence was unbounded among the native tribes on that section of the coast, and we fear, at one time, extended to members of the colony of considerable respectability. He was a man of education, having the bearing and address of a Spanish Grandee or Don, which was his usual appellation. He lived in a semi-barbarous manner, at once, as a private gentleman and an African prince. He had at one time a sister residing with him. He maintained several establishments, one, on an island near the river's mouth, which was his place of business or of trade with foreign vessels, that came to Gallinas to dispose of merchandise; on another island, more remote was his dwelling-house, where he kept his private office, his books, dined, took his siesta, slept, &c.; here, we believe, his sister also resided. On a third, was his seraglio of native wives, each in their several dwellings, after the manner of native chiefs. Independent of all these were his barracoons of slaves, of greater or less extent, as circumstances required. It may readily be supposed that with the wealth accruing from a long and successful

prosecution of the slave trade, his power among the natives was equal to that of any despot; and the following incident related to us by one of his partners proves that he occasionally exercised it. Having occasion one day to travel on the sea beach some distance from Gallinas, near the island of Sherbro, where he was unknown, he approached the hut of a native with a view of taking rest and refreshment. He asked the owner of the house, who was squatted in the door, to hand him fire to light his cigar. The man bluntly refused, upon which, Blanco drew back, took a carbine from one of his attendants and shot him dead upon the spot. The narrator of the story apologised for Blanco by saying, that, to deny a Spaniard fire, for lighting his cigar or pipe is the grossest insult that can be offered him.

We have ever understood, that Blanco was one of the kindest masters to his slaves, taking every care of their health and comfort, never suffering any improper intimacy between his numerous agents and the females, and permitting no flogging or harsh treatment.

We first visited Gallinas in 1837, at a time when the trade at this place was on the decline and Blanco was about leaving the coast. The first peculiarity we noticed in entering the river, was, the arrangements of watch-boxes, or look-outs, consisting of seats protected from the sun and rain, erected some fifty or one hundred feet from the ground, either on poles fixed in the earth, or on some insulated, high tree, from one of which the horizon was constantly swept by a good telescope, to give prompt notice of the approach of any vessel, and long experience rendered these men very expert in determining the character of any visitor, whether neutral, friend or foe.

About a mile from the river's mouth

we found ourselves among a cluster of islands, on each of which was located the factory of some particular slave merchant. The buildings, generally, consisted of a business room, with warehouse attached, filled with merchandize and provisions, and a barracoon for the slaves; the whole built by setting rough stakes or small trees into the ground, these being wattled together with withes and covered with thatch. That, containing the slaves, being much the strongest and generally surrounded by, or connected with, a yard, in which the slaves were permitted to exercise daily. We think there were some ten or twelve of these establishments at that time, each containing from 100 to 500 slaves. We believe one contained near 1,000, which, it was expected, would be shipped daily. Each barracoon was in charge of from two to four white men, Spanish or Portuguese, and a more pitiable looking set of men we never met with. They had all suffered more or less from the fever, were very weak, much emaciated or swollen by dropsy or diseased spleens, and none of them particularly clean. The slaves were as well taken care of as could be expected, when provisions were plenty in the country; but, in case of scarcity, they suffered severely. Many instances have occurred wherein whole barracoons of slaves have been let loose for want of food; and it may well be supposed their owners would allow them to suffer severely before giving them up. For this reason, and because they can be stowed more closely in a vessel, children are generally preferred to adults. We recollect going into one yard where there were some 300 boys, all apparently between ten and fifteen years of age, linked together in squads of twenty or thirty. We never saw a more painfully interesting sight than the long rows of these

bright-eyed little fellows, doomed to the horrors of a middle latitude passage, probably in a three and a half feet between decks. Another peculiar feature of the place was, the collection of long canoes and boats, all kept ready for the dispatch of slaves the moment an opportunity should occur. Probably 1,000 slaves could be shipped in four hours, all things favorable. In case the coast is clear of armed vessels, and a slaver appears in the offing, her signal is at once recognized. She is signalled in return, to come in, and if she is watered and provisioned for the voyage, and deck laid, which is usually the case, she does not even come to anchor, but stands close in to the bar, where she is met by the whole fleet of canoes and boats, the contents of which are speedily put on board; she then stands off or up the coast again, the canoes return to the barracoop for more slaves, again to meet outside the bar as before. Sometimes, however, they are not so fortunate, even when not molested by a man-of-war. The bar at the river mouth is not unfrequently dangerous, even in the dry season, and in the anxiety to ship the slaves they run great hazards, and many a boat load of poor wretches becomes food for sharks, who always follow such boats and canoes in great numbers. We have heard from Kroomen, who perform the boat-work at Gallinas, many harrowing tales of shipping slaves from that place, too painful to report, or even to recall to memory. In fact, all connected with this trade is painful and distressing to humanity, and this Gallinas, of all other places on the coast of Africa, with which we have been acquainted, has been the scene of its greatest horrors. What imagination can conceive the thousandth part of the misery that has been endured by human beings on this little cluster of

bushy islands? Of the five or ten thousand, who are annually brought to this place, each and every one has to mourn a home made desolate, a family dismembered, the blood of kindred flowing. Of this number, how many sink in these wretched barracoons from distress of mind at their wretched condition, from disease and famine; how many are sacrificed in their hurried shipment by the ravenous sharks; how many sink under the most protracted agonies in that confinement between decks, the air of which is putridity itself; and, of the miserable survivors, the attenuated, excoriated wretches, who are still destined for the shambles, how few but would exclaim, "Thrice and four times happy are those who sink under the knife of the midnight assassin, or were consumed in the conflagration of their palm-covered cottages?"

But Gallinas is destroyed; as a slave mart it has ceased to exist; from its marshy islets the fiat shall no more go forth to spread fire and sword throughout a peaceful land; the marauding chief has bound his last victim; the haggard, Lazarone slaver has riveted his last fetter; the shark at the bar mouth has fed on his last slave gang; and this land, heretofore detested and detestable, is henceforth to form a part of the free and independent Republic of Liberia. In the fall of Gallinas and the annexation of its territory to the Liberian Republic, we see the absolute extinction of the slave trade from Sierra Leone to the Cape Palmas. That the Liberian Government is competent to prevent its re-establishment, now, in the day of her strength and independence, fostered by powerful nations, we have a sufficient guaranty, by what she has done at Messurado, Bassa and Trade Town in time of her infancy and weakness.—*Mt. Col. Journal.*

 An Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia.

A respectful Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia;

BY REV. P. SLAUGHTER, AGENT VA. COL. SOC.

THE Governor of the Commonwealth having in his late message recommended the American Colonization Society to the particular attention of the Legislature, and the subject having been referred to a select committee, whose report is daily anticipated, it seems a fitting time to remind the Legislators and citizens of Virginia of some facts touching the origin and history of an institution which is attracting the regards and challenging the admiration of the civilized world. It must endear this institution to Virginians and strengthen their confidence in its wisdom, to be reminded that it comes commended to the present generation by the authority of our own most patriotic and sagacious statesmen, and the deliberate successive acts of our own Legislature.

"It claims for its authors, Thos. Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, Edmund Pendleton and George Wythe—high in the first rank of their country's orators and jurists—the Mansfield and the Hale of Virginia—George Mason, perhaps the wisest statesman to whom Virginia has given birth—and Thomas Ludwell Lee, who was deemed by the Legislature of 1776 their fit associate." These gentlemen were appointed by the first Le-

gislature after the Declaration of Independence, to revise the laws of this State. This committee proposed a comprehensive plan of colonization, according to which all colored persons born after a certain time were to be emancipated and instructed in tillage and other arts, until the males were twenty-one, and the females eighteen years of age, and then colonized in such place as the circumstances of the time should render proper; furnishing them with arms, implements of household arts, seeds, and pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c.—declaring them a free and independent people, and extending to them our alliance and protection. The report of the revisors was not acted upon until 1785, when Mr. Jefferson was in France, and Pendleton and Wythe upon the bench. The emancipation feature in this plan was probably the reason of its failure. The seed of the Colonization Society had nevertheless been sown, which springing up after the lapse of a few years, and pruned of its excrescences, began to grow and bear fruit. Its first fruit was the plan of Dr. Thornton, (a Virginian,) in 1787, to colonize the *free* colored people upon *the coast of Africa*.—This being the suggestion of a private individual had no visible results. A few years afterward, the Colony

of Sierra Leone, consisting of slaves who had taken refuge in the British army during the Revolutionary war, was established.

On the 31st Dec. 1800, the house of Delegates of Virginia, passed almost unanimously the following resolution :

"Resolved, that the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of this state, whether persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed."

In compliance with this resolution Mr. Monroe addressed a letter to Mr. Jefferson, dated Richmond 15th June, 1801, in which he informs the President that this resolution was produced by the conspiracy of the slaves which took place in and near the city of Richmond the preceding year, and was intended to provide an alternate mode of punishment for those described by the resolution. It being deemed more humane and not less expedient to transport such offenders beyond the limits of the state." Mr. Monroe proceeds to remark that the latter part of the resolution which proposes the removal of such persons as are dangerous to the peace of society, may be considered as comprising many to whom the preceding member does not apply. "If the more enlarged construction of the resolution be deemed the true one, he adds, it furnishes in my opinion, a reason why the Legislature in disposing of this great question should command an alternative of

places. As soon as the mind emerges in contemplating the subject beyond the contracted scale of providing a place of punishment for offenders, new and interesting objects present themselves to view. It is impossible not to involve in it the condition of these people, the embarrassment they have already occasioned us, and are still likely to subject us to. We perceive an existing evil which commenced under our colonial system with which we are not properly chargeable, and we acknowledge the extreme difficulty of remedying it. At this point the mind rests with suspense, and surveys with anxiety obstacles which become more serious as we approach them. To lead to a sound decision and make the result a happy one, it is necessary that the field of practicable expedients be opened on the widest possible scale; under this view of the subject I shall beg leave to be advised whether a tract of land in the western territory of the United States can be procured for this purpose, in what quarter and on what terms? You perceive that I invite your attention to a subject of great importance, one which in a peculiar degree involves the future peace, tranquility and happiness of the good people of this commonwealth."

On the eighth of November, 1801, Mr. Jefferson replied in a long letter, in the course of which he says, common malefactors, I presume,

make no part of the object of that resolution. Neither their numbers nor the nature of their offences seem to require any provision beyond those heretofore found adequate to the repression of ordinary crimes. Conspiracy, insurgency, &c. among that description of persons who brought on us the alarm, and on themselves the tragedy of 1800, were doubtless in the view of every one, but many perhaps contemplated a much larger scope. Respect to both opinions make it my duty to understand the resolution in all the extents of which it is susceptible. He then goes on to discuss the practicability and expediency of procuring territory on our western or southern frontier, and concludes with asking would we be willing to have such a colony in contact with us? It is impossible he adds not to look forward to distant times when our rapid multiplication will expand beyond those limits, and cover the whole northern if not the southern continent with a people speaking the same language and governed with the same laws. Nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture on that surface.

He then gives the preference to the West Indies, and among these Islands to St. Domingo in consideration of their being already inhabited by a people of their own race and color, and having a climate congenial with their constitution, and being insulated from other descriptions of

men. Africa he concludes would offer a last and undoubted resort if all others more desirable should fail us.

On the 21st Dec. 1801, Mr. Monroe communicated this letter of Mr. Jefferson with a message asking for a more full description of persons who are to be transported, and the place to which it is disposed to give the preference. On the 16th June 1802, the House of Delegates of Va. responded in the following resolutions, which were agreed to by the Senate on the 23d.

“The Legislature of the Commonwealth by their resolution of Dec. last having authorized the Governor to correspond with the President of the United States relative to the purchase of lands without the limits of this State, to which persons obnoxious to the laws and dangerous to the peace of society might be removed, from which general expressions a difference of construction has prevailed, to reconcile which recourse must be had to the actual state of things which produced the resolution.”

Therefore Resolved, That as the resolution was not intended to embrace offenders for ordinary crimes to which the laws have been found equal, but only those for conspiracy, insurgency, &c., among that class of people who produced the alarm in this State in the fall of 1800, the Governor be requested in carrying the resolution into effect, upon the construction here given, to request the President of the United States in procuring the lands to prefer the continent of Africa, or any of the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in South America.

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, to

 An Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia.

which free negroes or mulattos and such negroes or mulattos as may be emancipated, may be sent or chosen to remove as a place of asylum, and that it is not the wish of the Legislature to obtain the sovereignty of such place.

In Dec. 1804, Mr. Jefferson addressed a letter to Governor Page of Virginia, in which he says, the island of St. Domingo, our nearest and most convenient resource, is too unsettled to be looked to for any permanent arrangements. He then suggests whether the inhabitants of our late purchase, beyond the Mississippi, and the national Legislature would consent that a portion of that country should be set apart for the persons contemplated. And not yet seeming to despair of Africa, he adds, my last information as to *Sierra Leone* is that the company was proposing to deliver up their colony to the Government. Should this take place it might furnish an opportunity for an incorporation of ours into it. This led to the following resolution of the House of Delegates on the 3d of Dec. 1804.

Resolved, That the Senators of this State, in the Congress of the United States, be instructed and the Representatives be requested to exert their best efforts for the purpose of obtaining from the General Government a competent portion of territory in the country of Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of such people of color as have been or may be emancipated in Virginia, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety. *Provided*, that no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth until ratified by the Legislature.

This resolution was sent by Governor Page to the Representatives of Virginia.

Our difficulties with France and

England now supervened and arrested at this point these interesting proceedings. But there was at least one eminent politician whose mind was not diverted from the contemplation of this subject by the approaching war with England. In Jan. 1811, Mr. Jefferson said, "I have long ago made up my mind upon this subject, and have no hesitation in saying I have ever thought it the most desirable measure for gradually drawing off this part of our population. Going from a country possessing all the useful arts they might be the means of transporting them among the inhabitants of Africa, and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seed of civilization which might render their sojourning here a blessing in the end to that country. Nothing is more to be wished than the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa. Exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray all its expenses. It may be doubted whether many of these people would be willing to go, but *that should not discourage the experiment.*" A treaty of peace having been concluded with Great Britain in 1815, the public mind reverted with increased interest to the scheme of colonization.

In December, 1816, with only seven dissenting voices in the House of Delegates, and one in the Senate,

An Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia.

the following resolutions moved by Mr. Mercer, passed the Legislature of Virginia.

Whereas, the General Assembly of Virginia, have repeatedly sought to obtain an Asylum beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of color as have been, or may be emancipated under the laws of this commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success. They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have agreed with the government of the United States, in abolishing the African slave trade, (a traffic which this Commonwealth both before and after the Revolution, zealously sought to extirpate,) to renew this effort : therefore,

Resolved, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the States or territorial governments of the United States, to serve for an asylum of such persons of color as are now free, and desire the same, and for those who may be hereafter emancipated within this Commonwealth, and that the Senate and Representatives of this state and the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid in the attainment of the above object.

In the meantime Dr. Finley, Bishop Meade, Frank Key, &c., had been anxiously pondering the subject of African Colonization. These with other persons of like minds, assembled in the city of Washington on the 21st of December of the same year, and recommended the formation of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Clay was chairman of the meeting, and stirring addresses were made by him, and by Messrs Caldwell, and Randolph of Roanoke. A committee was appointed to present a memorial to Congress asking

their co-operation ; John Randolph was on that committee. The Society held its first meeting on the 17th of January, 1817, and elected its officers. Hon. Bushrod Washington, was made President, and among the 13 Vice Presidents were Clay, Crawford, Jackson, and John Taylor, of Virginia. The committee of the Society prepared a memorial to Congress, which was referred to a committee of the House of Representatives, who made an able report concluding with resolutions recommending negotiations with the great states of Europe, for the abolition of the slave trade, and an application to Great Britain to receive into the colony of Sierra Leone such of the free people of color of the United States, as should be carried thither. And should this proposition not be accepted, then to obtain from Great Britain a stipulation, guaranteeing a permanent neutrality to any colony established under the auspices of the United States upon the coast of Africa.

On the 3d of March, 1819, Congress passed an act authorising the President of the United States to make such arrangements as he might deem expedient for the safe keeping and removal out of the United States of such persons of color as might be brought into any of the States under the act abolishing the slave trade, and to appoint agents upon the coast of Africa, for receiving such persons. Agents were accord-

ingly appointed by the government, who acting in co-operation with the agents of the society, purchased territory and established the colony. This purchase was made in 1822, by an agent of the Society, and Capt. Stockton of the navy, on the part of the government of the United States. From that moment, the course of the colony has been steadily onward, "through evil and through good report," until it has taken its place among the independent nations of the earth, under the denomination of the "Republic of Liberia." To return from this digression, to Virginia. An auxiliary society was formed in Richmond in November, 1823, at the head of which was placed the Hon. John Marshall, (*clarum et venerabile nomen*) who continued to preside over its deliberations, and to guide it by his wise counsels, to the day of his lamented death. He was succeeded by the Hon. John Tyler, late President of the United States. The Richmond Society by its able reports, its energetic agencies, and its stirring appeals, was instrumental in diffusing information and procuring contributions, which rendered very valuable aid in a time of need, to the Parent Society at Washington. It also obtained from the Legislature in 1825 and 1828, donations in clothing and implements of agriculture, which supplied very opportunely pressing wants of the infant colony in Africa. The

Colonization Society at this period, had a task of great delicacy to perform. The questions growing out of the admission of Missouri into the Union, had fearfully agitated the whole country, and threatened to overwhelm this benevolent enterprise in ruin, but by following the chart of her original principles with the strictest fidelity, and steering between the rock of indifferentism on the one hand, and the whirlpool of abolitionism on the other, she was enabled with the blessing of heaven to weather the storm. At this critical juncture were heard above the roaring of the tempest of fanaticism, the voices of her gallant commanders, Madison and Marshall,* cheering her onward in her noble mission.

Mr. Madison in a letter dated Jan. 16, 1832, said, "the Society had always my best wishes, although with hopes of success less sanguine than those entertained by others found to be better judges, and I feel the greatest pleasure at the progress already made by the Society, and the encouragement to encounter remaining difficulties, afforded by the greater and earlier difficulties already overcome. I cherish the hope that the time will come when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, and by means consistent with justice, peace, and the

* The one President of the American—the other President of the Virginia Society.

general satisfaction; thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example."

Judge Marshall in the same year, said, "the removal of our colored population is a common object by no means conferred to the slave states, although they are more immediately interested in it. The whole Union, he adds, would be strengthened by it, and relieved from a danger whose extent can be scarcely estimated." Here we have the authority of the "father of the constitution" and its greatest expounder, both of whom thought the object contemplated by the Colonization Society, so important that it demanded the interposition of the general government, and both regarded the public lands as a proper resource for effecting it.

In the mean time the tragedy of Southampton had occurred, and rung an alarm through the Commonwealth, which convinced the Legislature, that in the language of Gen. Brodnax "something must be done." Accordingly that gentleman in the session of 1832 and 33, reported a bill devising ways and means for deporting free negroes and such as may become free in Virginia to Liberia. The bill proposed an appropriation of \$35,000 for the present year and \$90,000 for the next, to be applied to this purpose. It passed the House of Delegates, but was lost

in the Senate. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the subject was again moved, and on the 4th of March, 1833, an act passed the Legislature appropriating \$18,000, and constituting the Governor, Lieut. Governor, and 1st and 2d Auditors, a board of commissioners, for carrying its provisions into effect. The act was as follows;

"Whenever satisfactory proof shall be produced to said commissioners that any number of free persons of color shall have been actually transported to Liberia, or other place on the western coast of Africa, or that they shall have been embarked for transportation thither from within the limits of this Commonwealth by the American Colonization Society, it shall be lawful and the said board of commissioners are hereby required to issue their warrant upon the treasury of this commonwealth, for such sum or sums of money as may be necessary to defray the costs of transporting and subsisting such free persons of color for a limited time, on the said coast of Africa, payable to the authorized and accredited agent of the American Colonization Society. *Provided*, that the sum or sums thus expended shall in no one year exceed the amount hereby appropriated for such year, and that the free persons of color who may be removed under the provisions of this act, shall be selected from the different counties and corporations of this Commonwealth, in proportion to the amount of revenue paid into the public treasury by such county or corporation, if such persons can be found in such county willing to emigrate; but if the whole sum of money hereby appropriated to each county or corporation, shall not annually be applied to the removal of such free persons of color therein because of their unwillingness to emigrate therefrom, then the balance thereof may be equitably applied to the removal of free persons from other counties and corporations. And provided that no more than the sum of \$30 shall be allowed for the transportation and subsistence of any free persons of color over ten years of age, and not more than \$20 for any under that age. *Provided*, that no payment shall be made by the same Board under the provision of this act, for the transportation of any other than persons now free, and born and residing within this Commonwealth or their descendants."

An Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia.

This act as was predicted at the time was rendered utterly inefficient by the restrictions with which it was encumbered. The appropriations having been distributed into as many parts as there were counties in the Commonwealth, and having been limited to those persons freed before a certain time, and the commissioners appointed to carry the provisions of the act into effect, feeling themselves bound by it to require the Society to prove the identity, age and residence of each applicant, as well as the time at which they were emancipated, by the certificates of the clerks of the counties in which such persons resided, and also to prove their transportation or embarkation by divers formalities, it was thought better to surrender the benefit of the act than to incur the expense of time and money necessary to comply with its hard conditions. Accordingly, the Society actually colonized in the year 1836, at their own expense, emigrants who came within the provisions of the act.

In 1837, the Board of Managers of the Virginia Society, seconded by petitions from several auxiliary societies, presented a memorial to the Legislature asking for an act of incorporation, and an amendment of the act of 1833, so as to make its provisions available, and on the 13th of February of the same year, the report of the select committee declaring these petitions reasonable

was agreed to by the House of Delegates, and a bill ordered. For want of time or some other cause not known, this bill did not become a law. And now in 1850, Mr. Dorman has reported a bill to the same end founded upon the commendation in the message of Governor Floyd. Such is believed to be a just account of the history of the idea of colonizing our people of color from its first conception, until its full development in the American Colonization Society. It is not within the scope of this address to write the history of that society—its unparalleled success is not now questioned by any unprejudiced man. Mr. Gurley who was commissioned by the general government to visit Liberia and investigate its condition, is just returned and is now preparing an elaborate report illustrating the commercial and other interests of that young Republic, his testimony to its present prosperity and the greatness of its future prospects is most decisive and encouraging. Neither is it a part of my plan to cite the authority or acts of the several state Legislatures, fourteen of which have given the society their approbation, and one, Maryland, has made it a part of her permanent policy by establishing and cherishing with annual appropriations the colony of Maryland in Liberia. Nor will I now insist upon the benefits, social, political and moral that are conferred by this so-

 Letter from President Roberts.

ciety upon the white race in America, and upon the black race upon both continents. Let it suffice to say that we have in our midst in the persons of our free colored people *an evil of enormous magnitude*. That this evil has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished every body admits. Benevolent individuals and societies are laboring with all their might to eradicate it. They have done much. When *there were only 2000 colonists, in Liberia, 1100 of them were from Virginia*, and complaints were made that the Virginians monopolized the public offices. During the present month, sixty colored people from Virginia will sail from Norfolk. Under these circumstances can there be a question whether the subject is worthy the interposition of the Legislature. If this is clear, is not delay dangerous? When Mr. Jefferson proposed his plan of colonization, there were only about 10,000 free negroes in Virginia—now the number is estimated at 60,000, and is increasing, not only in the natural way but by operation of the law conferring upon the County Courts the

power of allowing emancipated slaves to remain in the State during the good pleasure of the Court. A majority of the magistrates being required to constitute a court under this law, as a matter of fact, the Court seldom meets, and the applicant is advised by his counsel that nothing will be done with him while his application is pending, and thus great numbers of these people remain in the Commonwealth contrary to the obvious intent of the law.

A great change is coming every day over the dreams of the colored people upon this subject. The establishment of the Republic of Liberia, and its recognition by the great powers of Europe, has attracted their attention, and excited a spirit of inquiry which will undoubtedly lead to a large emigration. The time for giving the cause a vigorous impulse is propitious. Will the generous and sagacious Legislators of the Old Dominion, turn a deaf ear to thousands of their fellow citizens of all religious creeds, and political parties, who having put their own shoulders to the wheel, with one voice call upon Hercules for help.

 Letter from President Roberts.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,

Monrovia, Oct. 31st, 1849.

DEAR SIR:—Your two favors of the 31st July, by the "Liberia Packet," are received, and their contents respectively noted. I forwarded to your address, a few weeks ago, a copy of our commercial treaty with England. I have the satisfaction to inform you that the ratifications

were exchanged at London on the first of August last, and the British ratified copy was received here on the 15th ultimo—which you will find published in the September number of the Liberia Herald.

I regret to have to inform you that we have not yet succeeded in securing the territory of Gallinas. Our negotiations, at present, are at a stand

Letter from President Roberts.

still for the want of funds. Mr. Todge's failure to raise money in the United States, is a sad disappointment to us, and has not a little embarrassed our operations. So sure was I that our friends in America would aid us in this important object, that immediately after Mr. Todge's departure for the United States I opened negotiations with the chiefs for the purchase of the various tracts of country between this place and Sierra Leone, and, as you are aware, succeeded in securing three important tracts. And for these I am sorry to say but a small portion of the purchase money has been paid, in consequence of being compelled to apply nearly all the money we could possibly raise here to the discharge of the debt incurred for the New Cess expedition.

The chiefs of Gallinas demand one half of the purchase money down on concluding the sale of their territory, which at present, we are not prepared to do: nor have I any idea when we shall be able to meet this demand, certainly not for several years unless you will come to our aid.

In the hope, however, of obtaining timely assistance from the United States I shall keep the negotiations pending until I can hear from you again, at which time I hope to be authorized by you to draw for the \$5 000, referred to in your letter of 31st July last. The amount pledged by Mr. Gurley (£1 000) is not recoverable until we shall have actually negotiated the purchase of the whole territory lying between our northern boundary and Sierra Leone, which cannot be effected without at least \$5 000 in hand.

I am exceedingly anxious to secure this territory—indeed, it is important that we do so as soon as possible—particularly in view of the probability that the British blockad-

ing squadron will be withdrawn from this part of the African coast: in the event of which efforts will no doubt be made to revive the slave trade at those old haunts of the slavers: but if they are embraced within the jurisdiction of Liberia it will be impossible.

I am gratified to find that the President, and the Secretary of State of the United States, are favorably disposed towards Liberia; and that there is a prospect of our obtaining a speedy recognition of our independence from the United States Government. The appointment of Rev. Mr. Gurley to visit Liberia to collect statistics and facts respecting the commerce, &c., of this Republic preparatory to introducing the subject of our independence before the United States Senate, is an indication that something is likely to be done. Mr. Gurley is assiduously discharging the duties of his mission, and is collecting much valuable information. He will be able, I have no doubt, to present such a report as will not only convince the Government and people of the United States of the propriety of acknowledging the independence of Liberia, but also of the necessity of extending to the infant government a helping hand.

I am glad to find that the interpretation which our legislature put upon the articles of our agreement with the Society agrees with the understanding of the Executive Committee, and will doubtless meet the approval of the Board of Directors at their annual meeting in January next.

With high regards I have the honor to be, dear sir,

Your obt. humble servant,

J. J. ROBERTS.

TO REV. WM. McLAIN,
Washington City.

THIRTY-FOURTH

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE

BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND OF THE SOCIETY;

AND THE ADDRESSES

DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,

January 21, 1851.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING SENTIMENTS OF THE PRESS; MEMORIALS TO CONGRESS IN FAVOR
OF STEAMSHIPS TO AFRICA; COMMERCE OF AFRICA; A TABLE EX-
HIBITING THE COST OF COLONIZATION, AND A
TABLE OF EMIGRANTS.

WASHINGTON:
C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,
F STREET, NEAR NAVY DEPARTMENT.
1851.

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THIRTY-FOURTH
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

January 21st, 1851.

Death of Vice Presidents of this Society.

SINCE our last Annual Meeting, four of the Vice Presidents of this Society have departed this life.

We never had a warmer friend or more devoted supporter than the late JOHN KER, M. D., of Natchez, Miss. He died in January last. On receiving intelligence of his death, the Executive Committee adopted the following tribute to his memory:

"It is with sentiments of heartfelt sorrow that we have heard of the death of our valued friend and fellow laborer for Africa's welfare. By this bereavement, society has lost an accomplished gentleman, the cause of benevolence a bright and able advocate, and the church an exemplary and noble Christian. His devotion to the interests of this Society was worthy of all commendation. One of its earliest friends and contributors, there was no sacrifice which he was not ready to make for it; no labor demanding zeal, talent and efficiency, which he was not ready to perform. Long should the "Ross slaves," now freemen in Liberia, cultivate sentiments of the liveliest gratitude to him, as the chief instrument of their redemption; and long may we cherish an affectionate remembrance of his eminent private

and public virtues, and his distinguished exertions in the cause of humanity!

"We tender to his family our warmest sympathy in their deep affliction."

JONATHAN HYDE, Esq., of Bath, Maine, died the 18th of October, 1850. He was one of the earliest and most steadfast friends of this Society. He was a man of liberal and enlarged spirit, and an exemplary supporter of all religious and benevolent institutions. But "a thorough investigation of the subject, (he said,) had long settled his mind in a sober and conscientious judgment that the Colonization enterprise presented to the Christian philanthropist the most urgent claims of any of the numerous charities of the day." He had, therefore, with the increase of years, even under the infirmities of age, exhibited an increase of zeal and exertions in its behalf as Secretary and Treasurer of the Colonization Society of Bath and vicinity.

Death of Vice Presidents of this Society

The Rev. CORNELIUS C. CUYLER, D. D., of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, an eminent clergyman and pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in that city, died the 31st of September, 1850, leaving behind him the fairest reputation for purity of character and uprightness of life. He was ever the warm friend of this Society and the zealous and efficient laborer for its advancement. Many are the friends whom his able advocacy won for it, and long will respect and affection gather around his name, in remembrance of the gentleness of his manner and the unanswerableness of his arguments in its behalf.

JOHN McDONOUGH, of New Orleans, died on the 26th of October, in the 71st year of his age. He bequeathed to this Society the most magnificent legacy which it has ever had the good fortune to receive. The following extract from his will, indicates the character of this bequest:

"Firstly, I give and bequeath to the American Colonization Society, for colonizing the free people of color of the United States, established at the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, for the purpose of its noble and philanthropic institution, an annuity for the term of forty years, counting from and after the day of my decease, of the one-eighth part, or twelve and a half per cent. of the net yearly revenue of rents of the whole of the estate, as hereinbefore willed and bequeathed unto the Mayor, Aldermen and inhabitants of the cities of New Orleans and Baltimore, but

which one-eighth part of the net yearly revenue of rents of said estate, as aforesaid, shall not entitle the said American Colonization Society, for colonizing the free people of color of the United States, to receive or demand, in any one year, a larger sum than twenty-five thousand dollars, should the one-eighth part thereof amount to a larger sum; trusting in full confidence that the inhabitants of this free and happy land, throughout all its borders, from Maine to Louisiana, will sustain this institution—one of the greatest glories of our country—and enable it to accomplish its humane and holy object in its full extent."

As the validity of this will is to be vigorously contested, we fear it may be sometime before we shall receive the first payment to which it entitles us. We, however, have no doubt the bequest will ultimately be paid. The will is certainly an ably written document, alike creditable to the head and heart of the benevolent individual who left it as his last and only testament.

Mr. McDonough has always been a devoted friend of colonization, and a liberal contributor to our funds. It will be remembered that several years ago he liberated and sent to Liberia eighty-five of his slaves, whom he had been long training for the full enjoyment of freedom. In his will he also made provision for the colonization of the slaves whom he owned at his death.

He was always noted as a man of great activity and energy of char-

Increase of Emigration.

acter, and of rather peculiar habits. The following graphic description of him we extract from the New Orleans Picayune :

"The announcement yesterday evening of the death of John McDonogh took our city by surprise, and formed the sole subject of conversation wherever it was known. His long residence among us, his immense wealth, his peculiar habits, and appearance, had made his name familiar, not only here but everywhere in the State, as a household word. He seemed to many a being apart from his fellow-men. While youth, and strength, and health and beauty were year after year struck down beside him, he moved on, tall, spare, erect, with sprightly step and look. Every school urchin recognized at a first glance the thin, sharp, intelligent face, the small sparkling brown eye, the long white hair, the neat, prim white cravat and high shirt collar, the well-preserved old hat and blue umbrella, and the never-to-be-worn-out old fashioned, tight-fitting blue cloth dress coat and pantaloons, and well polished shoes. We had gradually become impressed with the idea that John McDonogh would never die. He appeared as much an indestructable relic of our city's ancient history as the old State House or the old Cathedral.—One of those antique monuments has been razed to the ground; the other has thrown off its old vesture for a new one, and the third, John McDonogh, now lies ready for his last journey and his last resting place—the tomb."

In view of the death of so many eminent friends of the cause within a single year, we cannot forget how brief and uncertain is the period of

human life, nor fail to be excited thereby to new diligence and energy in the prosecution of the great enterprise before us!

Our gratitude is due to the great Disposer of all events, for the gracious care with which he has watched over our affairs during the past year, and for the general prosperity with which he has blessed us.

We have the pleasure of reporting that a larger number of emigrants have been sent to Liberia than during any preceding year, since the organization of the Society, with the exception of the year 1832. Six expeditions have departed from our shores, with 507 emigrants.

The *Liberia Packet* sailed from Norfolk, Virginia, on the 26th of January, with 136 emigrants; of these 19 were born free and the remainder were slaves manumitted for the purpose of Colonization.

The barque *Chieftain* sailed from Savannah, Georgia, on the 14th of February, with 167 emigrants; 154 of these were manumitted by the will of the late Maj. Jacob Wood of Perry county—the others were free persons from Charleston, S. C.

The *D. C. Foster* sailed from New Orleans, on the 15th of March, with 78 emigrants, of whom 40 were emancipated by will, and the remainder were free. We are indebted to the active agency of the Louisiana State Colonization Society, for

important services in the fitting out of this expedition.

The *Liberia Packet* sailed from Baltimore, on the 4th of July, with 56 emigrants, of whom 35 were born free, 13 had purchased their freedom, and the remainder were emancipated by different persons, for the purpose of going to Liberia.

The barque *Edgar* sailed from New York on the 2d of October, with 32 emigrants, 12 of these were from Newbern, N. C., the family of Daniel Williams "the engineer," who was purchased with funds raised by the *Journal of Commerce*, in New York. The others were all free and from various parts of the country. This expedition was sent out by the New York State Colonization Society.

The *Liberia Packet* sailed from Baltimore, on the 21st of December, with 38 emigrants, all of these were free, excepting 3 who had purchased themselves, and one who had been emancipated.*

Our funds have increased during the past year and we have assurances that they will continue still to increase, and yet there have existed peculiar obstacles in the way of our collecting funds. The general state

of the country has been one of excitement and alarm on subjects, with which our interests have been by many confounded. It is gratifying therefore to know that the streams which flow into our Treasury have been enlarged.

At the last Annual Meeting the Society was in debt upwards of \$12,000. Since then the current expenses of the Treasury have been met and the indebtedness reduced to \$7,480.68.

The total amount of our receipts the past year, as will appear from the account current appended to this report, is \$64,973.91.

It is a very encouraging and important fact, that a large part of these receipts have been the spontaneous offerings of the friends of the cause.

A very limited number of *agents* have been employed in collecting funds. This has been partly owing to the difficulty of obtaining men of the right qualifications for this arduous and responsible work; but chiefly to the fact, that most of the State Societies employ their own agents, and manage the business of raising money within their bounds themselves. This is the case in Massa-

* EXPEDITIONS TO LIBERIA IN 1850—

Jan. 26, <i>Liberia Packet</i> ,	136 emigrants.
Feb. 14, Barque <i>Cheffain</i> ,	167 "
Mar. 15, Schooner <i>D. C. Porter</i> ,	78 "
July 4, <i>Liberia Packet</i> ,	56 "
Oct. 2, Barque <i>Edgar</i> ,	32 "
Dec. 21, <i>Liberia Packet</i> ,	38 "

Total number, 507

Of these 165 were born free, 305 were emancipated, 32 purchased themselves, and 5 were purchased by friends in New York

 Agencies—Auxiliary Societies—State of Virginia.

achusetts,—New York,—New Jersey,— Pennsylvania, — Virginia, — Kentucky,—Illinois,—and Missouri. The Louisiana and Mississippi Societies have not been able to secure any regular agency, nor have we been able to find the right man for that important and fruitful field.

The only agents who have been operating for us during the *whole* year, are Captain G. Barker in Rhode Island, Maine, and New Hampshire,—David Christy in Ohio, and Rev. R. W. Bailey in Virginia. The former, has been successful in collecting funds, while the two latter have devoted very little of their time to that business. Mr. Christy has been chiefly employed in diffusing information, securing local organizations and operating on the minds of the legislature and other public bodies. Mr. Bailey has devoted himself almost exclusively to the free colored people, endeavoring to enlighten them on the subject and induce them to go to Liberia.

We have lately secured the services of the Rev. John Orcutt in Connecticut,—the Rev. Jesse Rankin in North Carolina,—and the Rev. J. Morris Pease, who is now in Mississippi.—We anticipate large receipts from their efforts, as they have been remarkably successful thus far.

In this connection we desire to make honorable mention of the efficient agency of many Ladies, Pas-

tors of Churches, officers of local Auxiliary Societies, and other private individuals, who have voluntarily rendered substantial services in collecting funds and remitting them immediately to our Treasury.

From the various State Auxiliary Colonization Societies we have received fewer remittances than we had anticipated.

The New York Society chartered a vessel and sent an expedition to Liberia, and the Kentucky Society paid the expenses of their emigrants in the *D. C. Foster*. The funds thus used, have not been reckoned any part of our receipts.

There have many things transpired during the past year, which indicate the approach of the “good time” when we shall not be compelled to rely solely on voluntary contributions to carry forward the work of colonization. The Legislature of Virginia has made a noble *beginning* in the work, by passing an act for the removal of free persons of color to Liberia. This act, passed the 11th of March last, in the first place, appropriates \$30,000 annually for five years, to aid this Society in removing those who were *free* and *residents* of Virginia when the act was passed; and it allows only \$25 for each adult, and \$15 for each child under 10 years of age. This will not defray one-half the actual expenses of their passage and support six months in Libe-

The Appropriation by Virginia—Action in Ohio.

ria. By the most rigid economy, the actual cost cannot be reduced below an *average* of \$50 each, old and young. This appropriation, therefore, leaves a deficiency of \$25 on every adult, and \$35 on every child, whom we send to Liberia.—At present this deficiency can only be supplied by voluntary contributions.

In the second place, this act lays a tax of *one dollar* annually on every free male "of the age of 21 years, and under 55." The proceeds of this tax are to be added to the \$30,000, and will increase it upwards of \$15,000.

Though this act is *not* altogether as liberal in its provisions as we could wish, still it is a great moral demonstration of the propriety and necessity of STATE ACTION! It will be productive of great good, and ultimately lead to the adoption of whatever measures are necessary to meet the demands of the enterprise as far as Virginia is concerned. Colonization is now the policy of the State. The time has arrived when something effectual must be done. We have learned that several schemes are now before the Convention of the State. An intelligent correspondent thinks they will not act hastily, nor rashly—but with prudence combined with firmness.

We have received only \$605 from this State appropriation, though

we have sent 108 emigrants from Virginia during the year. It will, therefore, be seen that but a small part of them were included in the provisions of the act.

The attention of the Legislature of Ohio has been turned to the enterprise. A preamble and joint resolutions were passed last February, of which the following is a copy:

"Preamble and Joint Resolutions, instructing our Senators and Representatives in Congress in relation to the independence of Liberia, and for other purposes.

WHEREAS the colored emigrants from the United States, who have been settled on the coast of Africa by the agency of the American Colonization Society, are now organized into an independent republic, and have been acknowledged as such by the Governments of England and France; and, whereas, the influence exerted by the Colony in promoting civilization in Africa has been very beneficial, and promises extensive usefulness; and, whereas, intelligent colored men in the United States, who might be eminently useful in Africa, are unwilling to emigrate to Liberia until its independence shall be acknowledged by the government of the United States; therefore,

Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That our Senators in Congress are hereby instructed, and our Representatives in Congress are requested to use their influence to induce the General Government to acknowledge the independence of the republic of Liberia, and that they also be requested to use all honorable means to induce

Purchase of Territory in Liberia, for the colored People of Ohio.

the free blacks of the United States to emigrate to that country.

BENJAMIN F. LEITER,

Speaker of the House of Reps.

CHARLES C. CONNER,

Speaker of the Senate.

February 5, 1850.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S OFFICE,
COLUMBUS, Feb. 6, 1850.

I hereby certify the foregoing to be a correct copy of the original roll now on file in this office.

SAM'L GALLOWAY,

Secretary of State."

At the same meeting of the Legislature an effort was made to pass an act making an annual appropriation to aid in colonizing any of the free colored people residing in the State. The bill, however, was crowded into the last hours of the session, and failed, as our agent has assured us, only for want of time.—We may, therefore, anticipate something important at their present session. Numerous memorials have been sent into them praying an appropriation. The Committee of Correspondence for Ohio, which is composed of some of the most influential gentlemen in the State, have had the matter under consideration, and impressed fully with its importance have adopted a strong memorial in its favor, and will do all in their power towards its accomplishment.

There are said to be about 30,000 colored people in the State. They have made an effort to get the convention for revising the Constitution

of the State to grant them the right of *citizenship*. But they have failed, and there is no probability that they will ever succeed. It is thought, that some stringent measures will be adopted to prevent any more from coming into the State. Under all these circumstances, therefore, it is considered the imperative duty of the legislature to make provision for their removal from the State, and their comfortable settlement in Liberia, where they can enter upon the full enjoyment of all the privileges of a free and independent government.

By the noble liberality of a citizen of Cincinnati, a large tract of territory has been purchased north of Monrovia, and placed at the disposal of the colored people of Ohio, for the purpose of forming a new settlement in Liberia. Colored men in various parts of the State have the subject under consideration, and are seeking information, with a view to emigration. Our agent in that State after a careful examination says, "there are causes now operating, principally *moral and commercial*, that must soon lead to a rapid emigration of the colored people to Africa. The reasons upon which this opinion is founded, will soon be laid before the public, when, it is believed, there will no longer exist any serious objections in Ohio to colonization."

Condition of the colored people in Ohio.

Three excellent young men from Cincinnati were to sail in our vessel from New Orleans yesterday, with the full expectation that others of their friends will follow in the next expedition.

The resolutions to which we have alluded, were adopted by a vote of 51 to 14, in the House of Representatives.

They were agreed to, by the Senate, without a division. As they cover the broad question of an approval of the whole scheme of colonization, the very large majorities by which they are adopted may be considered conclusive evidence of the public sentiment of the State on the subject.

Taking things, therefore, as they really are, and in all probability will continue to be, in the great State of Ohio, the scheme of colonization is not one merely of humanity, and sound policy, but of great and overpowering necessity. It is a question, not of dollars and cents, but of high and exalted obligation, enforced by all the duties of self-preservation to both races. Daily accumulating circumstances, make it more and more apparent, that the condition of the colored people is not improving, and cannot be expected to improve! What then is to be done? Can they remain long where they are and as they are? We think not. The voice of the State calls them to depart. Where

shall they go? We may safely point them to Liberia, and without hesitation recommend emigration, not only for what they may attain there, but also for what they may escape from in Ohio! In Liberia the condition of the emigrant is hourly improving, their government is becoming more firm, the comforts of living are becoming more abundant, education is advancing, the sympathies of the whole civilized world are with them, and they are daily feeling more and more of the elevating and refining influences which always gather around a people enjoying an individuality of existence, among the great family of nations.

In comparison with this picture, what is their condition in highly favored and free Ohio? What have they there to encourage them? Let them look back five or ten years, mark all their efforts to obtain what they call "*their rights*," and then mark their signal failures; and what is there on which they can build a hope for better things to come. There may be instances of individual prosperity among them, but take them as a whole, what advancement have they made? Daily is there rushing into the State a crowd of foreigners eager for occupation, and soon destined to crowd out the colored people. What then shall they do? There is no place for them except Liberia.

It is this view of the case which

Action of the State of Indiana.

has brought every man who values the permanent prosperity and happiness of the colored people, to advocate their removal to Liberia as a matter of State policy, as well as of great good to them personally.

In the State of Indiana the sentiment is spreading rapidly, that it is the duty of both the State and national governments, to adopt some general system of colonization.

The Governor, in his late message to the Legislature, earnestly recommends the measure. His remarks on the subject, are so eminently just and patriotic, that we here quote them entire :

"The subject of the colonization of the free blacks is now beginning to receive that attention which its importance demands. The circumstances which surround us, are pressing our people to look into this subject in the right light, and in a proper spirit.

Our Southern brethren are making rapid movements towards abridging the privileges of this class, even to banishment. We in the North are adopting extraordinary means for removing them, by prohibiting them from holding property, excluding them from the protection of the laws, and denying them any rights whatever.

While all this is going on, our better nature, the common sympathies of all men, are beginning to ask these important questions: *what is to be the end of all this? Is there no remedy? Is there no cure for this evil?*

In the midst of all this excitement and confusion, the light breaks in upon us, which points conclu-

sively to colonization as *the only remedy*. The infant colony of Liberia, recognized as one among the nations of the earth, begins now to attract the attention of all men who desire to see an entire separation of the two races. In this great struggle for the separation of the black man from the white, let Indiana take her stand; put her agent into the field. Her citizens are ready—yea, they are willing to contribute of their surplus, something for the removal of this people from among us, and to locate them in the native land of their forefathers. Other states in this Union have their own settlements in Liberia. Let Indiana have hers. Let us sustain the movement made by Mr. Bryan, of Alabama, for the employment of Government vessels, to found an empire in Africa. Let the national, as well as the State Governments, strike at this hour for a permanent and effectual remedy for the agitations and excitement of the day on this difficult question."

The Legislature of the State have repeatedly had the subject under consideration. About a year ago they adopted a resolution requesting their members of Congress, "in the name of the State of Indiana, to call for a change of national policy on the subject of the African slave trade, and that they require a settlement of the coast of Africa with colored men from the United States."

They also entertained the proposition to make an appropriation to aid in colonizing any from that State who desire to emigrate to Liberia. It is thought by those well acquainted

 Action of the State of Indiana.

throughout the State, that a very large majority of the citizens are warmly in favor of some State action in the premises. They have felt, and continue still to feel very keenly, the evils arising from the existence of two distinct races on the same soil. It will, doubtless, not be long until some effectual measures will be taken to prevent free colored people of other States from coming into theirs. So that all the considerations which urge colonization in Ohio, as a matter of State interest for Legislative action, may be found in Indiana, acting with equal force and tending to the same result.*

Already, the CONSTITUTIONAL

* We find in the Cincinnati Gazette the following account of the vote upon these measures, in the Convention:

"The first section, providing that no negro or mulatto shall come into the State after the adoption of the constitution, *passed*, 94 to 40.

The second section, making all contracts with them void, and fining all persons employing them not less than ten nor more than five hundred dollars, *passed*, 78 to 59.

The third section, appropriating the fines collected under this article to the colonization of the negroes now in the State, *passed*, 106 to 33.

The fifth section, providing that the Legislature shall pass laws necessary to carry out this negro article, *passed*, without the yeas and nays.

The sixth section, requiring the separate submission of this article to the people—'Exclusion and colonization of negroes and mulattoes—aye or no,' *passed*, 82 to 54."

On this action the Cincinnati Daily Commercial makes the following observations:

"The above action on the negro question has been urged by prominent citizens of this State, or something very near it, and on that account a pamphlet has been published, and is now in circulation here, headed as follows: 'Address to the Constitutional Convention of Ohio from the State Convention of colored men held in Columbus, January 15, 16, 17 and 18, 1851.' This address *modestly* requests that the word 'white' in the fourth article, first section of the constitution of Ohio, be stricken out, so as to permit colored men to exercise the elective franchise, &c. It is this spirit, this keen desire of the colored race in Ohio, aided by a few white men, that keeps up a continual excitement on the negro question, and, to avoid this in future, doubtless, Indiana statesmen have taken measures to keep negroes out of the State altogether. It is, then, the duty of the statesmen of our own Commonwealth to examine the subject thoroughly, and decide if it be not their duty to pass similar laws here.

Pennsylvania is taking steps to prevent negroes from harboring within her limits! Virginia is taking steps to drive the free negroes from her borders; at least the subject is agitated, and the free negroes of that Commonwealth number about *fifty thousand*! Kentucky will also follow suit; and if Ohio puts no obstruction in the way of this prospective emigration of free negroes, the State will soon be in a deplorable condition! White laborers will have to give place to a pestiferous class of ignorant blacks—even the free blacks themselves, who are to the 'manor born,' will be foisted from their places, and crime, misery, and want be increased to a fearful extent within our boundaries. Considering the growing impudence of the negro population of Ohio, founded in ignorance, and increased yearly by the action of demagogical partisans—who seek office by fair or foul means—we are not sure but the convention now assembled here to revise our constitution, will utterly fail of effecting anything, unless a similar action to that of Indiana be had."

The Buffalo (N. Y.) Commercial Advertiser makes the following remarks on the same subject:

"While we cannot sympathize with the spirit which prompts the introduction of such sweepingly prohibitive provisions into the constitution of a free State, against any class of citizens, we cannot fail to see in such movements a strong argument not only for colonization, but in favor of the General Government taking action to establish regular and cheap connection between the United States and Africa. The action of the

Action of the State of Indiana.

CONVENTION sitting in that State, has, by a decisive vote, excluded "negroes and mulattoes" from hereafter settling within their limits; they have also decided that all contracts with such persons shall be void; that any one employing them or encouraging them to remain in the State shall be liable to a fine of from \$10 to \$500; and that such fines shall be applied towards the gradual colonization of the free colored people now in that State!

This article is to be submitted to a separate vote of the people. There is scarcely a doubt that it will be adopted; and yet it is taking ground ahead of any other State. It was thought very cruel in Illinois a short time ago, to adopt a policy to prevent any more free colored people from coming into the State. But this action of Indiana goes far ahead of that, and looks to their ultimate and entire removal from the State.*

Indiana Convention is but the visible evidence of a deep-seated prejudice of caste, arising from a difference of color, which exists throughout the whole Northern States. It is deeply seated in the public mind; and however wrong it may be abstractly, there is no getting around the fact of its existence or of its manifestations. It does not, in every community, show itself in so marked a manner; but it is nevertheless existent, and the colored man is made to feel it with a crushing force. Nowhere can a colored man hold up his head in the full significancy of manhood—nowhere is he admitted to the social or political privileges of those of fairer complexion around him. Disabilities meet him wherever he goes, upon the right hand and upon the left. Nominal protection, and the right to be a hewer of wood and a drawer of water unto others, is about all that is vouchsafed to him. No places of honor are open to him—no preferment awaits him; his position is fixed by the immutable laws of caste, and there is no cancelling the bond. But on the shores of Africa—in the native climate of his fathers—the colored man takes his place on terms of equality with his fellows—no degrading distinctions exist—he is a free man, in a land where he may indulge the aspirations of soul to which he is compelled to be a stranger, even in this land of freedom.

"Although the plan of colonizing the colored population of the United States on the far off shores of Africa may by many be deemed chimerical, yet we are sanguine that with proper Government aid it could be accomplished. It would require time, and the minds of the free blacks would have to be recovered from the malign influence of their worst enemies—the ultra Abolitionists—before much could be accomplished. But let a regular line of adequate steamers be established—let it be understood that certain, speedy, and cheap passage could be made, and those who are slaves in all but in name, would soon begin to leave a country where they have met with nothing but oppression, for another which holds out the promise and assurance of real freedom and true independence."

* We understand the subject was thoroughly discussed in the Convention. We subjoin an extract from an able speech by Mr. Morrison, of Washington County, in which he gave the "reasons why he should vote to exclude the negroes from further immigration into this State, and also to divest them of the right of acquiring real property hereafter.

"We all profess to be the friends of humanity; yet we differ, honestly, I presume, as to the plan by which we would secure our title to this distinguished appellation. Those who favor the immigration of free persons of color to this State, and contend for their right to hold real estate, seem to forget that the negro's home is the land of his fathers, where he may enjoy all the rights and immunities of a freeman, which he can never hope to attain in this country, unless the two races are permitted to amalgamate.

"Sympathy is diverse. There is a sympathy of the head as well as a sympathy of the heart. The former is the dictate of reason and judgment; the latter, of feeling and

Iowa, and Kentucky.

Not far behind the Convention of Indiana, comes on the Legislature of Iowa—that young but vigorous State. A bill has been introduced into the House to provide for the removal of all free persons of color emancipated in other States and hereafter settling in that; but providing that those already there may remain, subject to the present law on the subject, and *disqualifying them from acquiring any additional real estate.*

In the State of Kentucky the sentiment is rapidly gaining ground that the time for *State action* has arrived, and their Legislature having been called upon to lend the enterprise its powerful aid, have now before them a proposition to appropriate

\$5,000 each year, for five years, to be employed under the direction of the Kentucky Colonization Society, in removing the free colored people from that State and colonizing them in Liberia.

On this proposition the "Frankfort Commonwealth," a leading paper in the State, remarks, "the sum asked for, if laid as an additional tax upon the people of the State, would not require the assessment of one-fifth of a cent upon every \$100 worth of taxable property. This is merely the pecuniary, or, so to speak, the selfish view of the subject. Its benevolent aspect has often been presented. It seems to us that, even if there were no present advantages in it, it would still be worthy of a great

passion. In all grave questions like the present, it behooves every man to determine for himself how far his judgment and his votes may be influenced by the one or by the other.

"He has been urged to turn a deaf ear to the invitations to remove to the land trace where he was torn. He has been made to believe that certain death awaited him as soon as he set foot upon his native shores. He has been told that here he had a right to stay—that this was the land of freedom—and that here and here only he might expect, one day, to be admitted to all the rights and immunities of a freeman. It is not contended, I believe, by those who take the opposite side of this question, that the negro can ever attain, in this country, to a social equality with the whites, though he may be invested with certain political rights, and yet there is no good reason why you should withhold from him the former if you confer upon him the latter. Then, sir, if you do not intend to admit them to full citizenship, why do you induce them to remain in your midst, when you have determined that they shall never be anything more than hewers of wood and drawers of water? Why deceive them by false promises which you do not intend to fulfil? Why not tell them the plain and naked truth, that the rights of citizenship will never be extended to them here, and if they conclude to remain, let them understand clearly the full extent of their disabilities; and when they decide to remove, be ready with the means to assist them in uniting with their brethren in the Republic of Liberia. Depend upon it, the people of this State, whenever called upon, will contribute cheerfully and liberally to restore them to their own native land.

"Mr. President, I shall favor that proposition which tends to increase their disabilities, with the confident hope that the results will be most advantageous to themselves. When they discover that they never can be elevated to the rank of citizens amongst us, then and not until then, will they feel that their own welfare, as well as the redemption of their race, are involved in accepting the proffered bounty of their friends."

State, to contribute something to aid a scheme which we believe is destined ultimately to civilize and Christianize one-fourth of the world, and elevate a whole race."

The Legislature of Missouri has also been appealed to. Memorials, numerous signed, have been sent to them, holding language like the following:

"Your petitioners, feeling a profound interest in the cause of African Colonization, would respectfully represent to your honorable body, that, in the opinion of the petitioners, *the time has arrived* when the State of Missouri, in its sovereign capacity, should take some decided and efficient step in aid of the noble enterprise. The citizens of this State are becoming daily more sensible that it holds out substantial and enduring benefits to our white population, and incalculable blessings to the free colored people. It needs the aid of the State and National Governments to insure its success. Your petitioners therefore pray your honorable body to appropriate a sum of money to be used by the Colonization Society, under such restrictions as you may impose, for the removal of the free blacks from this State to the Western Coast of Africa."

In Illinois, we learn from the Springfield Journal, a large company of the free colored people propose to emigrate to Liberia and will seek an appropriation from the State Legislature to aid them in their removal.

At a late special meeting of the New Jersey Colonization Society, with Chief Justice Hornblower, the

President, in the Chair, a resolution was adopted earnestly requesting the Governor of that State, in his next annual message, to recommend that an appropriation be made to promote the object of the Colonization Society, in aiding the free people of color, in their voluntary emigration from that State to the Republic of Liberia.

The Board of Managers of the New York Colonization Society have also resolved to memorialize the Legislature of that State for an appropriation for the same purpose. On this subject the editor of one of their papers remarks:

"Why shall not New York,—not behind any State in liberal and ample provisions for the various philanthropic institutions of the age, and in provisions for the elevation of her population by education,—recognizing the hopelessness of ultimately rendering that class, who are, by her fundamental law, degradingly distinguished from others, the actual possession of a full, social and political elevation,—offer to them the means of escape, by providing for them a fund to defray the expenses of their removal to a more equal and inviting theatre, to which they are summoned by the highest motives that can be addressed to men? If they decline to avail themselves of the privileges, there is no loss of money to the State, and we shall have the satisfaction at least of having offered to return to Africa the population torn from her. If, on the contrary, many improve the privilege, as we doubt not they will, the expense will not be great. The State will have done for them the

Maryland Colony of Cape Palmas.

highest act of justice in her power, by placing them under political institutions where nothing impedes their hopes of elevation, and on a theatre of nobler grandeur, calculated to give exercise and developement to all the capacities of intellect and heart they possess."

The State of Maryland, though we mention her "*last*," ranks by no means "*least*," in her endeavors to advance this enterprise. In 1832 she passed a law appropriating \$200,000, to be expended by the Maryland Colonization Society in planting a colony of her free colored people at Cape Palmas. She therefore enjoys the honor of having first adopted Colonization as a matter of State policy.

It is well known that she has established a colony, which has from year to year gradually acquired strength, and which is at this time a well ordered community of emigrants from this country, and mainly from her own bounds. This colony has been established as a place to which her own free colored people may emigrate, whenever they are so inclined. She has thus far defrayed the whole expenses of their removal and settlement at Cape Palmas.

The amount originally appropriated is now nearly exhausted. But we cannot but hope that she will, in view of the great success which has attended her efforts thus far, renew her assistance and on a larger scale.

These several movements of State

Legislatures, are but instances by which the general sentiments of the people at large are arrayed in favor of some energetic system of State action for carrying on the work of Colonization. In addition to them, there are other things in abundance which prove conclusively that the American people are sensible of the merits of Colonization, and that there is no other enterprise to the advancement of which the several State Governments could devote their means and meet with so hearty a concurrence of all their citizens!

The conviction is not without foundation that Colonization is not only a legitimate object of State appropriations, but also that money thus spent would, in the end, be an actual saving to the State. It cannot have escaped the attention of any observing person, that a great deal of the time of every State Legislature has been consumed in legislation growing out of the existence and condition of the free colored people within their bounds. Take for example the State of Ohio. A large part of the time of her Legislature, for several years past, has been consumed in efforts to secure to the colored people equal social and political privileges! The time thus spent has cost the State large sums of money! Is it constitutional and legitimate for the Legislature to spend the public money in this way? If it is, and we have never heard it

Proposed Action of the General Government.

doubted, then surely it would be proper and right to spend the same money in Colonizing the same people in Liberia! For the moment they land there, they enjoy, unmolested, all the rights and privileges claimed for them by their most zealous friends in Ohio!

From the very nature of the embarrassments under which the colored people live, many of them are unable to provide for their own wants, and thus become a tax on the community in which they live. Unfortunately, too, many of them hemmed in and pressed down as they are, often commit crimes, for which they must be punished. Who can calculate the amount of expense incurred in this way? We should be perfectly satisfied with an appropriation made by any State equal in amount to the cost of the poverty and crimes of her colored population!

Who can doubt, therefore, that a judicious policy of Colonization, adopted and carried on with vigor, for a few years, would in the end be an actual saving to the State? The other advantages which would be enjoyed by the people of the United States, as the result of the Colonization of the free colored people would be immense. The blessings poured upon *them* in Liberia, would also be incalculable.

We therefore, view with pleasure, these indications that the State Legislatures will soon render assist-

ance commensurate with the greatness of the work!

We also anticipate the action of the General Government in favor of Colonization. From all parts of the country the desire has been expressed that Congress should foster and encourage the work. On the 7th of March last, the Hon. D. Webster, in the United States Senate said:

"If any gentleman from the South shall propose a *scheme of Colonization to be carried on by this Government* upon a large scale, for the transportation of free colored people to any Colony or any place in the world, I should be quite disposed to incur *almost any degree of expense* to accomplish that object. Nay, sir, following an example set here more than twenty years ago by a great man, then a Senator from New York, I would return to Virginia, and through her for the benefit of the whole South, the money received from lands and territories ceded by her to this Government for any such purpose as to relieve, in whole or in part, or in any way to diminish or deal beneficially with, the free colored population of the Southern States. I have said that I honor Virginia for her cession of this territory. There have been received into the treasury of the United States eighty millions of dollars, the proceeds of the sales of the public lands ceded by her. If the residue should be sold at the same rate, the whole aggregate will exceed two hundred millions of dollars. If Virginia or the South see fit to adopt any proposition to relieve themselves from the free people of color among them, they have my free consent that the Government shall pay

Line of steamships to Africa

draw any sum of money out of its proceeds, which may be adequate to the purpose."

A scheme has been proposed for establishing a line of steamships to run between this country and Liberia, which has met with general favor. At the last session of Congress, the Committee of the House of Representatives on Naval Affairs made a very able Report in favor of the plan. The subject will doubtless come up for consideration in a few days, and we earnestly trust, some action will be had thereon.

The great feature of the proposed plan which gives us an interest in it, is the fact that these ships are bound to carry to Liberia and support them on the passage, as many emigrants as we desire to send, at the rate of \$10 for each adult, and \$5 for each child under 12 years of age. It will at once be seen, that this will reduce the expenses of transportation about two-thirds. The Colonization interest therefore, in all parts of the country is warmly in favor of the adoption of this scheme. The public press has almost universally come out in its favor, and advocated its adoption with great zeal and strong argument. It can hardly be doubted that the great ends to be accomplished present considerations of sufficient magnitude and importance to induce the Government to adopt the measure. The suppression of the African slave trade, the extension of American

commerce, the opening of another market for American productions and manufactures, the elevation of a depressed race, the removal from our midst of an unfortunate class of people, the planting of civilization and Christianity on a foreign shore, and the redemption, from the deepest woes, of a whole continent, all combine and appeal to the honor, the benevolence, the patriotism and the justice of every true American, and urge the adoption of a policy which shall so rapidly advance one of the greatest glories of the age!

The following extract from a letter of President Roberts will show the estimate which is placed upon this enterprise in Liberia. The letter is dated at Monrovia the 30th of Sept., 1850, and addressed to M. St. Clair Clarke, Esq., of this city.

"There is no question in my mind but that a line of steamships between the United States and this country would produce important results in favor of colonization, as well as the commercial interests both of the U. States and Liberia.

With such facilities as this scheme would afford colonization, emigration would be greatly augmented.—There are unquestionably hundreds, perhaps thousands, in the United States, who, for many years, have been violently opposed to the Colonization Society, and will not now, they say, have any thing to do with it, though their prejudices against Liberia have ceased, that would avail themselves of such a conveyance—cheap and quick—to emigrate to Liberia. The Society, also, would be able to increase the number of emigrants coming out under its aus-

Mr. Gurley's Report—Education.

pices, at the moderate rate of passage proposed, two hundred per cent.

The commercial advantages which will accrue to both countries, especially the United States, are important considerations. But I am needlessly taking up your time.— You have maturely considered all these things, and have arrived at just conclusions with respect to the future result. I sincerely pray that God may spare both your life and mine to see the consummation of this great work. I am exceedingly gratified at the favor the proposition has met with at Washington."

The Report made by the Rev. R. R. Gurley of his mission to Liberia, by authority of the United States Government, has just been published, and is an interesting and important document, full of information about Liberia, showing conclusively, the importance of more frequent intercourse between that country and this, and the desirableness of a recognition of the independence of Liberia by the United States Government.

The Liberia Packet has continued to make regular voyages to and from the coast of Africa, affording certain facilities of intercourse between the two countries, and proving a great convenience to this Society.

The interest felt in the cause of education in Liberia has continued to increase, and some important results have been produced. The Legislature of Massachusetts has incorporated the "Trustees of Dona-

tions for Education in Liberia." Their object is to raise funds and establish in Liberia one or more seminaries of learning of the first order. The necessity for such a movement is obvious, and its importance can scarcely be overestimated. Liberia has now a system of Common Schools, established by law. They, however, need a supply of well educated teachers. The existence of a College, complete in all its parts, and in successful operation, would supply teachers not only for the schools in Liberia, but also for the native tribes around, where they are so much needed. It would operate directly for the benefit of the Republic, while at the same time it would operate for the benefit of the entire African race, affording them facilities for improvement, such as they have never before enjoyed.

We therefore trust the enterprise will be liberally sustained.

The "Alexander High School" has gone into operation at Monrovia. It is accommodated with an iron building sent from this country, and is well supplied with books, maps and apparatus. This school is under the Board of Missions of the General Assembly, and is taught by the Rev. H. W. Ellis.

Another school of a high order is under the care and tuition of the Rev. B. V. R. James. Mr. Gurley speaks in very high praise of the usefulness of this school.

Purchase of Gallinas—The Contrast

Extensive purchases of territory have been made since the last annual Meeting. In his dispatch of 17th May, 1850, President Roberts says:

"We have at length succeeded in securing the famed Territory of Gallinas to this Government, including all the territories between Cape Mount and Shebar, excepting a small slip of about five miles of coast in the Killom country, which will soon fall into our hands. For these tracts we have incurred a large debt, and we confidently look to you to aid us in meeting these liabilities at maturity. Had I not deemed it absolutely important to secure the Gallinas to prevent the revival of the slave trade there, I would not have paid the price demanded. The purchase of Gallinas and the neighboring tracts will cost us about \$9,500.

The chiefs were aware of the objects of the purchase, and argued strenuously the sacrifice, as they consider it, they must make in abandoning for ever the slave trade, and demanded a large sum as an equivalent. In addition to the amount stated above, we have been obliged ourselves to appoint Commissioners immediately to settle the wars in the country, and open the trade in camwood, ivory, and palm oil, with the interior tribes; and also settle among them, as soon as convenient, persons capable of instructing them in the art of husbandry. This will also cost us a considerable sum."

How beautifully conspicuous does the influence of Liberia stand out here? Gallinas has been for years the principal slave depot on the western coast of Africa. It is now a part of the Republic of Liberia!

The traffic in slaves is abolished, and lawful Commerce is substituted! *Teachery* of the arts and sciences and all the means and appliances of civilization, are sought for by the natives and to be supplied by the Liberians.

Thus the Republic of Liberia is making an onward movement, sending forth the light of civilization and the institutions of Christianity amidst the benighted children of Africa, laying deep and broad the foundations of future usefulness; presenting to the colored people of this country the most encouraging prospects, and exhibiting to the world indubitable evidence of their capacity for self-government, and the accomplishment of untold good!

"In the fall of Gallinas and the annexation of its territory to the Republic of Liberia, we see the absolute extinction of the slave-trade from Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas. That the Liberian Government is able to prevent its re-establishment, now, in the day of her strength and independence, fostered by powerful nations, we have a sufficient guaranty by what she *has* done at Messurado, Bassa, and Trade Town, in the time of her infancy and weakness."

Let us for a moment contrast the scenes which are yet to be witnessed when schools and churches and dwellings shall mark the spot where once stood the barracoon of the slave trader, with what has been witnessed there for the last century! For the future prospect, imagination

may draw her most beautiful sketches, for the materials for the painting are all in readiness! To paint the *past* we are incompetent, for in this country there are no sights, there are no sounds, with which we are familiar, which will serve as even a back ground for the picture!

The following graphic sketch is from one who has been on the spot:

"This Gallinas, of all other places on the coast of Africa, with which we have been acquainted, has been the scene of the greatest horrors. What imagination can conceive the thousandth part of the misery that has been endured by human beings on this little cluster of bushy islands? Of the five or ten thousand, who are annually brought to this place, each and every one has to mourn a home made desolate, a family dismembered, the blood of kindred flowing. Of this number, how many sink in these wretched barracoons from distress of mind at their wretched condition, from disease and famine; how many are sacrificed in their hurried shipment by the ravenous sharks; how many sink under the most protracted agonies in that confinement between decks, the air of which is putridity itself; and, of the miserable survivors, the attenuated, excoriated wretches, who are still destined for the shambles, how few but would exclaim, 'Thrice and four times happy are those who sink under the knife of the midnight assassin, or were consumed in the conflagration of their palm-covered cottages?'

But Gallinas is destroyed; as a slave mart it has ceased to exist; from its marshy islets the fiat shall

no more go forth to spread fire and sword throughout a peaceful land; the marauding chief has bound his last victim; the haggard, Lazarus slave has riveted his last fetter; the shark at the bar mouth has fed on his last slave gang; and this land, heretofore detested and detestable, is henceforth to form a part of the free and independent Republic of Liberia."

During the past year the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society has published an interesting history of Liberia, under the title of the "New Republic." It is a duodecimo volume of 252 pages, and contains a clear and concise history of Liberia, from the time of the organization of the American Colonization Society to the year 1848, and showing manifestly the beneficial results of Colonization.

There has also been published a pamphlet, entitled "Sketches of Liberia," by J. W. Lugenbeel, M. D., for several years Colonial Physician and United States Agent for recaptured Africans in Liberia. These sketches are full of information respecting the soil, climate, productions, towns, settlements, rivers, diseases, and indeed everything about which any person could desire information of the most truthful, minute and impartial kind. The long residence of the author in Liberia, the great care with which he endeavored to make observations, and to acquire information from the most authentic sources, give a value

Future Testimony to the Republic.

and authority to these sketches seldom to be met with in books of the kind.

From the concluding paragraphs we make the following extracts, as they embody the results of the author's experience and convictions on the subject:

"In tracing the various events connected with the rise and progress of the Republic of Liberia, no unprejudiced individual can for a moment doubt that the smiles of heaven have rested upon it; and that the sheltering wings of a kind Providence have been spread over it for good—not only to the emigrants from this country, but to the brightened and degraded aborigines of Africa—a land which has so long been enveloped in the darkness of heathenism.—And, in view of the social and political position and relations of colored persons in the United States, contrasted with the position and relations of the free and independent citizens of that young Republic, it must be admitted by all candid persons, that the condition of those people in Liberia who are disposed to use the necessary appliances for making themselves truly independent, is vastly superior to that of free people of color in any part of this country.

In view of what has already been accomplished, and of the incalculable amount of good which may yet be accomplished through the instrumentality of the Colonization Society and of the Republic of Liberia, surely no true friend of the colored race can consistently oppose the operations of the former, or withhold the expression and exhibition of a sincere desire for the continued prosperity of the latter."

Testimony of the same kind we take from the closing paragraph of President Roberts' last message to the Legislature of Liberia, in which he says:

"Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Representatives. I close this communication under the full conviction that you will discharge the important trusts committed to you with firmness and fidelity. And that you will do all in your power to extend the benefits of civilization, by combining the development of political institutions with true social progress. In doing which you will not only fulfil a sacred duty of humanity, but also materially strengthen the basis in which modern civilization, family and property are founded. I know, gentlemen, that our position is still a delicate one, and that you are surrounded by many difficulties, yet we are relieved by many hopes. After that which confidence in Providence offers, the greatest is in virtue, love of country, and your wisdom, on which your fellow citizens have perfect confidence. I pray that you may be sustained in your deliberations by that wisdom which comes from above, and when you have finished your labors you can retire under the full conviction that you have conscientiously discharged your duties to the best of your ability."

We anticipate in the coming year a large increase of emigrants for Liberia. The causes are now in operation. The law by which every man aspires to a superior condition, sure and unalterable as the ebb and flow of the tides, will carry the African back to the land of his fathers.

The inducements to Emigration.

He is awake! Never will the slumber come over him again! He has found the place of his rest, the spot where he can erect an altar to his God unmolested and unafraid! An unseen hand is felt strongly leading him thither. Thousands have already made it their home! Larger thousands will soon follow. It is the land of the sun, the region of tropical bloom and beauty, of fragrant flowers and delicious fruits. All that is beautiful in nature—as well as all that is noble and sublime in their moral elevation, invite them thither! As parents and as children, Liberia is the place for them. If they desire to do good, or to get good, Liberia is the place for them. If they wish to elevate themselves individually, or to elevate their race with a power and grandeur unsurpassed, Liberia is the place for them! And the day will come when they will see and feel this! Clouds and darkness may now be round about their views. Their sensibilities may be very blunt and lifeless. But the time is coming when their heart shall be energized and brought as it were into contact with the great heart of Liberia, and feel its quick and life-giving pulsations! Then will they up and hie themselves away. The free people of color in the United States number upwards of half a million. Among them are many persons of education and intelligence, of sound sense and cor-

rect morals. It cannot be that such persons shall fail to perceive that emigration to Liberia presents the speediest and most perfect relief from their present disadvantageous position. Interest, pride, ambition, self-love, self-respect, benevolence, “faith, hope and charity,” all combine to lead them to Liberia, as the home for themselves and their children, and the field for the most perfect development of their powers, and the most extensive and intense usefulness.

Touching the operations of the year upon which we have just entered, it becomes us to remark, that the most energetic measures are needed to increase the funds of the Society and to enlarge its usefulness. The voice of God, speaking no less audibly than when it summoned the hosts of Israel to “go forward,” calls upon all to awake and with united energy carry forward this enterprise as the only redemptive influence for Africa, and an everlasting monument to the praise of our own country. The permanency and glory of our Union, intimately blended with the success of this cause, appeals to our statesmen in all their high places of honor and responsibility, to advocate every measure calculated to secure so desirable a result. We have it in our power to dispense the richest blessings to one quarter of the globe; to relieve

Conclusion of Report — Annual Meeting.

the miseries and exalt the character and destiny of the African race, and thereby build up our country in all that is grand and noble!

Delay will not diminish the evils which we are called upon to remedy; timidity will not remove the difficulties to be over-come, nor will procrastination lighten the expenditure demanded! The call is now made. The answer should at once be heard. The appeal is strong and touching. To adopt the language of another:

"We come to you, fellow citizens, with this enterprise—the noblest yet devised by man for the good of his fellow man—fraught with more precious hopes than any the world has seen since the *Mayflower* moored to the Rock of Plymouth. We come with it to you at your firesides, and in your fields—when you bow down morning and evening to offer up to Heaven your thanksgiving for the rich and abundant blessings with which He has crowned your lot—when your wife is at your side, your children at your feet, your hearth-stone bright with joy, and your bosom warm with freedom and with hope; in the midst of your own overflowing happiness, we plead with you for the homeless and exiled. We appeal to you as free-

men, to uphold a Republic—as Christians, to send the light of your Holy Religion to a heathen continent—as men, to contribute something to wipe out the darkest spot that stains the annals of human misery. You fed Ireland when she was hungry—you clothed her in her nakedness, yet it was not your hand that had oppressed her. You heard the cry of her destitution and want, and you flew to her relief. The same tyranny which, through centuries of suffering and wrong, brought such afflictions upon Ireland, robbed Africa of her sons, and sold them to your forefathers. You have broken the chains from their hands, but you have not, and you cannot, give them a home and freedom here! Dependent and helpless, they struggle in vain against their most dismal fate. From you alone, can they hope for relief. You hold in your hands a power beyond the power of Kings, and stronger than the cruel tyranny that has afflicted them. Blot out the crimes of others by your own full acts of mercy. Restore to Africa some portion of her lost family, and the blessing of a "nation scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down" shall rest upon your head, and recommend you to the common Father of the bond and the free, the oppressed and the happy."

Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.

COLONIZATION ROOMS.

Washington City, Jan. 21, 1851.

THE American Colonization Society met at 7 o'clock in the First Presbyterian Church.

The Hon. Henry Clay, President of the Society, took the chair.

The Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., of Newark, N. J., opened the meeting with prayer, after which, the Hon. Mr. CLAY delivered an appropriate address of three quarters of an hour's duration, which was listened to with profound attention by the

Proceedings at Annual Meeting—Resolutions adopted.

large and intelligent audience: among whom were the President of the United States, several members of his Cabinet, several foreign ministers, a number of Senators and Representatives of Congress, and other distinguished persons.

The Secretary, Rev. W. McLain, then read an abstract of the Annual Report of the Society; after which addresses were delivered by the Rev. ROBERT FULLER, D. D., of Baltimore, J. H. B. LATROBE, Esq., of Baltimore, and the Hon. FREDERICK P. STANTON, M. C., from Tennessee.

The Resolution from which the Rev. Dr. Fuller spoke, was as follows:—

Resolved, That while a review of the past may well cause the friends of the enterprise to thank God and take courage, the time has come when it becomes the Society to seek ampler resources, and invite more earnestly the attention of the whole country to colonization, and the blessings which must be secured by its successful prosecution.

That which formed the basis of the remarks of the Hon. Mr. Stanton, was as follows:—

Resolved, That the harmony of the States of this Union would be promoted by the voluntary emigration of the free blacks; and that it would be sound policy in the Government of the United States to adopt all efficient measures, within the range of its acknowledged powers, for the encouragement of African Colonization.

After the address had been deli-

vered, the following Resolutions were offered by the Hon. R. R. Reed, M. C., from Pennsylvania, and were adopted by the meeting:—

Resolved, That the Republic of Liberia, having assumed a place among the nations of the earth, and attained a power to give permanence and strength to her position, is entitled to be treated by older Nations as a Sovereign and Independent State.

That the Christian Republic on the Western Coast of Africa was founded by the forecast and philanthropy of citizens of every section of these United States; and her people have just claims upon the United States as a Nation, to sympathy in their hopes, and encouragement of their laudable efforts in the cause of universal civilization.

That the American Colonization Society, respectfully submits to the Government of the United States, the expediency and sound policy of acknowledging, by some public act, the Independence and national existence of the Republic of Liberia; and of establishing relations of amity and commerce with that Nation.

The Society then adjourned to meet at the Colonization Rooms tomorrow, the 22d instant, at 12 o'clock, M.

January 22d, 1851.

The American Colonization Society met at 12 o'clock, M., pursuant to adjournment.

Anson G. Phelps, Esq., being the oldest Vice President present, was, in the absence of the President, called to the chair.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

The minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society were read.

Hon. James Whitecomb, of Indiana, Dr. David M. Reese, of New York, and Rev. P. Slaughter, of Virginia, were appointed a Committee to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year: whereupon the following named persons were nominated and elected:—

PRESIDENT,

HON. HENRY CLAY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS,

1. Gen. John H. Clarke, of Va.
2. Daniel Webster, of Mass.
3. Charles P. Macon, of Florida.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.
5. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of N. Y.
6. Louis McLane, of Maryland.
7. Moses Allen, of New York.
8. Gen. Walter Jones, of Dist. of Col.
9. Joseph Gales, do.
10. Rt. Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia.
11. Rev. James O. Andrew, Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
12. William Maxwell, of Va.
13. Elisha Whittelsey, of Ohio.
14. Walter Lawrie, of New York.
15. Jacob Burnet, of Ohio.
16. Stephen Duggan, M. D., of Miss.
17. William C. Rice, of Va.
18. Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of Dist. of Col.
19. Rev. William Wilson, D. D., of Miss.
20. James Boorman, of New York.
21. Henry A. Foster, of do.
22. Robert Campbell, of Geo.
23. Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey.
24. James Garfield, of Virginia.
25. Rt. Hon. Lord Bexley, of England.
26. William Hall, of Delaware.

27. Rt. Rev. Bishop Otis, of Tenn.
28. Gerard Runkel, of England.
29. Rev. Charles Van Rensselaer, of New Jersey.
30. Thomas Hedgock, M. D., of England.
31. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Mass.
32. Thomas R. Howard, of R. I.
33. Thomas Mason, M. D., of Va.
34. Major Gen. Winfield Scott, U. S. A.,
35. Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., of N. J.,
36. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
37. James Ramey, of Miss.
38. Rev. G. W. Betts, D. D., of New York.
39. Elliott Cresson, of Penn.
40. Anson G. Phelps, of New York.
41. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., of Mass.
42. Rev. Beverly Wanch, Bishop of the M. E. Church.
43. Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. D., of S. C.
44. Moses Saepeard, of Maryland.
45. Bishop Melville, of Ohio.
46. Rev. Dr. Edgar, of Tenn.
47. Rev. P. Lindsey, D. D., of Tenn.
48. J. R. Underwood, of Ky.
49. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.
50. H. L. Lumpkin, of Georgia.
51. James Lenox, of New York.
52. Bishop Seale, of Tenn.
53. Prof. T. C. Upham, D. D., of Me.
54. Thomas Cerwin, of Ohio.
55. Thomas W. Williams, of Conn.
56. Simon Greenleaf, of Mass.
57. Rev. John Early, D. D., of Va.
58. Rev. Lovick Pierce, of Georgia.
59. R. J. Walker, of Mississippi.
60. Samuel Gurney, of England.
61. Charles McMicken, of Ohio.
62. John Bell, M. D., of Ohio.
63. Rev. Stephen Olin, D. D., of Conn.
64. Charles M. Conrad, Secretary of the Navy.
65. Rev. Robert Ryland, of Va.
66. Frederick P. Stanton, of Tenn.

After which the Society adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1852, at 7 o'clock P. M.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,

Washington, Jan. 21, 1851.

THE Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society met according to adjournment. The

meeting was called to order by the Rev. W. McLain, Secretary of the Society. On motion of Mr. McLain, Anson G. Phelps, Esq., was called to the chair, and the Rev.

Delegates from State Societies—Monument to Gov. Buchanan.

Joseph Tracy was chosen Secretary of the Board.

The following Delegates were reported as having been appointed by the several State Societies to represent them in this Board, viz:

Vermont Col. Soc.—Hon. Samuel S. Phelps,* Hon. James Meacham.

Mass. Col. Soc.—Rev. Joseph Tracy, B. C. Clarke, Esq.,* Charles Stearns, Esq., J. W. Edmunds, Esq.*

New York State Col. Soc.—Rev. J. B. Pinney, *Life Director*; A. G. Phelps, Esq., *Life Director*; G. P. Disosway, Esq., Hon. D. S. Gregory, D. M. Reese, M. D., Rev. Thos. De Witt, D. D.,* Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D.,* Francis Hall, Esq.*

New Jersey State Col. Soc.—Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., Reuben Van Felt, Esq., Rev. John Maclean, D. D.,* Rev. R. Davidson, D. D.

Penn. Col. Soc.—Hon. J. R. Ingersoll,* Hon. R. R. Reed.

Virginia State Col. Soc.—Rev. Philip Slaughter, P. V. Daniel, Jr., Esq.*

Louisiana State Col. Soc.—Hon. H. A. Bullard, Hon. C. M. Conrad,* W. S. Hodge, Esq.

Indiana State Col. Soc.—Hon. Jesse D. Bright,* Hon. James Whitcomb.

Rev. William McLain, *Life Director*.

Executive Committee Am. Col.

Soc.—M. St. Clair Clarke,* Harvey Lindsly, M. D.,* Elisha Whittlesey, J. H. Bradley,* A. O. Dayton,* J. S. Bacon, D. D., William Gunton.

The minutes of the last meeting were read by the Secretary of the Society.

On motion, the Chairman and Messrs. Whittlesey and Gregory, were appointed a Committee to wait on the President of the Society, and attend him to the place of meeting this evening.

An abstract of the Annual Report was read.

Messrs. Phelps and Van Felt were appointed a Committee to audit the Treasurer's accounts.

A statement of the doings of the Executive Committee to the Board of Directors was read, and several particulars mentioned in it were placed on the docket for the consideration of the Board.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

—
Wednesday, January 22d.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and accepted.

The Secretary of the Society read a letter from R. B. Davidson, Esq., of Philadelphia, concerning a monument to Gov. Buchanan, and stated that the Executive Committee had

* Not present.

The Town of Buchanan—Resolution

authorized him to subscribe \$100 toward the same; the money to be raised specially for the purpose. Whereupon, on motion of Dr. Reese, it was

Resolved, That this Board of Directors concur with the Executive Committee in appropriating one hundred dollars toward the erection of a monument over the grave of the lamented Gov. Buchanan; and that the object be commended for execution to the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, who have taken action thereon.

Resolved, That the new town to be settled near Grand Bassa Point be called *Buchanan*.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Pinney, the following resolution was adopted.

Resolved, That the whole amount of funds which may from any source accrue to the Treasury of the American Colonization Society from any State, shall be accredited to the State Society, as a basis for representation in the Board of Directors.

On motion of the Rev. J. B. Pinney, it was

Resolved, That for the purpose of securing entire harmony and co-operation between the State Societies and the Parent Society, all appeals, special or otherwise, for funds, which the Executive Committee may desire to make in any State, should first be communicated to the officers and proper agency of the State Society, and, if possible, made through them.

The Rev. Drs. Eddy and Davidson, and Mr. Disosway, were appointed a Committee to draft a minute in relation to the death of John McDonogh.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Davidson, the resolution concerning appeals within the bounds of State Societies, was reconsidered. The whole

subject was then referred to a special Committee, consisting of Messrs. Bacon, Sluichter, Stearns, Davidson, and Eddy, to report to-morrow morning.

The Committee on the publication of a newspaper, appointed last year, reported as follows:

The Committee appointed at the last Annual Meeting upon the suggested publication of a newspaper to advocate the interests of colonization beg leave respectfully to report:—

That they for some time endeavored to attend to the duties assigned them, and had entered into some arrangements for the publication of such a newspaper, when, in consequence of some untoward circumstances, they were induced to suspend further action, and refer the matters back to the Board at its meeting in January, 1851.

All which is respectfully submitted.

GEO. W. BETHUNE, *Ch'n.*
ANSON G. PHELPS.

January 16, 1851.

Whereupon, the following resolutions were offered by the Rev. Dr. Eddy:

Resolved, That the Report of the Committee on the establishment of a central organ, be recommitted to the same Committee, with the addition of Messrs.——

Resolved, That this Committee be empowered to correspond with the friends of colonization in the cities of Philadelphia and New York, and also in the State of New Jersey, and, if possible, to adopt some measures by which such organs may be established and maintained as may be demanded by the cause of colonization, through which information

Tribute of respect to the memory of John McDonogh—Officers.

may be diffused through the community.

Resolved, That in the view of this Board, it is important that the organs of the colonization cause should be so conducted as to secure unity of action in its several auxiliaries and agents, and as far as possible to lessen the expense of diffusing information through the country.

On motion of Rev. Mr. Pinney, the resolutions were laid on the table.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock, A. M., to-morrow.

—
Thursday, January 23.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and accepted.

The Committee appointed to prepare a minute in relation to the late John McDonogh, submitted the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted:—

The Directors of the American Colonization Society have heard with great pleasure and gratitude, that Twenty-five Thousand Dollars annually have been bequeathed to the American Colonization Society by the late Mr. McDonogh of Louisiana.

In the character of the late Mr. McDonogh, this Board recognize a high and honorable attestation of the merits and claims of the cause of African Colonization, by which it is commended to the interest and patronage of the friends of the African race throughout this country. And the enlarged beneficence of the bequest of Mr. McDonogh entitles the liberal benefactor to our grateful remembrance:

Therefore, *Resolved*, That this Board cause to be entered on their minutes, their acknowledgment of profound respect for the memory of the late Mr. McDonogh, and a due

sense of their obligations to him for the bequest which he has made to the American Colonization Society, expressive alike of his deep interest in the welfare of the African race, and confidence in the wisdom and practicability of the scheme and plans of the American Colonization Society.

The Committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's account presented a report, which was accepted, and is on file, (for which see page 33.)

On motion, it was resolved, that the chairman appoint a Committee of three to nominate officers for the ensuing year: Messrs. Stearns, Slaughter, and Davidson, were appointed. The Committee reported as follows:—

Secretary and Treasurer, Rev. William McLain.

Recording Secretary, Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel.

Executive Committee, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Harvey Lindsly, M. D., Elisha Whittlesey, Joseph H. Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, D. D., William Gunton.

The Report was accepted, and the gentlemen named were severally elected.

On motion, it was resolved, that the members present be a Committee to call on the Secretary of State, and present to him the Resolutions of the Society, in favor of recognizing the Independence of the Republic of Liberia. (For which Resolutions see page 27.)

The following report was submitted, and after discussion, adopted:

The Committee to whom was referred the Resolution offered by Rev. Mr. Pinney, on the subject of appeals made for funds, beg leave to report the following preamble and resolutions, for the consideration of the Board:

Whereas, the interests of the colo-

might in cause require that there should be uniformity in its system of operations, and harmony of action and co-operation among the several Societies and agencies engaged in the work: and whereas, it seems necessary, in order to secure this end that there should be a more full and perfect understanding in regard to the relations between the American Colonization Society and its several auxiliaries, and of the principles upon which their respective operations are to be conducted.

Therefore, *Resolved*, That all appeals for funds, which the Executive Committee of the Parent Society may desire to make in any State where there is an Auxiliary Society in active operation, should first be communicated to the proper agency of the State Society, and should in all cases be made through them, and that all collections so made should be passed to the credit of said Society on the books of the Executive Committee.

Resolved, That the usefulness and efficiency of the American Colonization Society require the active aid and co-operation of its several Auxiliaries, and in order to this, it is desired and expected that each Auxiliary Society, after defraying its own domestic expenses, will pay over the balance of its funds, if any, to the Treasury of the American Society.

Resolved, That in the view of this Board, it is essential to that unity of plan and harmony of action, which are requisite in carrying forward successfully the work of colonization, that the several Auxiliary Societies, in their arrangements for sending out emigrants, and in all their business transactions with the Republic of Liberia, should act through, or in co-operation with, the Execu-

tive Committee of the Parent Society.

Resolved, further, That in the view of this Board, a compliance with the preceding resolution, in respect to sending out and settling emigrants, is rendered indispensable by the stipulations which exist between the Republic and the American Colonization Society in regard to the occupation of the lands, and in regard to commercial regulations. It is necessary also, in order to secure that uniformity in the provisions made for emigrants, and that disposition of them in the Territory, which their own interests and the welfare of the colonists alike demand.

Resolved, That the Executive Committee of the Society be directed to send a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions to the several Auxiliary Societies.

On motion, it was

Resolved, That the respective State Colonization Societies be earnestly requested to report to the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, in the month of December annually, a statement of their proceedings during the year.

Resolved, That to secure the prompt observance of the above resolutions, the Secretary of the Society, in the month of November annually, address each of the State Societies, requesting that said proceedings be reported.

The minutes were read and approved. After which it was Resolved that the Board of Directors now adjourn, to meet on the third Tuesday in January, 1852, at 12 o'clock, M.

The meeting was closed with prayer, by the Rev. R. R. Gurley.

ANSON G. PHELPS, *Ch'n.*
JOSEPH TRACY, *Secretary.*

Dr. **Receipts and Expenditures of the American Colonization Society,** **Cr.**

From 1st January, 1850, to 1st January, 1851.

To Balances due the Society per last report, -			By Balances due by the Society per last report, -		
Receipts from the following sources, to wit:			Payments for the following objects, to wit:		
Donations, -	-	-	Colonial Store, -	-	-
Colonial Store, -	-	-	Salaries of Physicians, Medicines, &c., -	-	-
Colony of Liberia, -	-	-	Passage of Emigrants, Charters of Vessels, provisions, &c., -	-	-
Legacies, -	-	-	Paper for the African Repository and printing, (including an old balance,) -	-	-
Emigrants, -	-	-	Paper for the Annual Report, Sketches of Liberia, travelling expenses on office business, &c., -	-	-
African Repository, -	-	-	Purchase of Territory, -	-	-
Contingent, -	-	-	Compensation to Agents, and other expenses in collecting funds, -	-	-
Purchase of Territory, -	-	-	Salaries of the Secretary and clerk of the Am. Col. Soc., rent of office, &c., -	-	-
Profit and Loss, -	-	-	Profit and Loss, -	-	-
Total Receipts, -	-	-	Total Expenditures, -	-	-
Balances due by the Society, -	-	-	Balances due the Society, -	-	-
			Cash on hand, -	-	-

COLONIZATION ROOMS, *Washington City, January 1st, 1851.*

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.

NOAH FLETCHER, *Back-Keeper.*
ANSON G. PHELPS, *Auditors.*
REUBEN VAN PELT, }

Address by the Hon. H. Clay.

Speech of the Hon. H. Clay.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY: I have been told it is expected on this occasion that I should say a few words. Few they must be.

This I think is the 24th year of our existence as a society, either in an unincorporated form or incorporated. Of all those who assembled here some 34 years ago to lay its foundations, I believe I am the sole, or almost the sole survivor; and I have reason to be thankful, as I am, to God, for sparing me so long, and for enabling me to witness the progress and the success of the Society up to this time.

I have so often addressed it or other public assemblages, upon the subject which engages the attention of this Society, that really I should have but little to say, if passing events, and especially those which have occurred during the year which has now just closed, did not suggest some upon which I can say a few words.

And in the first place, gentlemen of the Society, allow me to congratulate you upon the whole current of events of the past year, in reference to the Society. It is not my purpose to anticipate what will be disclosed by the reading of the annual report by the secretary; but I may be allowed to say that all the operations of the Society during the past year have been unusually successful and have been greatly blessed. The number of emigrants exported to Africa has been greater than any preceding year, if my information be correct. The amount of money received by the voluntary contributions of those who favor the Society and its objects, has been greater than in any preceding year, and I think I do not mistake the signs of the times when I say that a degree of public favor has been excited in

favor of the Society in all parts of the Union to an extent much greater than we have heretofore witnessed. Indeed, gentlemen, some of the very causes which have led to great agitation, to uncommon excitement, and to serious apprehension in respect to the institutions of our country,—those very causes themselves, a happy termination of which I hope has taken place—have conduced to the advantage of the Society; for if I am not mistaken, that portion of the general community from which we experienced the greatest opposition to the proceedings and success of this Society,—I mean the abolitionists of the North—or at least all the moderate and rational portion of them, have become satisfied that to agitate the subject of slavery with a view to the extinction of slavery within the bosoms of the various States in which it is tolerated and exists by law, is vain, fruitless, and a failed effort—that the further agitation of the subject neither benefits those interests intended to be promoted, nor benefits the country at large; that it is a complete failure, and that their exertions hereafter, if governed by motives of humanity and benevolence, should be directed, not to an unattainable object, the extinction of slavery within the States, but to the great purpose of colonization which in its ultimate consequences will lead to the final separation of the two classes of persons that now inhabit this country. (Applause.)

There are circumstances of interest, and of great interest to the Society which have transpired in the course of the past year. The first of which that I would advert to, is the proposition submitted to the House of Representatives during the last

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session and renewed at this, to establish under the sanction and auspices of the Government a line of steam packets, which plying regularly between the United States and Africa and other points, shall furnish the means of transporting emigrants from this continent to Africa. It is not merely the submission of such a proposition, but it is the degree of countenance and support which I think I am authorized to say it will receive, whether it shall fail or pass during the present session. If it fail I shall never despair; for, gentlemen, "despair" is a word not in the vocabulary of the Colonization Society. (Applause). We resort to no formidable, violent measures, in the pursuit of our object. Mild, temperate, moderate, exciting no apprehensions, it appeals to Heaven for the continuation of that countenance and support which it has hitherto deigned to extend to us.—These are our principles, and with these and perseverance, success in my opinion is beyond all human doubt. The proposition for a line of steamers, gentlemen, has been renewed, and I am happy to say what is generally known, at least to the community of Washington, that it is in the hands of a gentleman from one of the slave-holding States himself, (Hon. F. P. Stanton, of Tennessee), who has pursued it with an earnestness, and a zeal, and a determination which entitle him to success—which entitle him at least to the thanks of his country for the exertions which he has made. (Applause).

Colonization is a common object for the common benefit of the whole country. It has nothing sectional in it, nothing selfish in its aims. It does not seek to disturb or convulse society. It does not deal with property or the rights of property.

It proposes only to concern itself with those who being already free, have the right to determine for themselves whether they will or will not go to the shores of Africa where they can enjoy social, political, and moral advantages which they never can enjoy in this country. Having a common object for the common benefit, it ought to be prosecuted by the common means of all those who are to be beneficiaries of Colonization; and I believe it will be found, though this is not the occasion for the discussion of such a question, that looking into the power of the Government either directly or indirectly, the Constitution of the United States grants ample authority for the performance of this common duty for the common benefit of the country, (applause.) I congratulate you, gentlemen, upon the presentation of such a proposition, and I hope that now or at some future and not distant session, I shall be able, if alive, to congratulate you upon the success of the proposition.

Other circumstances have occurred during the progress of the past year which deserve a passing notice, and amongst them, and I may say it is not the least important, is that, under the authority and instruction of Government a competent individual (the Rev. R. R. Gurley) was sent to Africa for the purpose of collecting statistical and other information connected with the interests of the Society—a man well known to us, faithful to the cause, zealous, able and indefatigable in its support. After going to Africa and remaining there for several months he returned, and the result of his labors and the amount of information which he collected during his absence from this country is contained in a volume which has been printed under the authority of the Senate of the United States,

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and which deserves general diffusion. The result of it is that nothing but hope and encouragement are held out as to the prospects of the Republic of Liberia, and the other colonies on that coast. I trust that the widest diffusion will be given to the circulation of that work; for wherever it is read, I am persuaded that the conviction will be shared in by all, that colonization is not an idle, visionary, and impracticable scheme, but one full of encouragement, of benefit, and of hope. (Applause.)

Another circumstance deserves a moment's notice, and it will I trust command the very particular attention of the Board of Managers. I allude to the death of an individual of a vast estate at New Orleans, and the bequest to the Society of \$25,000 per annum during a period of 40 years—the late Mr. McDonogh of that city, who was personally known to me. We have seen in the newspapers evidence of an attempt on the part of those who are interested in the destruction of that will, to destroy it on the ground of its legal invalidity. I have not examined the subject with that care which would enable me to pronounce an opinion professionally on the question; but I have looked a little into it, and have talked with some who are more familiar with the subject than I am, and the result of my reflection is, that whatever may be the fate of other parts of that will of Mr. McDonogh, this part, which contains a bequest to this Society, will be sustained and upheld by the courts of this country; and if so it will add vastly to the amount of means which can be employed by the Society in the prosecution of its great objects.

Gentlemen, I will not detain you longer upon the subject of spe-

cial or particular circumstances or occurrences during the past year. But you will allow me before I sit down, to advert for a moment or two to the great object which engages our thoughts and our anxieties. I have said, and said recently upon another occasion, what I sincerely believe, that of all the projects of the existing age, the scheme of Colonization of the African race upon the shores of Africa is the greatest. In saying this, gentlemen, I did not look at its present condition. I did not look at what it may be ten, fifteen, or twenty years hence; but I endeavored to throw myself in advance and to look at what I believe it will be some fifty or one hundred years hence—what it will be when the continent of America shall have discharged itself mainly of the greatest portion of the African race, and shall have returned them back to the continent of Africa, the original home of their ancestors, and shall have rewarded Africa for the injuries which her sons have suffered, by sending back to their original country a race of men endowed with all the attributes of civilization, of christianity, of arts, of all the benefits in fact which belong to our own race. In making this statement, allow me in order to prevent any misconception or misrepresentation of it, to state what I mean more especially. This Society has constantly protested, from its origin down to the present time, that we have not, do not, and never will interfere upon the subject of slavery as it exists in the several States. It is no part of our purpose or office to do that. But we know that the number of free people of color now in the United States, amount in all probability to no less than about half a million, and that they are annually increasing both by na-

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tural causes and by voluntary emancipation on the part of the owner of slaves. We know that the amount will continue to augment from this time forward unless it is lessened by sending to Africa a portion of this race. But this is not all I mean. I believe, and I have as much confidence in the belief as I have in my own existence, that the day will come—distant, very far distant, perhaps, from the present time—but that the day will come when by voluntary emancipation and by the acts of individuals and of the States themselves, without any usurpation of power on the part of the General Government, there will be an end of slavery. Slavery may find its termination in different modes. It may by law. It may by the sword. It may by the operation of natural causes, and it is the operation of natural causes to which I look for its ultimate extinction. As to the sword, nobody I trust would think of the employment of that to put an end to slavery. And as to law, I believe I have had some experience on that subject in the State to which I belong. The question was very much agitated there during the year before last, and I am very much reconciled to the decision of my State although it was contrary to my wishes; in that decision however I acquiesce, for I believe that no safe mode of gradual emancipation by the operation of law can terminate in any one of the States the existence of slavery much, if any sooner than it will be terminated by the operation of natural causes. But I may be asked what is meant by the operation of natural causes. I mean this. Upon one occasion, some twenty years ago, I went more at large than I feel now at liberty to do, into this subject; I went into the *modus operandi* of these natural

causes by which in a long time, I am of opinion, there will be an extinction of slavery. There will be an extinction of slavery whenever the density of the population in the United States shall be so great that free labor can be procured by those who want the command of labor, at a cheaper rate and under less onerous conditions than slave labor can be commanded. Although I cannot fix the time when this will occur, I can state the conditions and circumstances under which, when it does occur, there will be a voluntary manumission of slaves. It is not to be by any enforced usurpation or legal action of the General, or any other government at all, but by the voluntary consent of the States and individuals of the States which are alone interested in the subject of slavery, and which have exclusively the right to determine when and how it shall cease to exist. Whenever then you can show to me—and that time will come—that our population shall be three or four times as great as it is, and that will not be a very long time, when we measure time not by the duration of individuals or particular lives of persons, but by the period of national existence—whenever the time comes, as it will come, that our population shall be three or four times as great as at present, that the prices of labor, the wages of manual labor, shall be so reduced that it will be too burdensome on the part of the owners of slaves to raise them for the sake of the labor they perform, whenever it becomes the interest of the slave States and the slaveholders to resort to another kind of labor than that which is furnished by slaves—whenever that epoch comes there will be a termination of slavery. (Applause.) Now, gentlemen, I am not about, as I said before, to

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specify the time that this is going to happen. I cannot do it; but I would repress if I could the impatience of those who are unwilling to wait the slow operation of the means and instrumentalities which God and nature furnish in order to accomplish the great purposes of His Wisdom. (Applause.) I would ask them to repress their impatience, to have more dependance upon the wisdom and providence of God than upon their own limited passions and circumscribed reason. (Applause.) What, in a national point of view, is a century to a nation? Nothing. It took two centuries and more to bring from the shores of Africa her sons now existing in a state of slavery in the United States. It may take two centuries, more or less, to transport their descendants to such an extent as no longer to create any solicitude or anxiety about the few that may linger and remain behind. It may take some two centuries to carry them back; and what, I repeat again, is this in the great workings of national existence and the administration of the affairs of this world by the Providence that controls, directs, and governs them? (Applause.) Gentlemen, I have thought and I have said, that if there ever were a scheme presented to the consideration and acceptance of men which in all its parts, when analyzed and reduced to all its elements, presents nothing but commendation, it is the scheme of African Colonization. (Applause.) Let us look at it for a moment in rapid detail. In the first place, with respect to the free people of color in the United States. Do you not all know—I wish with respect to these poor creatures to say nothing to wound their feelings, nothing which is not warranted by truth

and experience, and sad and daily observation, for it is not their fault, that they are a debased and degraded set. It is not their fault that they are more addicted to crime, and vice, and dissolute manners than any other portion of the people of the United States. It is the inevitable result of the law of their condition. The whites themselves, if placed in the condition of the free people of color in the United States would like them be addicted to vice, and would be exposed to the perpetration of crime in the same way that they are. It is inevitable, I repeat it, from their condition. Look abroad. Look at the annals of our criminal jurisprudence in this country, and in this very city. Look at the daily reports of trials before our Criminal Courts, and who are the subjects of them? Why, a vast majority are free people of color, although the free people of color in comparison to the total aggregate of the whites in this city, are only about one-fourth. Look abroad at the penitentiaries and at the criminal jurisprudence throughout the whole country, and you will find that the proportion, of those who commit crimes and are sent to the penitentiary, of people of color, is infinitely greater than those of any other of the race that compose the aggregate of our population. If this then be, as I have stated, the result of their moral, political, and social condition in the United States, will they not be benefited by going to a country where they will be no longer subjected to the afflicting causes of vice and dissipation? Will they not be benefited by going to Africa? Why, gentlemen, it is no longer a question to be solved. The fact speaks out for itself. There already exists a community of blacks carrying on a Government establishing schools,

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erecting churches, making laws, promulgating State papers, and in all these respects they will vie and advantageously compare with any one of the States of this Union.—As it respects the free people of color, therefore, nothing but good, and unmixed good, can result from their separation from a community with which, in spite of all the philosophers in Europe or America, from the nature of our feelings and prejudices if you please, they never can be incorporated, and stand upon an equal platform. I do not believe it was ever intended that they should be. If we are told in respect to one of the most intimate and important relations in human life, the relation of marriage,—and it is always pronounced on the performance of that ceremony—that those whom God has united let no man dare put asunder, I think I may with equal propriety say “let those whom God has kept asunder by their physical condition, by their constitution, by their intellects, by their nature, by circumstances upon which it would not be fitting for me to dwell in this place, not be attempted to be united by any presumptuous human power.” (Applause).

They, as I have said, then will be benefitted; and who else? Will not the white laborers of the North be benefitted, essentially benefitted, if the black portion of the laboring community is sent to Africa and they are relieved from all competition with them? Go to the cities, and in all of them you will see the struggles which exist there between white and black labor. Even in labor itself there is an indisposition on the part of the white man to mix and mingle with the black; and you will see whether driving a dray or performing any of the laborious offices of society in large cities, the

black man is trodden down to a certain extent, and kept in subjection by the superior power of the white man. The white man of the North will be benefitted. The white man of the South will be benefitted.—The slaves of the South will be benefitted. We all know, who know anything of slavery, what corrupting influences are exercised over the slave population of the South, by the neighborhood and intercourse which have taken place between them and the free people of color. They are led off, seduced away, intoxicating liquors are sold them, and they are induced to commit acts of petty larceny against their masters. Indeed every species of irregularity results from the intercourse between the more dissolute portion of the free people of color and the slaves in the slaveholding States. The white man of the North, the white man of the South, the slaves of the South, all, all would be benefitted by that separation which is proposed ultimately to be effected by the Colonization Society. And, gentlemen, if we quit our own coast and go to that of Africa, how much is there to animate the Christian bosom and to encourage us in the prosecution of the great scheme in which we are engaged. There is a whole continent with its millions of inhabitants in a state of utter barbarism. The free people of color then who shall be sent from this country to Africa, will in the end, not in two or three years, not perhaps in a century or two, but ultimately,—finally, as surely as civilization and Christianity are destined to triumph over barbarism and idolatry, redeem her from the misfortunes under which she labors. (Applause.)

But it is not only civilization and Religion, Commerce too, which is at the same time both cause and

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effect in the great work of the civilization of the human race, will be vastly benefitted by the intercourse which will arise between this continent and other portions of the globe, with Africa; especially in articles which are becoming scarce in other quarters. Those who have looked at the power of production must have perceived, that there is just cause to apprehend that at no distant day, without some new sources of supply of the article of coffee, independent of other articles produced in Africa, there will be a diminution of supply, and the consequence will be either that consumption must cease or be carried on at a vast expense. But I have drank of the coffee produced in Africa. I have also drank of that from the most celebrated countries, Java, Mocha, Rio Janeiro, and I declare to you that according to my poor taste, African coffee, raised in Liberia, is I think equal to any raised in Java, or Mocha. I think it is the best in the world, except that produced in Java and Mocha.

Commerce then will be benefitted, for commerce will be increased not in that article alone but in a great variety of articles. I understand indeed that it is already augmented to a very great extent within the course of a few years. I have been informed that some of those who were engaged in the commerce of Africa are very unwilling to disclose the extent of it and the profits which are made in the prosecution of commercial enterprises with that country. If then all portions of our population—if all the interests which must engage the human heart and animate us to exertion, are to be benefitted by the prosecution of the scheme of colonization, tell me, tell me you mad and ultra abolitionists who have been opposing the scheme,

what interests, what portion of the population of this country will be injured by the prosecution of the scheme of Colonization? (Applause.)

Gentlemen, we are reproached sometimes for having done so little during the thirty years of our operations, for though the Society has existed for some 34 years it is only about thirty years since the first colonists were sent over. Now so far from being reproachable for that, or seeing anything in that to discourage or to dissuade us from the prosecution of the object, it appears to me to be one of the most fortunate circumstances attending it. If we had thrown some fifteen or twenty thousand a year of free people of color upon the coast of Africa, it would have been impossible to provide suitably for them, and they would have perished by famine. They would have exhibited scenes of disorder and confusion which perhaps might have invoked the repressing power of some nations of Europe. But by slow, gradual, and cautious means, feeling our way as we went, taking a firm foundation, doing nothing precipitate, carrying out persons of good character, making establishments for them, laying the foundations for future and accelerated emigration to that country, we have done precisely what we ought to have done if we had had the command of millions of money and hundreds of thousands of tons to transport emigrants to the coast of Africa. But the time has now arrived when some considerable acceleration may be given to the transporting of emigrants from the United States to Africa.

A friend in my eye, who is better informed upon the subject than myself or any other person, has told me that if there were adequate means

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in money and tonnage to transport to Africa all who are willing to go, he would stake his existence upon the fact that ten thousand could be induced to go from this country during the current year. I am not prepared to say that that number would not be greater than it would be expedient to send this year if we had the means; but we must increase the number considerably and go on from year to year increasing the number in proportion as subsistence is raised in Africa, and we have the means of rendering comfortable the emigrants during the first few years after their arrival there. That is the course which things ought to take. In the mean time, if Government shall think proper, through the means of steam packets, or the employment of the Navy, to assist in that article which is the most difficult for the Society to command, the transportation of emigrants to that country, it would be of vast importance to the institution. Let us go on, increase the colonists, multiply the means to sustain them, and after some years, I will not say how long, the colonists will have so increased, commerce will have so augmented, that by the mere commercial marine which will be playing between the shores of that continent and this, vast numbers will be carried out at an expense infinitely less than that hitherto incurred.

Gentlemen of the Society, I have been hitherto considering this institution, in respect to the great object which led to its formation; but I should not have performed my whole duty in the brief address which I propose to make to you on the present occasion, if I limited my observations to that single point. There is another great object connected with Colonization, and only less im-

portant than that, which is to be achieved by the successful colonization of the Western Coast of Africa. I allude to the suppression of the slave trade. (Applause.) Upon that subject I believe all hearts are united—not only all American hearts, but all the hearts of Christendom are united on the propriety of suppressing that odious traffic in slaves with Africa. What is the best means of accomplishing that object? It has been a *desideratum* amongst the statesmen of Europe as well as with some statesmen of our own country. They thought that the best mode of suppressing the slave trade, was by keeping up constantly squadrons on the coast of Africa, to prevent the egress of slaves from that continent to be brought over to any portion of this. That has been in operation now for a number of years. By our treaty with Lord Ashburton—the treaty of Washington I think it is called—we undertook to provide a squadron of some 80 guns, which should assist in the accomplishment of the object, the suppression of the slave trade. It was to endure five years, at the end of which time either of the two contracting parties was left at liberty to put an end to the continuance of the squadron on that coast. But it has so happened, that in spite of all the exertions of the French, and English, and American squadrons upon the coast of Africa, the slave trade has been prosecuted to an extent perhaps not less than prior to any repressing efforts on the part of the three great Powers. A document was laid before us the other day in the Senate of the United States, which shows that in four years 173,000 slaves were carried to the single province of Rio Janeiro, without taking into account the number which may have been carried to the other provinces of the Brazi-

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han Empire, and without any account of the number, which we know, from year to year, have been carried to the Island of Cuba. I believe the Emperor of Brazil has recently entered into some diplomatic arrangements with Great Britain, by which he consents to put a termination to the slave trade—but so had Spain done, yet for years after it was to have terminated, according to the treaty between Great Britain and Spain, it was prosecuted with undiminished vigor in the Island of Cuba. In the first place, the real or the imaginary interests of the Brazilians prompt them to desire the introduction of slaves. I do not know exactly what slaves cost upon the coast of Africa, perhaps some \$8 or \$10 a piece, and in Brazil they cost some hundreds of dollars. A friend the other day said to me, "Why, Mr. Clay, if horses in Virginia were at \$5 a piece, and in New York a hundred dollars, do you think it would be practicable to employ any means whatever to prevent horses from Virginia going to New York?" And if slaves are worth only perhaps one twentieth or one thirtieth part on the coast of Africa of what they are in the Brazils, if there is a disposition to tolerate the slave trade, notwithstanding any treaty stipulation in which, in the face of Christendom, the Emperor of Brazil may feel himself constrained to enter, why, gentlemen of the Society, it will be impossible to suppress it by all the means of any squadrons that may be employed upon the coast. But we have solved the great and interesting question as to the mode in which the slave trade ought to be suppressed. We have shown the most effectual and complete method by which there can be an end put to that abominable traffic, and that is

by Colonization. (Applause.) Three hundred and fifty miles of the Western Coast of Africa are now occupied by colonists sent out from this country, and for the entire extent of that coast there is not a single slave *depot*, not a solitary slave ever exported from any part of that three hundred and fifty miles to any portion of the world whatever; and all this is the result of the labors of the friends of this Society. (Applause.) And any man who will reflect will see that if there is a coast inhabited all along by persons interested in the suppression of the trade—by persons who have sympathy with the race, and who themselves have a knowledge of the afflictions which that race must suffer if carried into South America and sold into slavery, who, prompted by their own interests, are disposed to put an end to the slave trade—if they occupy the margin of the coast, the outlets of the coast, if they hold the door through which, if any slave comes out of Africa he must pass, is it possible for him to go away from Africa to America? Colonization, then, is the only certain, sure, and effectual remedy for the suppression of the slave trade; and if we could prevail—I wish Her Majesty was present, as I find we are honored on this occasion with the presence of the President of the United States, (applause,) and I could address her and him, and persuade them to employ the two or three millions which I suppose are expended per annum in the attempt to suppress the slave trade by the three Powers,—if I could persuade Her Majesty and the Chief Magistrate of our glorious Republic (applause) to lessen the expense of keeping up those squadrons, and divert a portion of the money employed in maintaining them to the prosecution of the business of Colo-

Address by the Rev. Dr. Fuller.

nization, of extending settlements till the whole Western Coast of Africa was occupied by one continuous, uninterrupted line of colonies, there would be a vast saving of money, and what perhaps is not less important, a vast saving of human life. We all know the dangers of that inhospitable coast,—inhospitable, understand me, not in respect to the black race, for our colonists there have suffered less than the colonists of Jamestown and Plymouth Rock suffered during the first thirty years of their existence—but inhospitable to the white man's constitution, it being almost a grave to him. I would not withdraw, but diminish the squadrons, and appropriate the amount thus saved by the diminution to the prosecution of the scheme of Colonization. And if that could be done, as soon as the whole Western Coast of Africa should be lined with colonies, all mankind would exult in that

glorious termination they have all been sighing for and anxious to witness, and the complete suppression of that most odious of all human traffic. (Great applause.)

Gentlemen, I do not know how I have been drawn to say so much as I have done. It has been without any *malice prepense*, I assure you, for I came here not very well, intending but to say a few words. I feel very conscious that I have trespassed too much upon your time, and have prevented you hearing read, what the Secretary will now proceed to do, the report of the proceedings of the Society during the last year.

The honorable gentleman resumed his seat amidst great applause.

The Secretary then read an abstract of the Annual Report of the Society.

Speech of the Rev. Dr. Fuller.

Mr. President and gentlemen, an humble pastor, occupied with the spiritual duties of my ministry in the city of Baltimore, I have hitherto declined all invitations to visit other cities for the purpose of addressing public bodies. As I am not a member of any Colonization Society, I was somewhat surprised that your Board sent me a kind invitation to meet with you to-night. I felt and appreciated the honor; but I felt much more. I felt it to be a call from God to enlist my poor efforts at once in behalf of the cause of colonization—the dignity and gran-

deur, nay I will say the absolute necessity of which ought to be felt by every citizen in this republic. I ask permission then of you, sir, and of my fellow citizens, to express myself to-night with the utmost freedom, as I utter only my individual sentiments and speak for no society* but for colonization at large.

THE PRESIDENT, (Mr. Clay,) Proceed, sir.

Dr. Fuller: There are three of us announced to address this meeting. We thank you, Mr. President, in common with our fellow-citizens here assembled, for your able and

*The sentiment here uttered by the Speaker is well understood. The Society is not to be held responsible for the sentiments uttered by any individual Speaker. Because a gentleman speaks at its Anniversary, is not a sufficient reason why the Society should endorse all his sentiments.

The principles, objects and aims of the Society are set forth in its Constitution.—For them it is responsible—but not for what any individual, north or south, may either speak or write.

Address by the Rev. Dr. Puffer.

eloquent address this evening. While it was being delivered, I said to Brother Latrobe "you might as well put your speech into your pocket." As Mr. Stanton has the House of Representatives, I am sure he will address that body. As this is my only opportunity, I hope I may be allowed to express myself freely.

Pardon me, sir, while I mention a little anecdote. Dr. Barrow was the most able and eloquent man in England in the time of Charles First.—That monarch once said "Barrow is not a fair man; he never leaves anything for any body to say after him." What must we feel, then, when we have not Dr. Barrow, but a gentleman of whom I may say he has not only touched every subject, but, *nihil quod tetigit non ornavit*—he never touches anything without embellishing it with his eloquence? (Applause.)

Sir, I am a Southern man, and surely this enterprise ought to be as popular in every Southern State as it is in Virginia, and Maryland, and Tennessee and Georgia. Its object is the retransmission to Africa of free colored persons with their own consent. To this article of its constitution the Society has strictly confined itself. Indeed it is absurd to suppose that it could violate that article. Why should any Southern man object to it? And is it not the strangest thing that there should be found men at the North, calling themselves the friends of the black man, and yet resisting and calumniating such an institution?

Gentlemen, patriotism was once a word of high and holy import. In the ancient states of Greece it was a sort of religion, to which was subordinated every other relation—that of parent, husband, child. It was formerly a term of sublime emphasis. Would to God it had the same

high and holy meaning now—it would enlist multitudes in your noble cause. But Jesus Christ has taught us a higher duty than even that which a patriot owes to his country. It is the duty we owe to man as man. Before his time patriotism was the highest virtue. He taught man philanthropy. It is in proportion as we catch His spirit, and embody it in our benevolence, that we shall secure the favor of Him who has all power in Heaven and on earth to prosper or defeat our enterprises. It is therefore to the Christian philanthropist that colonization ought to be a subject of the profoundest interest.

I wish to glance at this matter for a moment with reference to the colored population in this country, who have been born free. Now I ask any man what can be done for them and with them to compare with the change proposed by this enterprise? If we regard only what is physical, how desirable is such a change? The climate of Africa is much more congenial to these people than that of the Northern States. Moreover, what are their prospects there? Year after year and wave after wave is bringing to "our shores thousands of hardy white men, who are preferred to the African men—accustomed to an indefatigableness of toil, a severity of diet, and a thrift and parsimony which the negro either will not or cannot endure.—And no man can visit the Northern States, after an absence of ten years, without being struck with this fact, that the Irishman and the German, either has superseded or is superseding the free colored man in those pursuits by which the laboring classes procure a livelihood. But to me, I confess, the mere physical disadvantages of any situation are little compared with the moral

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evils. And in this view what a blessed change would this be to the African? A land of promise would be opened to him, and not a land wrested from strangers, but the very country assigned to him by his Maker. Fanatics may rave and madden around the land and expectorate their rhapsodies about color being no crime; nobody says it is a crime; but it does create a caste, the barriers of which can never be broken down. The free colored man may be rich, he may be upright, he may educate his family, nay he may have a vote, but he never can rise to social equality with the white man. He and his posterity will be, and they will always feel themselves to be, a degraded race. And now who need be told of the sad moral consequences of such a feeling of degradation? In the first place such a feeling of conscious inferiority must impair if it does not wholly destroy all self-respect. No man can resist the testimony of everybody around him; and what is the testimony everywhere uttered by society with reference to the colored man? How can he elevate himself above that public opinion which he sees and feels and hears from every body around him? He lives, he moves, he has his being in the midst of humiliation. His spirit must cower and sink, for he cannot recognise in himself what every body denies him. He must estimate himself by the estimation in which he is held by all.

Then, I ask in the next place, what chance has the free colored man to develop those powers of mind which the Almighty God has conferred upon him? I know there are those who deny to the colored man powers, which by any cultivation can raise him to an intellectual equality with the white man. But I am a Christian minister, and I have more than one perfectly satisfactory

answer to that objection. First, the infidel alone must present it, for revelation tells him that the whole human family have descended from a common parentage.

Then again I ask, where has education, civilization, Christianity given the black man a fair chance?—Certainly not in the West Indies where the black man is little better than a slave now. Certainly not in St. Domingo, where misplaced confidence in older nations, has been perpetually fomenting discord. Certainly not in these United States, for in not one of them, does the colored man feel the stimulus to intellectual improvement. But your Society, gentlemen, has furnished the most conclusive answer to that objection.

There stands Liberia, a republic which, though of yesterday, is already commanding the attention of the oldest cabinets of Europe, and has taken her place among the nations. The State papers of that young republic compare quite favorably with similar documents in this country, and I do say that the last message of her Governor is superior in good common sense, in talent and in literary merit, to communications proceeding even from the executive departments of some of our States.

No candid man will deny to the African, powers which if unfolded would raise him to an equality with other men; but these powers can never be unfolded in this country. What prospect has the colored man? Is the bar, the pulpit, the medical chair, open to him? Can he ever hope to take a seat in the capitol? Can he aspire to the honors and appointments of this Government? Above all, can he ever enjoy what is most important to mental development, I mean the quickening, invigorating influences of the highest literary society? To propose these

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questions, is to answer them. And how sad a lot it is for a human being that neither he nor his children can ever aspire to the same honors as his fellow men.

I will only mention one other sore calamity, attending the conscious inferiority of the free black man in this country. He not only belongs to an inferior caste, but to a distinct race, and that race in continual contact with another race who enjoy, above all people on earth, the very advantages from which he is excluded. We live in a country, where let a man but be a white man, and he need not look up to any other human being as his superior by birth. (Applause.) There is no emolument, no honor to which a man may not elevate himself. The proudest places in this land have been and are now adorned by men who have been the architects of their own greatness, and have won their way in spite of a thousand obstacles, by the patient force of a true heart and an unconquerable will. I can point to such a man not very far from me, (referring to his Excellency, the President of the United States, the Hon. Millard Fillmore, who was next him.)

All this the free colored man sees and knows. He sees and knows too that it is nothing but his color—the color given him by his God—which shuts him out from this noble and ennobling competition, and what must be the consequence upon him? It is impossible, but that the worst passions, envy, malice, vindictiveness, if not atheism, will rankle in his bosom, rendering him unhappy to himself and dangerous to the State. Already we have here and there fearful premonitions flashing up now and then. Let me tell you that nothing but fear represses the utterance, loud and deep, of pas-

sions which will only be the more fearful because they cannot find any vent. If the free colored man is to live in this land, he must be raised to social equality, and amalgamate with the white man, which will never be; or else he will be discontented and unhappy. He were unfit for freedom and not a man if he could be satisfied with his condition.

Up to this point, Mr. President, and beloved hearers, I have been speaking of the free colored population of this country. If we regard the enterprise only with reference to them, how wise and beneficent is it! For my part I was very glad the other day, that the fine little State where I first drew breath, and which is only dearer to me, because it has been so much misunderstood and misrepresented—I was glad to see South Carolina refusing to repel from her bosom her native free colored people. I trust that she will yet unite with Georgia, and Tennessee, and Virginia, and my adopted State, equally dear to me, Maryland, in transporting these people to a more congenial home.

All good men have mourned that this metropolis of our land has been so often the scene of wrath and bitterness, and strife, among those who are descended from such parents as the founders of our Republic, and who are bound together by such ties, and ought to love each other as brethren. Let us rejoice to night that here all is peace, harmony and love—love to God, love to one another, and love to the whole human family. We are gathered here to-night, not in an arena for sectional contests and conflicts, but in a temple, where with one heart and one mind, we are consulting for the success of an enterprise which turns into utter contempt all the petty

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ephemeral issues of selfish intrigue and political ambition. (Applause.)

Honor me now with your attention while I say a word in reference to another class of Africans; I mean those who are slaves and whom their masters may choose to set free that they may be carried to Africa or some other asylum. Mr. President, I am not only a Southern man, but a large slaveholder, and therefore I may speak from the bottom of my heart. I lament the mischief which has been done by the fanatical agitation of this great subject at the North. If Satan had had choice of an agency, he could not have selected an agency more fitted for his purpose, or more disastrous to the cause of truth and humanity. I am not surprised that the South is indignant. I ask those who know these men at the North, I ask their neighbors and their fellow citizens, whether they are men fit to be counsellors in anything demanding counsel? I know there are honorable exceptions. I impeach no man's motives, but I think such will be found to be the case. Are they men in whom their neighbors would confide any great interest? How preposterous then that these men should think of becoming counsellors to the whole South upon the most delicate and difficult of all questions! But while I speak thus of Northern fanaticism, I am bound also, as an honest man and Christian, to confess that there is too morbid a sensitiveness upon this subject at the South. It was not so once. I think our forefathers (and you, Mr. President, remember well the time) were not so. We have abundant documents showing that political bodies and religious bodies in the slaveholding States were wont formerly to discuss this subject, and we ought now to discuss it, generously,

calmly, conscientiously; and while we should repel all impertinent intermeddling, it ought not to move us from the faithful and calm discharge of our duty. I am persuaded that the South is destined to furnish the truest friends of the African, and if Congress would only do what, in my poor judgment, a wise, just, and beneficent government ought to do, there are multitudes at the South who would bring to the cause their whole influence and a spirit of the most noble disinterestedness and sacrifice.

I hope that after the late storms the tendency of the elements is to repose. I believe the late crisis has passed. I believe this in spite of certain symptoms, and portents in various quarters. I do not mind these things. When Counsellor Oxenstiern's son refused a place in the councils of Sweden, pleading inexperience, that sagacious old statesman said to his son, "*Go see quam parva sapientia regitur mundus*"—by how little wisdom this world is governed. And I have learned that harangues in Congress or out of Congress, or in State Legislatures, are no fair exponents of the calm good sense, conservatism and patriotism of the people. I believe, many thanks to you, Mr. President, and others, that the crisis has passed, but you know that the danger to the country has not passed. The true peril is that which I am afraid politicians overlook.

It is in the religious sentiment of the entire North; not the abolition, but the religious sentiments of the entire North with reference to slavery. Politics is the science of compromises; religion knows no compromise. There is the danger. Unless something effectual be done to meet that religious sentiment, what are we to look for? Why, sir, even if a statesman were an infidel,

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he must act in this country as if he considered the Bible to be true, because his constituents believe the Bible. He is not a good statesman, though an infidel, who does not act upon the principle that the Bible is true. The Bible in this country is the *lex legum*, the law of laws. The Bible is settling, and the Bible will settle every question in this country of ours; and unless something can be done to meet the calm religious sentiment of the North, there will be a deep and a deepening feeling there and consequent resentment at the South, and a growing estrangement between the North and the South.

Why, as a mere political question, slavery has in it nothing very exciting or very alarming, but we are a religious people, and, as a religious question, slavery will always be a matter of intense interest and feeling.

And now looking upon this subject in a religious light, permit me to say that there are some things upon which our brethren at the North ought seriously to ponder. In the first place, they ought to reflect that we of the South, are not responsible for the introduction of Africans into this country. They were introduced here in spite of the protests of many of the colonists. In the next place they ought to reflect that the African has been vastly improved by his transportation to these shores. The African here is a superior animal to the African on his native continent. In point of comfort, I speak from personal observation, when I say, with a kind master he is far better cared for, more comfortable, more happy, than most of the peasantry of Europe. It was only the other morning that I had to go out sometime before the rising of the sun to start from Baltimore

to Washington. I left my servants in comfortable beds, without the slightest or remotest idea of rising before the sun, and then to dress as warmly as I dress, and eat the same food that I eat. Near the railroad track I met an Irishman, and though the morning was bitter, the poor fellow, thinly clad, stood shivering in the cold. Upon inquiry, I found that he regarded himself as exceedingly fortunate in having secured the place which he held on the road. He told me he was able to furnish his family with fuel, and with food, and to pay his monthly rent regularly. To do this he had to rise every morning about three o'clock, winter and summer, and labor until dark, Sundays not excepted. An overcoat was a luxury of which he never dreamt. Now looking to what is merely physical, what friend of the slave, would wish him to change places with that laborer? But it is the religious blessings which the African has enjoyed in this country which is his greatest advantage—And here let me tell a singular and and most important fact. In all our missionary stations there are at this day altogether fifty-six thousand converts from heathenism. In the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches at the South there are 256,000 professed African believers in Jesus Christ. If these Africans had not come to this country, probably not one of them would ever have heard the Gospel. By being brought here, there are now five times as many members of those churches, as are to be found in all the missionary churches put together.

I think the North ought to ponder these questions; I think the Abolitionists if they are honest men ought to ponder these questions, and it would silence much of their

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clamor about the abominations of slavery. But there are certain concessions which we of the South ought also to be prepared to make, as honest men. I know that man is fallen, and I know that he would not be fallen if he had once opened his mind to unwelcome truth. I therefore will not dwell upon these concessions which the South ought to make. We ought candidly to admit—as every Southern statesman who has travelled at the North I think will confess—that while slavery enriches the individual, it impoverishes the State, fostering indolence and luxury, which have always been the bane of governments. I think I may well appeal to every Christian, whether when God says, "Search the Scriptures," the human mind ought to be shut out from reading the Scriptures; whether when Jesus Christ says, "Those whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder," husbands and wives ought to be separated; whether labor ought to be received without compensation.

In a conversation with the late Mr. Calhoun, he said to me, that he thought we did pay fair wages for the labor of our slaves. I do not go into the calculation; I do not go into the dollars and cents—it is the principle for which I am contending. Above all, to a generous mind, perfect dependence is ever an irresistible plea for protection.

Hence we will die for a woman. She is dependant upon us, and she has a claim which no brave and generous man can resist. I know no men more generous than our Southern planters. They are quick of resentment, and very justly indignant at the gross assaults of the Abolitionists; but left to their own free and generous impulses, they are the very men to admire and to

imitate Antoninus, and other Roman emperors, who became guardians of the slaves and extended over them a paternal government.

But I will not dwell on these concessions which the South ought to make. There is one concession which I made some four years ago, when writing to Dr. Wayland from South Carolina, and to which I have heard scarcely a single objection.

It is, that slavery is not a good thing, and a thing to be perpetuated. I believe there are few at the South who are not willing to admit that. And if that be admitted, I ask may not this great country come to understand itself? Would it not be oil upon the surface of the troubled waters, and a rainbow in our troubled sky? Might we not hope that at length an equilibrium would be restored in our moral atmosphere, if these concessions were made. If the fanatics at the North would cease to denounce every slaveholder as an abomination, and an iniquity, and if the fanatics of the South would cease to advocate the perpetuation of slavery as a blessing, it seems to me that a common platform and a middle ground of love and brotherly feeling might be found, upon which all good men might stand, and in a spirit of love and generous philanthropy, consult as to the duty of the race towards this other race, which in the Providence of God is placed in our power. We of the South cannot see any project, contemplating the continued residence of the African population among us, which we regard as worthy of our attention. Nor can we see any project of emancipating them which we do not regard as most disastrous to both races. In the Providence of God, a number of these human beings have been confided to me, and the question

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has perpetually oppressed my conscience, I have prayed and wept before God, as I asked what was to be the end of all this?

In those States where there were but a few of these human beings, and where slave labor might be expensive, prospective laws were passed for the extinction of the institution. These laws will never be passed in those states which lie far to the South. That is, their interest will never pass such laws, because upon the rich lands there, slave labor will always be the cheapest and most profitable labor.

Moreover, society would be subverted by the nonmission of such a vast multitude belonging to another race. Here am I, a Christian—I look to God in this matter and to God alone. I have ceased from man long ago. If any thing be done, it must be prompted by a Christian spirit and principle.

But these provisional enactments have been purely political. The object has been to rid the State of a supposed evil. They have all reversed the edicts of Jesus Christ; they have placed patriotism above philanthropy; they have acted as if men were made for the good of society, whereas society is made for the good of man. They have overlooked the man, and acted for the good of society. As a Christian, I could have no sympathy with such movements. They regard the man as a hie, the State as everything, whereas with my Bible in my hand, a single immortal human being has a dignity far transcending the dignity of this whole nation, regarded merely as a nation, for he will live, when this nation as a nation shall have been forgotten—when this world shall have been burned out.

If we look to the West Indies, we Southern people see nothing to

invite us to pursue the policy which was adopted there. Indeed I am bound to say I do not think the experiment of the West Indies a fair one. The movement there was not a noble, spontaneous, generous impulse, originating a great enterprise. It was forced upon the planters. They, therefore, yielded everything reluctantly, and what was yielded grudgingly, was received ungraciously, with no grateful feeling to the master, but rather with a feeling of aversion, as towards a tyrant who had been compelled to do this tardy and reluctant justice. Sir, I turn, and turn, and turn, and see no ray of light but in colonization. (Applause.)

At a very early period, you recollect, sir, that Virginia made an application to the President for a tract of land, on the western frontier, for this purpose. Shortly after that, an able memorial was presented to Congress; various memorials have followed up to this time, but Congress has done nothing. Liberia is not a colony founded by Government; it deserves your special attention because it is a Republic created, fostered, almost entirely, by private christian benevolence. But we think now that the time has come, as this resolution says, and as your President has most eloquently said, when we ought not in vain to invoke the attention of this Government, and the interposition of Congress in behalf of this great enterprise. It seems to me there can be no sort of doubt that Congress possesses the power to make appropriations for this object. And shall millions be spent about a plot of a few square miles, while truth, and mercy, and justice, and philanthropy, and benevolence, apply in vain? Congress, I suppose, has hitherto been unwilling to commit this nation to a cause which

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was regarded as an experiment, and by many as a Utopean experiment. But this is no longer an experiment. There stands Liberia, and if so much has been done by individual benevolence, what cannot be achieved if the wisdom, and power, and resources, of this great Republic were devoted to this great object.

Your Society, Mr. President, as you remarked, distinctly recognizes the right of property at the South. You said, when you took that chair, which you now fill, and which, God grant, you may long live to adorn, that it was only upon this condition, that Mr. Randolph, yourself, and others, who have gone, gone away, were members. The rights of the South to the peculiar species of property to which reference is made, must not be touched. A great number of us at the South prefer to hold that species of property. Our rights must be held sacred. How abominable a thing it is that a man should thrive and prosper and hold an office under the Constitution, and yet seek to violate an express article of that Constitution because it conflicts, forsooth, with his own individual opinions! The duty of that man, if he be honest, is clear. Let him seek to procure an amendment to the Constitution. If he fail of that, his conscience cannot charge him with any responsibility in the matter.—People may differ about the language of the Bible as to slavery, but no one can doubt the language of the Bible as to obedience to the laws. (Applause.) The rights of the South, I repeat, must be respected; they must be held sacred. I say again that if anything be done for slavery, it must be done by the South. I say, if Congress were willing to do, what I humbly think Congress ought to do, there are multitudes like myself willing to impover-

ish themselves if they can only see that they can do anything for the minds and the souls of those beings committed to their charge. And I say if these appropriations are due to such citizens, we have a right to demand them. Year after year, thousands and tens of thousands are voted in yonder halls to encourage improvements in the arts and sciences—for inventions not only to benefit but to destroy our race. Every project to explode gunpowder and hurl the missiles of death seek and find favor. Is it not time that some portion of the resources of this Government should be applied to the greatest of all improvements—the improvement of the human race?—It is due to Africa. God calls upon us to make some atonement for wrongs which have been done by our forefathers to that continent. I say, there are multitudes this day who are willing to impoverish themselves and their children if they can see how they can benefit these human beings, and Congress ought to meet such cases promptly. Let us improve man. That is the highest aim. Now I am going to venture an opinion. I think Congress ought to go further. I am no statesman, no politician, I am an humble minister of God, and what I am now about to say will perhaps seem like insanity to some people, but if it be insanity, it has come upon me as insanity never came upon man—by the painful, prayerful, calm, protracted contemplation of a great subject. Let not what I say then be scouted; let it be weighed and pondered calmly. I am supposing now that there are many at the South who are anxious to do something for the African, but see not what they can do; and I am supposing that the multitude at the North feel, as I know they feel, a willingness to make sacrifices for this purpose; but they see

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how valueless are harangues, and books, and pictures, and prints, because the destiny of the African is in the hands of his master. Supposing this state of things to exist, and I believe it exists to an extent of which few have any conception, cannot the legislation of this Union be wisely adjusted so as to meet such an emergency? I am not given to circumlocution when I have anything to say. What I wish to say is this: Does not a sacred duty to Africa and the salvation of this country, truth, love, justice, require that Congress should be ready to interpose not merely to deport, but to redeem, to purchase the slaves of those who are willing to engage in an arduous, tedious, but most sublime undertaking? "Why," says the abolitionist, "we never will consent to that in the world; it is acknowledging the right of the master." But is that man a friend to the African? The right exists, the power exists; no earthly authority can destroy it; and is not the elevation of a human being better than the maintenance of these absurd abstractions. I put out of view the fact that we of the South obtained a great part of these slaves from the North, who imported them into our southern harbours. I wish to mention a very singular fact, and if Dr. Wayland was here, I have no doubt he would not object to my mentioning it. At the time he was writing letters to me against slavery, and I putting it on the true ground on which it stood, he was situated in Providence, R. I., and I in Beaufort, S. C. Some of my ancestors recollected the time when out of Providence the slaveships brought slaves into Beaufort, S. C., and my forefathers bought them from the very people who built up Providence. But I put out of view that fact: and I say to those aboli-

tionists, "admit for argument's sake a calumny, which I deny and detest, that we are robbers; suppose your child is in the hands of a robber, will you redeem that child and set him free, or will you say it would be admitting the right of the robber and I will not redeem him." Such a man is not the friend of the slave.

With far greater reason, the South might object to this proposition. So far as the South objects to it nothing can be done. Whatever be done in that matter must be done by the South. But there are multitudes at the South who would not hesitate for one moment as to their course. Although the pioneers in such an undertaking would have to endure things hard to be endured, but consciousness of duty performed can sustain man in a great deal. Oh, God, thou canst sustain a man in anything. Future generations would honor the memory of such men, and in them would be fulfilled the language of Jesus Christ, "The fathers persecuted the prophets, the children built their tombs and garnished their sepulchres."

I feel that I owe a sort of apology for the length to which I have been carried, unconsciously to myself, but I fear not without the very distinct consciousness of this assembly. Mr. President, you have well touched upon the commerce and great resources of Africa. You have said all that can be said, and better than we can say it in relation to that subject. You have spoken, too, of the slave trade, which can be more effectually suppressed by Colonization than by all the combined fleets of England, France and the United States. You mentioned, too, the line of steamers to Africa. The days of miracles are passed, but God can still open the sea to achieve his purposes, and I trust

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that he is saying to you as he said to Moses, "Stretch out thy hand and the sea shall be opened." (Applause.)

If I could only gain the attention of my friends here to-night, and especially if I could fix your mind, sir, and the minds of others here before me, to the subject which I have been presenting, I should thank God and take courage. I know that what I have proposed will seem to many, at first, as the dream of a visionary. In the vocabulary of this world, wisdom and folly too often mean, not the compliance of our views with truth or falsehood, but their compliance with public opinion. Hence the first insurrection of the human mind against the usurpations of society is always regarded as a sort of insanity. People say, he is a strange man uttering strange things; but if the strange things uttered by that strange man be true things, they will not be lost. No testimony, however feeble, in favor of great principles can ever be lost. It will awaken an echo somewhere. I speak with great humility, but with perfect confidence, when I say, that what I have proposed to-night, with perhaps only a few sympathizing with me, will one day be regarded not as the chimera of an enthusiast, but as the language of truth and soberness. And if it demands time and money, what is time and money to this nation, when undertaking such a great and sublime work? The mere interest on the national debt of England for ten years would buy every slave in this country. And as to the time, chronic evils always demand chronic remedies. Look at God in the creation; in the deliverance of his people from Egypt; in the Redemption. God tells men that nothing great can be done without patience and time. It is only

little, weak and contracted minds who hope to do any great thing in a hurry.

Whatever we do, Mr. President and members of the Colonization Society, let us do it with faith—faith in God, faith in ourselves, faith in our great cause. Nothing contributes so much; no element in human conduct contributes half so much to success as the confidence of succeeding. By faith Leonidas fought and fell at Thermopylæ; and his noble devotion rendered Greece invincible. By faith, Columbus saw an unknown land and resolved to reach it. It was faith that sustained him, as he travelled from Court to Court, seeking sympathy and aid. Alexander wept for another world to conquer. Columbus revealed that other world and he resolved to conquer it; and when at midnight upon the tempestuous ocean, his whole crew, and all the officers demanded of him the abandonment of the voyage, so utterly hopeless were they, what but an unextinguishable faith cheered him and assured him that in three days his toil should be crowned with success? What would have become of this nation if faith had not sustained our forefathers in the struggles of the revolution? Faith must ever be the strength and consolation of all who will do great things. In all great enterprises we may say with perfect truth that a great deal depends upon faith.—"Blessed is he that hath not seen and yet believeth."

As patriots, ought one of you, my hearers, to leave this house without a deep interest in this matter? But my dear fellow citizens, God knows I love you, and I love this dear country, and I love this Union from the bottom of my heart. If such a scheme as I have suggested could be adopted, if instead of strife and

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sectional animosity, the members of this Union could all engage in such an enterprise, not only would all the selectest blessings of God descend upon this nation, but the very co-operation would bind us together by bonds most delightful and most indissoluble. And how pleasant a sight, instead of sectional strife, and bickering and animosity, to see the members from the different portions of this Union, consenting to make generous sacrifices, and consulting together as to the best means of making some reparation to Africa for the injury which has been done her. Across the very highway which was once vexed and crossed by the keel of the slave ship, our stars and stripes would be returning to injured Africa her long lost children, and returning them not imbruted as they came, but, by the blessing of God, overruling the avarice of man, civilized, elevated, converted, and prepared to regenerate that degraded continent.

Sir, such a scheme and our country is safe. Not "*esto perpetua*," it may be perpetual, but "*erit perpetua*," it shall be perpetual, would then be written upon that column which is rearing itself on yonder common. (Applause.) But if something practical and effectual cannot be done, vainly do we cry peace, peace, when there is no peace.

Born at the South, educated at the North; intimately acquainted with the sentiments of the North and South, as I am; in daily contact with Northern and Southern feeling, I utter my most solemn conviction to-night—may God avert the prophecy—that the elements of mischief, the *ignes suppositi*, the concealed fires of a volcano, are gathering under our feet. If something cannot be done, nothing will save this country from the agitation of the slavery question, and from the

civil—I put my finger to my lips, I cannot go on, I cannot look at it, I cannot speak it, but I see it, I see it,—that nothing will save this country from the agitation of the slavery question and civil conflict. Your venerable head, Mr. President—for your days I fear are almost numbered, and the place which you fill you will soon see no more; may God Almighty prepare for you a blessed place in Heaven,—your venerable head will be reposing in the tomb, and the shout and discord of a fratricidal war will not disturb your sleep. But some of us may be young enough to see that dismal hour. Unless something be done, I utter my solemn conviction, when I say that yonder monument will rear itself to the skies, only to have written upon it the epitaph of this Union: or rather it had better be not completed at all; it had better be left like those unfinished pillars which we see in our church yards, which tell of a life broken off suddenly in its midst; its hopes, its promises, its pride, its prospects, all blasted at a single stroke. I love my country with my whole heart. I can say with the Roman, "would that I had a hundred lives to give to my country." I love this Union with my whole heart. May God spread over it the banner of his protection. But much as I love my country, I love *man* even more than I love my country. And it is as the highest achievement of philanthropy that colonization has my devoutest prayers for its success. In this light it has dignity, it has grandeur, transcending the language of thought. Its end is the noblest which can be proposed by any human mind.

Statesmen and Conquerors who mould the external policy of Kings, have no greatness when compared with the humble individual, who en-

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lightens and saves a human soul. Such a man works upon imperishable materials and works for eternity. He shares with Jesus Christ—I speak it with reverence—in his sublimest glories, regenerating the human spirit of reason from degradation, and better than ail to an everglowing immortality, an immortality

which shall still be expanding and brightening when all the vain records of this world shall have been forgotten—when the stars shall have burned out, and when the Sun itself shall have been extinguished.

The resolution offered by the Rev. Dr. Fuller, was then adopted.

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Mr. President: At this late hour, I scarcely feel courage to address the meeting. I have little to add to what has been already said, and far better said by you, sir, than can be said by me. I rise mainly for the purpose of stating a few facts and drawing from them a few inferences that occur to me. On this day twenty-five years ago you, Mr. President, sat in that chair in a neighboring hall, and I had the honor to address you upon the subject of colonization. In that quarter of a century we have both been laborers. You have done everything in the high places of the land, to give honor, glory and success, to our great and mighty cause; in a very humble sphere, I have been watching your labors and deriving confidence from your success. And if I have come from a neighboring town, as I did a quarter of a century ago, to address you, sir, in the chair, I may congratulate the Society and the public that the President who then occupied the seat, which he occupies to-night, still lives to encourage us with his voice. (Applause.)

I have listened with great pleasure to everything that has been said by the gentleman who has preceded me. I have listened to his eloquent advocacy of the views which he has expressed. But looking to this meeting as a meeting peculiarly devoted to the purposes of coloniza-

tion, I desire to say a few words with reference to the practicability of colonization. When we met together twenty-five years ago, how many were there that thought colonization practicable? How many were there not who pointed at us the finger of scorn and derision and laughed at the feeble efforts we were then endeavoring to make? Is colonization practicable now? Has aught been done to demonstrate it? What has been done during this time? I call not your attention to the six or seven thousand colonists now on the coast of Africa. They are but a drop in the bucket. They amount not to the annual increase of the free colored population of this country. Those who have been put upon the coast of Africa are but as a drop of water to Lake Erie, with reference to the great cause to be accomplished. But I call the attention of this meeting to the establishment, during this interval, in all men's minds of one mighty truth, that the two races which now exist in this land, must ever exist here separate and distinct. We admitted this when we talked of the matter at the remote period to which I have referred. We admitted it without reference to the consequences; we did not carry out the argument to find where the prosecution of it would lead us. And while we looked at a closer union with the free

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colored population of this country as impossible, we did not see what would be the effect of our reasoning upon the public mind. But since that period, the excitement at the North and the sensitiveness at the South has brought the conviction to most minds that the two races must forever remain separate. That being the truth, what follows? What does all history tell us? That two races, which live in the same land, and cannot amalgamate, cannot be united in marriage, can only exist in the relation of master and slave, oppressor and oppressed. The Spaniard and the Moor, the Anglo Saxon and the North American Indian, and the Norman and the Saxon, until they began to intermarry, are illustrations of the truth of the proposition, that two races which cannot amalgamate by intermarriage, can only subsist in the same land in the relation of master and slave, or oppressor and oppressed. By oppressor and oppressed, I mean the relation which now subsist between the white man and the free black man in this country. Oppressed! What evidence is there of it? Is there a free colored man who can drive a hack or a dray in the city of New York. Has there never been a riot in the free State of Ohio? Many. Have there never been riots in Massachusetts? Yes. In Philadelphia? Yes. And who have been the victims of these riots? The free black man. And why does not this occur oftener than it does? It is because we have a mighty West, and that West creates a demand for labor which leaves room on the seaboard on all the avenues of employment for the white men and the black man to travel together, in pursuit of bread, without passing each other. But the time will come, the time is coming,—and it has been referred to in one of the addresses

which have been made this evening—when there will be but one loaf of bread, and two men to eat it.—Who will get it? Had Ireland in 1846 and 1847, been divided between two races that could not unite, which race would have starved. Can there be a doubt? The Providence of Almighty God has given to us the mighty West, so that there might be a drain for labor from the seaboard which would leave employment open to both white & black until the pressure of circumstances obliged the free colored man to leave our shores?

Colonization is as utterly incompetent to transport the whole colored population of the United States to Africa, as it would be impossible to ladle out one of our Northern lakes with a kitchen utensil. All that Congress can give will be insufficient for the purpose; all that the State governments can give will be insufficient; all that individuals can give will be insufficient for the purpose. Why then are we colonizationists if we cannot remove the free colored population by means such as I have referred to? To what then is Colonization competent? It is competent to the building up of colonies upon the coast of Africa, offering the same attraction to the colored man in this country that this country offers to the European. When that shall have been done—and it has been done to a remarkable degree already—when that shall be the result of the labors of the Colonizationists, we will see an emigration from America to Africa like that which now seeks our shores from Europe. (Applause.) That will be the result of Colonization; that will be its fruition. Colonization has performed wonders in doing what it has done. With its limited means, it has built up the Government that has been described

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It is holding out attractions which will ultimately lead to the home of their fathers, the race that is in the midst of us but which is not of us.

Mr. President, what is the entire increase of the free colored population of the United States? In 1827, in your speech, which was so many years afterwards a text upon the subject, you stated that the annual increase of the free colored population at that day was six thousand. It does not now exceed eight thousand annually. The entire annual increase of the colored population of the United States, slave and free, is less than 55,000 at this day. What is the immigration from Europe to America? There will cross the Atlantic this year half a million. What brings them to our shores? Colonization Societies at home; or means furnished by the Government of the countries from which they come? Not at all. They come to better their condition; they come with the means which they obtain from friends; they come with the means which they obtain with their own labor; they come from a class which is inferior in point of means, inferior in point of opportunities, to the class which is to leave our shores. There is nothing in the law to prevent an Irishman being Lord High Chancellor of England. There is nothing in the laws of this country which will enable the negro to be anything better than what one of their own color described in speaking of such a state of things as I have referred to, as "nothing better than a clever negro." Where the white man has one motive to leave Europe to come to this country, the black man has ten motives to leave this country. Is this lesson now making itself felt by this race? Aye: truly it is. Ten years ago there was not a stevedore upon

Fells Point, Baltimore, that was not a black man. There is now not a stevedore there that is not a white man. Ten years ago, there was not a laborer in the coal yards in Baltimore that was not a black man; now there is not a black man in those yards. In the rural district, in which I reside in summer, ten years ago, I could not get a white man to work for me; now I cannot get a black man. What becomes of the black man? He is gradually being driven to the wall, and this pressure is increasing; and if it had not been for Colonization which provided for some of them a home in Africa which now invites them, the alternative would soon be presented to us of extirpation or emigration.

It is in the nature of things; it is the monition of history, common sense tells us, that this people, whose position among us has been made so prominent by the discussions which have rung through the land for the last few years, must go from our midst. We, gentlemen, of the Colonization Society, have opened the door for them.

Sir, the State of Maryland, which I have the honor to come from, appropriated \$200,000, a large sum for a little State,—not to the general cause of Colonization, not to the American Colonization Society, but for the purpose of purchasing territory in Africa to which emigrants from Maryland might go when circumstances which were then maturing and which were beyond human control, should oblige them to leave the State: and Maryland—as her son, I speak it to her honor—when she could not pay the interest on her public debt, when she was in discredit, she never broke faith with the negro, but the \$10,000 per annum were paid punctually when the day of payment came.

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Sir, our fathers played with the fathers of the blacks. These blacks were the playmates of our infancy and the nurses of our childhood. All the kindest emotions of the human heart are associated with these black men and black women who were servants in our fathers' families. Who broke up these relations? Who made us jealous of each other? It becomes not me, in this place, where my purpose is to speak of Colonization, to refer to the causes which have made us enemies of each other. But although this state of things has been the result of that unfortunate excitement throughout the country, which has been so eloquently alluded to by the gentlemen who have preceded me, our duty to the African is none the less. We of Maryland believed we best performed that duty by establishing a colony at Cape Palmas.

What is to take the colored man to the colonies in Africa? Commerce. What brings the Irishman and the German to this country? Commerce. You have said, Mr. President, that those engaged in the African commerce conceal the extent and amount of it. They do, some of them. Those who will turn their attention to the subject will find that it increases with a rapidity that surpasses belief. A single house in Salem has twenty vessels engaged in that trade; and whole towns in England are supported by supplying the demand of the Africans for the fashions, for the African has as keen a taste for the fashion as many on this side of the Atlantic. While at the Colonization office the other day, I picked up a package of blue and white cotton goods and satin strip—the latest samples for the spring fashions of the African market. (Laughter.) We send them tobacco from Maryland. What be-

comes of that tobacco. We exchange it with the English trader on the coast of Africa who brings us iron for it. We can give him tobacco on better terms than he can get it elsewhere, and we can get iron from him on better terms than elsewhere. There is a trade going on between British and American vessels on the coast of Africa of great value and of sufficient importance to justify the maintenance of a squadron, large or small, on that coast, irrespective of its uses for the suppression of the slave-trade.

The African is a man that is imitative; the first thing he wants is a piece of cotton cloth to cover his nakedness; and the next, seeing how comfortable they are, a pair of shoes, and there are enough feet in Africa wanting shoes, to keep the lapstones of New England ringing for the next century. (Laughter.) This commerce is growing up every day. With what astonishment was it heard that the Managers of the State Society of Maryland were putting up a light house at Cape Palmas; and money received from vessels passing that light house forms an important portion of the means to pay the civil list of that colony.

Sir, gentlemen are now talking of *ad valorem* duties and specific duties. There is a great difference of opinion upon the subject. Without meaning to take part or to commit myself at all upon a vexed question of domestic policy, permit me to state the experience of Africa on the subject. The colony at Cape Palmas wanted means to support itself. The colonists thought they had drawn long enough on the funds of the parent Society. A tariff was established for them on the *ad valorem* system. At first we had the foreign valuation and then the home valuation. We had a controversy

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in the colony; and the Governor wrote home to us saying that if we continued to keep up the *ad valorem* system, there would not be a truthful man in the colony; but they would all be a set of perjured scoundrels. (Laughter.) That was the working of the measure there on a small scale. It was in a small community where government is watched more than in large ones. There was a great disturbance raised there in relation to the matter. What did we do to quiet the colonists? We put a duty of twelve and a half cents on a musket, a cent and a half a yard on a piece of cotton cloth, and turned all our *ad valorem* into specific duties; and there has been peace and quietness from that day to this. How the precedent set in Africa may be quoted in the halls of legislation and what authority it may receive, I do not pretend to say. I have merely given you the experience of Africa. Nor do I pretend to commit myself as to how that experience should be applied to our home policy.

We hear much talk about the balance of trade. I have read speeches in Congress in which gentlemen on one side would insist that Saye was right, and those on the other side would insist that Ricardo was right. One is ready to swear that the balance of trade was in favor of that nation whose exports exceeded its imports, another maintains exactly the reverse opinion. Africa had some experience on this point. When we established our Colony at Cape Palmas, it had no exports.—They soon complained of the want of a circulating medium. We then sent them out \$500 in half dollars, quarters and shillings. A brig came along the coast a short time after-

wards with a cargo which captivated the ladies and gentlemen there—silks, satins, feathers, London porter and the like. The result was, that the day after the brig arrived, there was not a bit of specie in the Colony. Hence it was necessary to resort to paper money. The difficulty was to make the paper money understood by the natives; for unless we got them to patronize it, it would be literally “no go,” it would not pass. We put on a five cent piece a head of tobacco in a large wood cut, and told the natives it meant a head of tobacco. (Laughter.) We put on the ten cent piece a chicken, and said it meant a chicken. We put on the twenty-five cent piece a duck, and the natives understood it to be a duck. We put on the fifty cent piece two ducks; and on the dollar note a goat. (Laughter.) That paper money to the amount of \$1,500, was signed and countersigned, and looked quite as respectable as a great deal of the paper money circulating in this District. That money went to Africa, and answered the purpose for ten or twelve years, until it was found one day that paper money was not required, and that there was plenty of specie in the Colony. The reason was, that the Colony that year exported \$20,000 worth of goods, and imported only \$18,000 worth. The exports exceeded the imports, and the difference was paid for in specie. It was found that the balance of trade was in favor of the Colony, when its exports exceeded its imports.

This is commerce; it is commerce upon a small scale. This commerce is growing up among black men who left this Continent dirty, measly, and in rags. These are the men who understand these principles,

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and apply them. These are the men who are growing up by the aid of a commerce which is increasing. At this time, there is a much greater commerce between the United States and Africa than there was between Europe and our colonies when they had lived the same number of years. Its increase year after year is very great.

The Hon. Mr. Stanton has brought forward his proposition for a line of steamers to Africa—the most important of that bridge of boats which should be built from America to Africa. There is already a bridge of boats upon which come day by day from Europe, thousands to make our canals and railroads, to fill our country, to add to its teeming population, and to add to our wealth and prosperity; aye to add to that pressure before which the free colored man must go or die. That is the action of the bridge of boats which now exists between Europe and America. We must build a like bridge of boats between America and Africa, and these steamers are part of it. Across that bridge of boats there will go, with a tramp from day to day, like an army with banners, a mighty crowd whose exodus will be more glorious than the exodus of Israel: a crowd at whose head there will be the banner of banners, the banner of the cross, behind which will follow all good things—until we shall have repaid the debt which our fathers incurred to Africa, until we shall see Africa redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled. (Applause). There will be at that day no doubt a prophetic, like Miriam of old, to sing—

“Sound loud the trumpet o’er mountain
and sea,
Jehovah hath triumphed—the people are free.”

Mr. President, Colonization is to

be accomplished by natural causes; it is not to be accomplished by the contributions of Governments, States, and individuals. The success of Colonization is to depend upon circumstances. Its success will be the result of the fact that two races which cannot amalgamate can exist in the same land only in the relation of oppressor and oppressed: How simply, how easy Colonization appears when viewed in this light. How totally unnecessary is it for us to make calculations as to the number of dollars and the number of vessels necessary to transport a given number of men. All that we have to do is to make Africa attractive. All we have to do is to place upon the shores of Africa crowds of rejoicing freemen who will cry “come to us; come and make your graves under the palm trees where your fathers rest; come and enjoy the good things of this world in freedom; leave your abject condition in America, and come to us in Africa.” That will be the call which will realize the great results of Colonization. That voluntary, self-paying emigration will leave us a homogeneous population. That that time will come, I have no earthly doubt.

My most esteemed fellow-citizen, the learned and Rev. gentleman who has preceded me, has invoked the blessing of God upon this cause. That blessing is not merely problematical. We are not merely led to hope for the blessing. What could have produced the success that has crowned the labors of the Colonizationists, but his blessing? But for that blessing, Colonizationists could not have produced such results as the world now sees on the coast of Africa.

Time presses. I have already consumed more time than I intended upon an occasion when you, Mr.

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President, addressed the meeting, and when eloquence, such as has preceded me, addressed it. This is an occasion where I would rather be

a listener than a speaker. Thanking you, gentlemen, for your attention, I take my seat.

Speech of the Hon. F. P. Stanton.

The Hon. F. P. STANTON, member of the House of Representatives, from the State of Tennessee, was next called upon. He rose and said:

Mr. President: I do not know that it is at all necessary to call this audience together to-morrow night as has been suggested, for the purpose of listening to any thing I have to say; and I am sure the audience will not have the disposition now to listen to me at so late an hour; and I would by no means be inclined to impose upon them the necessity for such an endurance. [Cries of go on, from all parts of the house].

I had intended, Mr. President, to offer a proposition—to the discussion and elucidation of which I had designed to devote a few moments. If anything I may have been expected to say here has circumscribed the field of those gentlemen who have preceded me, I am sure it must be considered a misfortune by this audience as it is to me. I can say, as the gentleman who has just taken his seat has said, that I would much rather be a listener here than a speaker. I do not know that I shall have the opportunity to speak in the House of Representatives, as has been suggested by one gentleman; for you know, sir, that we are there hampered by rules, which may not afford me the opportunity of presenting and advocating the scheme to which you have done me the honor to refer in terms of some commendation; and not only by these rules, but by another rule which would have been somewhat

inconvenient for the distinguished and eloquent gentleman himself; and I am very glad that upon this occasion he was not embarrassed by any such rule.

But, gentlemen, I feel that enough has been said; that it is unnecessary for me to add anything, or to attempt to add anything, to the general reflections upon the subject which have been so eloquently delivered here to-night. Therefore I shall abstain from trespassing on your patience any further. I will not withhold the proposition which I had intended to submit, as it is one which I presume would meet the unanimous concurrence of the audience, and would be well understood and appreciated, without any discussion from me. I present it without further remark. [Cries of go on].

Mr. President, what I had proposed to myself to speak upon to-night, was a resolution to this effect:

"That the harmony of the States of this Union would be promoted by the voluntary emigration of the free blacks, and that it would be sound policy on the part of the Government of the United States to adopt all efficient measures within the range of its acknowledged powers, for the encouragement of African Colonization."

I can give only a meagre sketch of the arguments I had intended to present in support of this resolution. But I think a few hints only will be necessary to sustain the first proposition contained in it—that the harmony of the States, the peace and

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stability of the Union, would be promoted by the successful accomplishment of the great objects, which this Society has been endeavoring to carry out for the last thirty years.

The subject connects itself, to some extent, with the great questions of policy and of sectional interests which have agitated the country for some years past, and which have not yet ceased to operate injuriously upon our peace and prosperity. One of the most prominent causes of difficulty between the North and the South, has been, and is, the operation of that clause of the constitution which requires the surrender of fugitive slaves escaping into the free States. It is here that the most palpable conflict occurs in the opinions, feelings, and acts of the people of the two sections. It is here that the operation of the supreme law of the land comes into actual contact with the religious, moral and political prejudices of the people—in short it will be admitted that here is the sorest place in the whole body politic—the spot from whose inflammatory action, the irritation and fever of existing maladies are spread throughout the length and breadth of the land. I am far from saying this is the only cause of difficulty: but it is one of the greatest, acknowledged to be such, because it is upon this point that the South has been most successful in establishing a direct and undisputed infraction of her constitutional rights.

I do not intend to discuss any party questions—to touch any disputed points; much less to deal in denunciation of the opinions or conduct of any portion of the people of the United States. My purpose is simply to signalize one of the great evils under which our country is now laboring, to point

out some of the most obvious causes of that evil, and to show, in what manner and to what extent, the great plan of Colonization offers a remedy for it.

I do not address myself to any man, North or South, who prefers amputation—separation—rather than a restoration of the general health. To all such men, I know well my views will be distasteful; but to every citizen who desires the return of peace to his distracted country—to every genuine friend of the Union, as it was in its commencement, and as it ought to be in the future, they will at least afford matter for serious reflection and examination.

Look at the vast number of free blacks in the United States! I have not been able to ascertain the number under the census of 1850; but I remember the estimate made in the celebrated Texas letter of the Hon. Robert J. Walker published in 1844. He estimated that according to the rate of increase from 1790 to 1840, there would be in the six States of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois alone, no less than 400,000 free blacks in 1853; 800,000, in 1865; and 1,600,000 in 1890. The number of free blacks in the slave States is even greater than in the free States. Is this vast body of men, bound together by the ties of a common origin, a common color and a common condition, without influence upon the destinies of the American people? As there is no body in the physical universe of any appreciable magnitude, which does not exert an influence upon every other body in the universe, greater or less, in proportion to its less or greater distance, it must be palpable to the mind of every one that this great number of free blacks, increasing in so fearful a ratio, must exercise a powerful

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moral influence for good or evil upon every interest in the country. Is that influence beneficial or deleterious? Can any one hesitate upon this point? I think you have been already convinced to night, that the unfortunate condition of this people is highly unfavorable to their own progress, and it must therefore be injurious to American Society and institutions. I go further. I maintain that this part of our population is a great element of discord and of danger—that it ought to be removed—must be removed from our borders, if the peace and harmony of our country are to be maintained.

It is not difficult to show how this discordant influence is exerted, in the existing condition of the North and the South. It is the existence of this vast number of free blacks, in the slave-holding as well as in the non-slave-holding States, with all the vices and evil inclinations resulting from their position, that constitutes the great example—the powerful incitement which renders the slaves of the Southern States unhappy and dissatisfied with their condition, inducing them, under the allurements of delusive hopes, to escape from their owners and to fly to evils which they know not of. So palpable is this influence, and so injurious is considered the presence and example of free negroes, that in many of the slave-holding States, emancipation is prohibited, except upon condition of the removal of the freed man beyond their limits. In some of the free States too, I observe, the policy of excluding the black man is seriously agitated—an agitation which would scarcely exist if it were not a conceded fact that the influence of this unfortunate class of people is evil there, as well as among the slaves themselves.

But it is not only in exciting the

slave to escape and to seek a liberty for which he is not prepared, that the evil influence of this population is exerted. The free negroes in the border States, and indeed in all the free States, afford means of concealment to the fugitive slave which would not exist if the free blacks were fewer, or if there were none at all. If there were none at all, the fugitive would be easily distinguished and readily traced. As it is now, he is concealed, lost, and hurried away, undistinguished amidst the crowds of his own color, whose natural sympathies are enlisted to shield him from pursuit. I say natural sympathies; for I cannot condemn a feeling which springs from the strongest instinct, of human nature, however unfortunate may be its effects as a cause of irritation between the two sections.

It is this deep instinctive sympathy, also, which arrays in opposition to the execution of the laws, these excited crowds of black men, which have sometimes rescued the fugitive slave by open violence, trampling alike upon the rights of the owner and the laws and constitution of the land. I do not believe this would ever be done by white men alone. They may be drawn in by the excitement to assist the black man in rescuing his brother; but the excitement itself must first spring from that strong sympathy, which none can feel so deeply as men of the same race and color. Here then we have the origin and most powerful incentive of that spirit of resistance to the laws which has of late been so baneful to the peace and harmony of the States. Is not the remedy plain? And what is the prospect, if the remedy—the obvious remedy of Colonization—be not applied? Must not the evil go on still increasing? Will it not inevitably grow be-

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yond the control of any authority in the Government? I must confess, I see no possible escape from the many terrible evils which I have attempted to describe, except by promoting the great and benevolent objects of this Society.

I repeat, that without this, the evil will continue to grow, and will strengthen in geometrical proportion to the increase of this population. The contact of the free negroes with the white people of the Northern States, tends to foster and keep alive the spirit of abolition.—Without the continual presence of a large portion of the black race, there would be little for this excitement to feed upon, and fanaticism, becoming merely theoretical, would be shorn of its greatest danger. The objects of false sympathy would be removed to a greater distance; the symbols and exemplars of a degraded race would be no longer before the eyes of misguided philanthropists, and blind passion might be expected eventually to give place to the dominion of truth and reason.

I refrain from pursuing the subject further. I will not look to that dark but not distant future, when in some of the largest of the free States, this population shall have grown powerful in numbers, demanding the elective franchise, and when perhaps political parties, in the phrensy of their excitement, shall bid for their influence and make them a power in the State.—They may hold the balance of power in those larger States, and through them in the Union. With all their capacity for mischief, through the mistaken sympathy they are calculated to inspire for the slave of the South, it is impossible to estimate the amount of discord and of injury they must inevitably produce among the States. I forbear, I say, to pursue these reflections. I merely

glance at the considerations which sustain the position assumed, that the removal of the free blacks will promote the harmony of the States of the Union.

But it is said, the removal of this population from the Northern States will produce a vacuum which will be again filled up, by new accessions of run-away slaves. This cannot be the result. The tendency will be precisely the reverse. I have already shown, that the inducements to escape and the means of concealment will both be lessened, and the influence of emigration to Africa will be adverse to the movement which would carry the negro race from the South to the North. That movement, of itself, is unnatural, and cannot continue after you shall have taken away the attraction and the security afforded by the presence of a large number of blacks in their present place of refuge.—The hopes of the black man will be no longer fixed upon the Northern States; they will be turned, where they ought to be turned, to the shores of Africa, the native land of his fathers. Thus will a new sentiment be created and fostered in the minds of both the white and the black race—the sentiment, which will restore the black man who is fit for liberty, to a clime more congenial to his nature, and where the faculties with which God has endowed him, may be developed to their highest capacity. The beauty—the glory of this sentiment is, that it promises four-fold blessings—it promises repose and security to the slave-holding States; relief from a degraded and miserable population to the non-slaveholding States; elevation, improvement and prosperity to the free blacks themselves; and finally, peace and stability to the Union.

I have heard one other objection

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raised by Southern men against the plan of colonization. I have heard them say they were opposed to relieving the Northern States from the curse of this population, but they wished it to remain and increase, in order that those States might be punished for their hostility to Southern institutions. Even if this were a generous and patriotic sentiment, unfortunately the evil invoked would prove to be a double edged sword, and would re-act upon the South itself, with an injury even greater than that inflicted upon the North. This I have already shown. Causes of irritation would be multiplied, bitter hostilities would be engendered, slavery itself would be immediately threatened, and civil war might eventually draw its bloody curtain over the horrible drama. God save our country from such disasters!

But I hasten to consider, briefly, the other proposition contained in my resolution, and to endeavor to show that the Government of the United States has power to aid in the great objects proposed by this Society. If I have been at all successful in the line of argument already pursued, it follows inevitably, from these premises, that the policy proposed becomes a matter of self-preservation to the Government of the United States. If you deny the existence of this power, then you take from the Government that indispensable right without which no Government upon earth can maintain its existence—that right which is a law of the highest necessity to individuals, as well as to nations—the right of self-preservation. I do not mean the right to maintain itself in the exercise of unconstitutional authority; but I mean the right by all appropriate means to secure to itself the ability, under all circumstances, to fulfil its constitutional

obligations and to perform its constitutional functions. If it be necessary to remove the free black population, in order that the Government may have the ability to maintain in full force the constitutional provision for the extradition of fugitive slaves, then the Government must have the power to accomplish that object. If it were necessary to overthrow a State for that purpose—in order to maintain the supremacy of the law and the Constitution, it would be the duty of the Government to do it.

If it has not been upon this ground—to maintain the rights and just powers of the States, and the free and unincumbered working of the constitutional functions of the Federal Government—that it has assumed and exercised the authority to remove various tribes of native Indians, then I cannot conceive upon what ground such authority has been maintained. I have been wholly unable to draw the distinction between the removal of the Indians, and the removal of the free black race. Nor am I aware that the power to do this has ever been seriously, certainly not successfully, questioned.

The Constitution of the United States confers upon the Government the power to suppress insurrection. I need not say that with the increase of this population—a distinct caste, so closely united by the profoundest sympathies—the greatest danger of insurrection to be apprehended in our country, will come either directly or indirectly from that quarter. Must the Government wait until the torch of civil war has been lighted? Must it wait until the gutters of our cities are filled with blood; when it may be too late to extinguish the conflagration, and when the footsteps of lawful power may be insecure upon

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the streets made slippery by the gore of the citizens?

There are also those great powers, which during the whole history of man, from his creation down to the present time, have been uppermost and greatest in all Governments—I mean the war powers. Hitherto, until a very recent period, these powers have been looked upon merely as instruments of destruction, or, at best, as instruments of attack and defence, by which the energies and resources of nations have been exhausted in bloody struggles. But in latter years, has occurred in the moral world a phenomenon, somewhat similar to that striking one which has been witnessed in the physical world. For long ages, that great element which exhibits itself in the jagged lightning, and speaks in its voice of thunder, was looked upon solely as the symbol of terror and the agent of destruction. But now the thunderbolt is tamed. It is conducted harmlessly to the ground; it is led along the telegraphic wire, and conveys instantaneous information for thousands of miles; it will be chained and harnessed to the car, and made a motive power for the use and benefit of man; it will be used to produce light and heat, and applied to a thousand useful purposes in the economy of life. So it has come to be, to some extent, with the thunderbolt of war. Hitherto its course has been marked by the mangled bodies of its myriad victims, and by the shattered institutions of vanquished nations. Every sea has been crimsoned with human blood, and a thousand rich argosies have gone down into the deep, before its desolating blast. But a great and beneficent change has commenced. The vast means necessary to employ and maintain armies and navies,

have been hitherto scattered and wasted in prodigious exhibitions of national power, which bring hule or no return of advantage. The transformation about to be effected is to change this mighty current into channels of commerce, to promote the friendly and profitable intercourse of nations. We have already established lines of steamers, fitted for war purposes, yet transporting the mail, and carrying our commerce to some of the most important points on the globe. These are the telegraphic lines of the ocean. We have one more to establish—one pole of which shall touch the shore of unhappy Africa, and pour into her sleeping bosom a flood of light, intelligence, civilization, commerce and Christianity, electrifying her, not into mere galvanic life, but to that “redemption,” “regeneration,” and “disenthralment,” for which you, Mr. President, and this Society, have been so long, so earnestly, and so faithfully laboring. (Applause.)

In regard to the proposition for the establishment of a line of steamers to Africa, introduced by myself into Congress, and to which you have done me the honor to refer, in terms of some commendation, I have only to say, that having become identified with that measure, and believing it to be one of great importance to the best interests of all sections of the country, I shall pursue it, with the best energies I possess, until my efforts shall be rewarded with success, or paralyzed by failure. (Applause.)

I take occasion to observe that my proposition does not involve any direct action on the part of the Government in the removal of the free blacks. It does not, therefore, go to the extent to which I have gone in my argument, and it might be still admissible, even if that argument

Address by the Hon. P. P. Stanton.

were inconclusive. The Government has already given aid to several lines of mail steamers, established to run between this country and other parts of the world. Those steamers may carry white or black men to Europe; and I have not yet heard questioned the power of the Government to give the aid which it has given, to these important lines of communication. Nothing more is asked for the African line. We do not propose to force the free blacks to go; and the arrangement proposed between the contractors and the Colonization Society, need not involve the Government to any extent, except to give thus indirectly its assistance to a great scheme for benevolent intercourse with Africa. It is quite as competent for the Government to employ for its own peculiar service, postal or naval, a vessel engaged in carrying emigrants to Africa, as one engaged in carrying bales of cotton or of merchandize, and passengers, to and from Europe. The principle is the same in both cases. But the African line promises to accomplish more than any other hitherto established. Independent of the advantages of colonization, both to the white and black races, this project will eventually save to the United States the vast expense of the African squadron, maintained for the suppression of the slave trade, and will open up to our people new fields for commercial enterprise.

In reference to the persons whose names are connected with this enterprise as the proposed contractors, they are no more to me than any other individuals. They have the

intelligence, the capacity, and the enterprize to carry out the plan; and they have the further merit of having been the first to originate the important idea involved in the measure, and, as an inventor is entitled to the benefit of his invention, they are entitled to precedence, if their proposition be fair and reasonable, and not inferior in advantage to others subsequently made. Some rival schemes have been presented, not, in my judgment, superior in any respect to the one originally projected. This was anxiously considered, and I hope wisely matured, in the committee of which I had the honor to be a member. It ought not to be shorn of any of its proportions; and if it pass at all, I hope it will pass without any material alteration, to diminish its extent and efficiency.

From the considerations thus hastily sketched, I have been induced to present and to support the proposition for the African line of steamers. With your powerful support, Mr. President, which I am assured from what you have said to-night will not be withheld, and with some little favor from one in a still more distinguished position, (*turning to the President of the United States,*) whose influence may be expected to have much weight, I earnestly hope this important measure will soon be adopted—not as a measure exclusively for the benefit of the North, or of the South, but as one full of interest to all sections of the land, bearing “healing on its wings” to the Union of the States, and fraught with blessings to two hemispheres. (Applause.)

Remarks of the Hon. R. R. Reed.

It has fallen to me, Mr. President, as a delegate from Pennsylvania, to present a series of resolutions, which

happily for me, and thrice happily for the audience, need not be enforced by a speech. I hand them

Resolutions—Letters.

to your Secretary, and imagining you, sir, in that Chair, which in another place you so long honored and adorned, I put my bill on its passage, and call for the previous question.

The Resolutions were adopted as follows:

Resolved, That the Republic of Liberia, having assumed a place among the nations of the earth, and attained a power to give permanence and strength to her position, is entitled to be treated by older nations as a sovereign and independent State.

—That the Christian Republic on the western coast of Africa, was

founded by the forecast and philanthropy of citizens of every section of these United States; and her people have just claims upon the United States as a nation, to sympathy in their hopes, and encouragement of their laudable efforts in the cause of universal civilization.

— That the American Colonization Society, respectfully submits to the Government of the United States, the expediency and sound policy of acknowledging by some public act, the Independence and National existence of the Republic of Liberia; and of establishing relations of amity and commerce with that nation.

 Letters

From Gentlemen who had been invited to attend and address the Annual Meeting.

LETTER FROM JAMES W. ALEXANDER.

PRINCETON, N. J., Jan. 1, 1851.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: I have your polite invitation, of the 30th ult., to address the American Colonization at their approaching anniversary; and I look on the request as a most honorable distinction.

At the same time, I am constrained to repeat, what has been my uniform reply for ten years, that I have no gift for platform addresses, and that from necessity I have reached this branch of public speaking to those who possess the enviable facility.

I regret this the more, because there is not an enterprise on earth, in behalf of which I could more sincerely or earnestly lift my voice; a service which I have tried to render, in the pulpit.

Convey my respectful acknowledgments to the Executive Committee, and accept for yourself the assurance, that I am truly yours,

JAMES W. ALEXANDER.

THE REV. W. McLAIN.

LETTER FROM THEODORE FRELINGHUYSEN.

NEW BRUNSWICK, Jan. 1, 1851.

DEAR SIR: Your favor is just received. It would afford me great pleasure to attend the anniversary of the American Colonization Society, as you request. But I cannot leave the college at this season, so

long—and besides, I am engaged to attend the New Jersey Colonization Society the evening before (the 20th), at Trenton.

Yours very respectfully,
T. FRELINGHUYSEN.

MR. W. McLAIN, Cor. Sec.

LETTER FROM JOHN McDOWELL.

HOUSE OF REPS., Jan. 7, 1851.

MY DEAR SIR: I have been duly honored with your communication, inviting me on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Colonization Society, to deliver an address before it at its annual meeting on the 21st of this month, and regret to say that it will be wholly out of my power to do so. I regret this the more as there is no Society amongst us whose objects I appreciate more highly, or consider more eminently entitled to the zealous and hearty support of every true lover of his country. Hoping that your annual meeting will be, in all respects, a prosperous and pleasant one, I am, sir, with many thanks to the Executive Committee for the honor of their consideration, their and your obedient servant,

JNO. McDOWELL.

LETTER FROM T. WAYLAND.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, Jan. 13, 1851.

REV. AND DEAR SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter

Acknowledgment of the Independence of Liberia.

of January 8th, conveying to me an invitation to address the annual meeting of the Colonization Society on the 21st inst.

It would give me great pleasure to serve the Society in this or any other manner in my power; but to leave home at this time would be specially impossible. It is the closing week of our term, and I am obliged to be present.

I rejoice in the highly encouraging prospects of the Society. It has taken root on

the shores of Africa, and it will, I trust, by the blessing of God, free the land. May God grant to you and all its officers the guidance of His infinite wisdom, that you may labor successfully for the millions of future generations.

I am, Rev. and dear sir, yours truly,
F. WAYLAND.

Rev. W. McLAIN, Cor. Sec.

P. S.—I regret that I am too late for the mail to-day.

APPENDIX.

Acknowledgment of the Independence of Liberia.

During the late meeting of the BOARD OF DIRECTORS, a delegation from their number waited on the Secretary of State to urge the recognition of the independence of Liberia, by the United States Government. They were received by the Secretary in the most cordial manner. Mr. Webster expressed his gratification at their calling his attention to the important subject; said he was pleased that the Society had adopted the resolution in its favor, which the delegation handed to him, and assured them that the subject should receive his favorable consideration. At his suggestion the delegation called on the President, and met the same kind reception and cordial assurance of interest in the subject. The delegation were fully impressed with the belief that the Executive would soon take action on the subject.

Since that we have heard nothing further on the subject.

It is greatly to be regretted that the matter is so long delayed. The Secretary of State will find on file in his office numerous petitions, from all parts of the country, signed by citizens of the highest respectability, urging the recognition. Memorials have also been presented to Congress on the same subject. The relations between this country and Liberia are constantly assuming increased importance; and the sentiment is almost universal among our commercial men, that the Government ought to take a more practical and decided interest in the affairs of Liberia. The following article from the *New York Commercial Advertiser* presents the case in a fair light:

RECOGNITION OF LIBERIA.—It is tolerably evident that the present Administration will be applied to by the Republic of Liberia for a formal recognition of its independence by the Government of the United States, and for the mutual exchange of treaties of peace, friendship and commerce. Notwithstanding the repeated assurance of our Washington correspondent to the contrary, we incline to think the application will be favorably entertained by the present Administration, subject to a certain understanding on one point to which we shall presently refer. There is just ground for such expectation, beyond the fact that the deputation from the American Colonization Society were impressed, during their interviews with the President and Secretary of State, with the belief that those distinguished gentlemen were favorable to such recognition, provided it could be so managed as to be acceptable to the people and beneficial to the country. We are willing to attach all due importance to a *diplomatic proviso*, but still there remain two grounds of expectation—the fact that the deputation left with the liveliest confidence in the good intent of the President and Secretary, and our own conviction that whatever diplomatic caution it might be proper in them to employ, their good faith is not to be questioned.

Is the recognition of the Republic of Liberia desirable on the part of the United States? If so, is there any real impediment to such recognition?

Two of the greatest powers of the world have very cordially, and on the first solicitation, recognized that Republic and enter-

ed from Africa trading with her. These are France and England. We regard her recognition by the latter as the more important of the two to the future upon the present question, for many reasons, some of which our reader will readily divine. Under all the circumstances of the case, joined with the moral spirit of the slave and chivalrous character of the French nation, the example of France will probably operate less upon the imitation, reflective mind of America than that of Great Britain. One feels sure that, although there is not the same regard to public morality in England's conduct toward Liberia, as there doubtless was, yet in entering into permanent treaty relations and commerce with her, the British Government would look well to the profit and loss, to the national and commercial advantages and disadvantages of the connection. Experience has shown also, pretty much to the cost of the world, that British statements are shrewd and far-sighted in matters affecting the commerce or aggrandizement of that realm. England's recognition, then, of Liberia, accompanied by unusual tokens of good will, is a fact not to be overlooked in deciding upon our own course with reference to the same republic.

We cannot, at the present moment, lay our hands upon the Rev. Mr. Gurley's report of his visit to Liberia as the agent of this Government, charged with the prosecution of inquiries into the condition and resources of the new republic, or we might adduce statistics that would show that the transatlantic distance has evinced its usual incapacity in promptly entering into treaty with her, and giving her other evidences of good will. Confiding ourselves to the general tenor of Mr. Gurley's report, we fearlessly assert that the entire coast of Western Africa and far into the interior, now rapidly hemming by lawful and honorable means the territory of the Republic, will become no exclusively profitable and valuable market, the imports and exports of which for many, many years to come, are destined to increase with astonishing rapidity. It will be perfectly natural, and indeed will be demanded by good faith, that greater advantages will be afforded by the Liberian Government to those nations to whom she is allied by treaty, than to others; and the larger England and France are allowed to monopolize such trade, the more firmly will they cherish themselves in the advantages they derive therefrom.

Yet it would be natural for Liberia to prefer to be immediately allied to the United States, and it is perfectly well known that such a preference exists, and is avowed on

the part of that Government. And if it can be shown, in addition to the moral claim which she incidentally has upon the sympathy of this country, that the products of that climate are such as we want—that in the face of all competition they can be imported either on advantageous terms—that to a fair extent she can take returns from the United States—and that her capacity in this respect is constantly upon the increase—if these things can be shown, or even their probability, then we think it will become expedient, if not imperative, that relations such as are likely to be asked for, be established between the two countries.

Let us glance, then, at the agricultural, commercial, and manufacturing condition and prospects of Liberia, in order to form an estimate, somewhat imperfect though it must be, of the utility of establishing a treaty of commerce between the two republics. The agricultural condition, brief as its history is, either as a colony or as an independent power, is not to be despised even now. Those who have visited the country speak in loud praise of the number, condition, and productiveness of its farms and plantations, brought into a high state of cultivation by the almost unaided energy of its people. If our memory serves us correctly, Mr. Gurley more than confirms all that has been said or written on the subject. It is a good feature. He that is faithful in little, will be faithful also in that which is greater; and if with such circumscribed means and limited advantages the Liberians have achieved so much, there can be little doubt, that with increased capital and other facilities, their agricultural labors will be prosecuted to greater extent and with augmented success.

With such aids as time and prosperity will supply, they will be enabled to prosecute the culture of cotton, rice, coffee and sugar-cane with great success. The soil and climate are said to be admirably adapted for the production of these. Indeed the coffee of Liberia is already in high repute. To these products may be added timber, the forests of which are vast and of varied kinds; such as mahogany, teak, ebony, lignum-vite, rosewood, and many other valuable woods of commerce; species of different varieties, and generally of superior quality, several fine oil-yielding nuts, &c., show a resources which only require population and commerce to convert them into wealth. From the native population of the interior are derived palm oil, ivory, tortoise-shell, and other articles. Already the exports of the Republic of

Sentiments of the Press.

Liberia exceeds seven hundred thousand dollars annually, while its imports are about four hundred thousand. The Librarian Secretary of the Treasury informed Mr. Gurley officially that its trade was increasing at least fifty per cent. annually, and one-fifth of its entire trade is with the United States.

This is but the commencement of its commerce—the germ of a valuable trade, only just developing its powers of increase. Yet these facts form a strong argument, in a commercial point of view, for entering into treaty and establishing friendly relations with the young and promising Republic. Here is a market, too, for tobacco, beef, pork, salt fish, powder, muskets, salt, soap, crockery, manufactured cottons, and almost everything which this country can produce. What a field then would be opened for the commerce of these United States, already spreading so rapidly in all directions that such products as those of Western Africa must necessarily be taken into the catalogue of its articles of trade, since almost every market is open to its traffic.

So much for the commercial aspect of the question, is a treaty of mutual friendship and commerce with the Republic of Liberia desirable? But there is even a still more important aspect of the question. Liberia is to be colonized from the United States. Her population, mainly, for some time to come, must be derived from the United States; and whatever may be the popular sentiment respecting their living with us, when they voluntarily retire to their own soil, establish institutions similar to our own, demonstrate their capacity for self-government, and manifest other commendable and valuable qualities, and ask nothing more at the hands of this Government than that their nationality and independence shall be recognized, and commerce established with them on a secure and mutually advantageous basis, it does seem

to us that their request ought to be promptly complied with. And further, until this is done, colonization cannot accomplish its object on the scale which alone can make it seasonably available as the grand outlet for our free colored population. Of this we are well assured. Every year, every month almost, presses the necessity of more liberal colonization measures upon the attention of the people of this country, but these measures can never have their full development until the colored people here know that Liberia is by this Government recognized as independent—as a nation among nations. This is too obvious to need demonstration.

And now what real objection is there to the recognition of Liberia as an independent power? We know of only one that a candid mind can urge. There is no need to conceal the truth in the matter, for probably every white citizen more or less participates in the prejudice which constitutes the real difficulty. There is an unwillingness to admit a colored man to the station and intercourse belonging to the representative of an independent sovereign power at the seat of our Government. We should admit this as a substantial difficulty, because we know it to be the almost universal sentiment of the people, and their wishes ought to be consulted in the matter. But, as we understand the matter, the nature of the application on the part of Liberia—and this ought to operate largely in her favor, because it shows practical good sense as well as sincere good will—obviates entirely this only objection. She desires to avoid this difficulty, and proposes to confide her interests at Washington,—the conduct of all public affairs between the two Governments,—to one of our own citizens. If this be the fact, we apprehend that scarcely a dissenting voice would be raised against her full recognition as an independent Republic.

Sentiments of the Press.

[From the Union.]

COLONIZATION SOCIETY.—The Annual Meeting of this Society took place last night in the First Presbyterian Church in this city. It continued from half-past seven o'clock till nearly eleven. The church was crowded with a profoundly attentive and orderly assembly. Mr. Clay, the President of the Society, was in the chair. He made a long, powerful, impressive, and eloquent address, in which he gave a his-

tory of colonization, traced its progress and advantages, and exhorted every friend of the country to render it a most efficient support. The Secretary then read a very interesting and cheering abstract of the proceedings of the Society during the last year. He was followed by the Rev. Dr. Fuller, of Baltimore; Mr. Latrobe, of the same city; and Mr. Stanton, a member of Congress from Tennessee. Each of these gentlemen made strong, eloquent,

Sentiments of the Press.

and exulting speeches. They presented resolutions which were unanimously adopted, and which will appear in the report of the proceedings. These speeches, too, will not be lost; for we observed the reporters very busy in taking notes of the whole debate.

One great truth was discussed and established as the foundation-stone of the Society, viz.: That it was a law of physical and moral statistics, that two distinct races like the white and the black man could never long exist together in the same country, except in the relation of master and slave, oppressor and oppressed; and hence the indispensable importance of transporting the colored man to the coast of Africa. The great importance of sending the free people of color, with their own consent, was particularly explained; because their presence in the United States was only calculated to affect injuriously the white men, both of the North and the South, as well as the slaves of the South. Mr. Clay enlarged upon the ideas which he urged the other day in the Senate, showing that there was no other way of putting an end to the slave trade. He made many curious speculations, and stated some interesting facts, showing the the benefits of the commerce which would connect the United States and Liberia, particularly in the article of coffee. He also enlarged with great force on the proposition that slavery would terminate when, from the density of population, it was cheaper to employ a white laborer than to rear a slave.

Various plans were suggested for enlarging the operations and increasing efficiency of the Colonization Society. Several ingenious arguments were advanced in favor of employing steamers to economize and increase the transportation of the people of color from our own shores to those of Africa. Mr. Stanton, who has devoted so much attention to the establishment of a line of steamers, was unfortunately prevented by the lateness of the hour from explaining his views fully upon this as well as on other points.

The whole proceeding was conducted with so much order and ability as to make a deep impression upon an enlightened and attentive audience.

The President of the United States was present, and remained during the whole session, as well as a portion of his cabinet, and many members of Congress and strangers. The meeting was graced by many ladies.

The Colonization Society meets by it-

self to day at 12 o'clock, to organize its arrangements for the present year.

[From the N. Y. Christian Intelligencer.]

The American Colonization Society, by general assent, held its most glorious Anniversary this week. It was the thirty-fourth; and Mr. Clay, the President, of course presided. Never was there a more crowded or respectable audience at any former Annual Meeting. The President of the United States, Mr. Fillmore, sat on the right of Mr. Clay; and among the audience were the Secretaries of the Navy and of the Interior, Mr. Bulwer, the British Minister, and many distinguished members of the United States Congress, strangers, ladies, &c.

I do not know any other cause that could have collected such an assemblage. Mr. Clay's remarks you have doubtless read. They were listened to with the most profound attention for an hour, except only when applauded, from the President down, by the whole immense audience. What a truly great and eloquent man! We need not go to old Greece or to Rome for a Demosthenes or Cicero, nor to England for a Chatham. Here stands on the American forum, an orator *sui generis*, and unparalleled for his own peculiar, beautiful, and popular eloquence, in ancient or modern days. Above all do I honor him for his ardent patriotism and philanthropy.

The great and philanthropic scheme of African Colonization is gaining ground daily. Some of the wisest and best in our land are its friends. Yesterday a large delegation from the African Colonization Society, by appointment, called upon President Fillmore and the Secretary of State, Mr. Webster. The object was to solicit the attention of the Government towards the Liberian Republic, and the recognition of her independence. These great officers of State received the delegates with marked attention, and professed a lively interest in the object of their call. They are decided friends of Colonization.

The plan too, before Congress, is a popular one at Washington, of establishing a line of mail steamers to the coast of Africa. It is a grand project, and if accomplished, will make a new and bright era in the history of colonizing that continent by Christian emigrants from this country. The system of frequent and rapid steam communication will of itself induce many more than ever to emigrate.

Sentiments of the Press.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

WASHINGTON, Jan. 22, 1851.

A most glorious anniversary was that of the Colonization Society last night; the audience was immense, the church in which the meeting assembled being filled to overflowing. As President of the Society, Mr. Clay took the chair, Mr. FILLMORE, occupying the place on his right hand. Many distinguished gentlemen were in the audience, and among them Mr. Bulwer, the British Minister, the Secretary of War, the Russian Minister, with many Senators and Congressmen. You will read Mr. Clay's speech. All that I can say is—he seldom was more impressive or eloquent. So every body admits—judge for yourself, however.

By general consent this was the most encouraging Anniversary of the American Colonization Society, ever held. Say what you will, I go for this noble scheme. It has this great and good feature. Whilst other professed friends of the colored man are constantly squabbling about them and their rights, this plan alone takes him up from his degradation, and makes a real man of him. Were I a Colonizationist on no other ground, I am sure I should be on this. Does any one oppose colonization, I have no argument with him. I point to the Liberia Republic—an argument seen and known by all men. There she stands, the beacon of love, hope, and mercy, to two continents of our world? Where is there such another bright spot on the map of the world?

The Society was never before in so prosperous a condition. It can contemplate with proud satisfaction the result of its labors in the establishment of a free and enlightened republic on the western coast of Africa. What new triumphs it may be the destiny of the Society to accomplish cannot be foreseen; but there is every reason to believe that its mission is to arrest the slave-trade, to civilize and Christianize Africa, and to be the means of relieving this country from the free colored population and finally from the institution of African slavery.

The application of steam to ocean navigation seems to have furnished the means, and at the right time, for the completion of all these great designs. The establishment of a steam packet line to Africa for the purpose of the promotion of commerce with that continent, and for the deportation of colonists to it, is the obvious policy of the Coloni-

zation Society, and is entitled to the immediate encouragement of the national government. Mr. Clay enlarged upon the necessity of promoting steam navigation with Africa in his address last night.

[From the Republic.]

COLONIZATION.—The eloquent speech of Mr. CLAY at the recent meeting of the American Colonization Society, of which we published a full account in our paper of Thursday, presents many subjects for gratifying reflection, and is in all respects worthy the attentive consideration of every person who has at heart the improvement of the African race and the welfare of the country. It is now some thirty-four years since the great scheme of Colonization was first projected. From the beginning it has met with nothing but discouragements from those who have been loudest in their professions of friendship towards the race for whose benefit it was mainly designed. Not content with a mere negative opposition, the Abolitionists have lost no opportunity to misrepresent and denounce it, and throw obstacles in its way. They have done their best to prejudice the public mind against the movement, and to dissuade the free blacks from availing themselves of the advantages which it has offered to them. And yet, in the face of all this opposition, the Colonization Society has, with wonderful perseverance and success, gone right onward with its work. The results which it has accomplished are so well known that it is hardly necessary to recapitulate them. It has established an independent and flourishing republic—a land of schools and churches and dwellings of civilized men—in a place which would otherwise have remained to this day the home of savages and wild beasts. It has opened an asylum, and the only asylum on the face of the earth where the negro can enjoy the blessings of true liberty, and stand up erect in the full stature of his manhood. It has done more than any thing else towards the diminution of the slave trade, and has pointed out to us the only effectual instrument for its entire suppression. In view of these beneficent results, we may well say, in the words of Mr. CLAY, that “if there ever was a scheme presented to the consideration and acceptance of men, which in all its parts presents nothing but commendation, it is the scheme of African colonization.”

Ohio State Convention Maryland Reform Convention

MEMORIALS IN FAVOR OF STEAMSHIPS TO AFRICA

Memorial of the Ohio State Convention.

In the United States Senate.

The CHAIR read before the Senate a communication from the War Department, enclosing a statement of the survey made upon the best mode of supplying Washington with pure water, recommended with a plan and estimate of the cost of the work. Referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

LINK OF STEAMSHIPS FOR AFRICA.

Mr. EWING presented the following memorial, signed by two-thirds of the members of the State Constitutional Convention now in session in Ohio:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Congress of United States:

The undersigned, members of the Ohio Constitutional Convention, take the liberty, respectfully, but earnestly, of calling your attention to the condition and prospects of the republic of Liberia, and to the growing importance of its commerce and the beneficent effects which it has already produced, and the favorable influence it must continue to exercise, in the great work of African civilization.

The colony of Liberia, you are aware, was planted by the charity of American citizens, without distinction of party, political or sectional. The enterprise was commenced, fostered, and protected by the warm hearts and enlightened minds of American men and women, north and south of the Potomac, who united on the broad and solid basis of American philanthropy, to elevate morally and intellectually the free colored people of the United States, and thereby to thin the blossoms of evil and responsibility. That colony now largely constitutes a prosperous, moral, and well-governed independent republic. Its growing commerce is important in attracting the attention of the great commercial nations of Europe, who are according to it their acknowledgment of its independence, and securing to themselves by treaty the advantages which the commerce will afford. Your petitioners are of opinion that the establishment of a line of steamers between the United States and Liberia on the plan proposed to your commission during the last session of Congress, would greatly promote the interests

of the republic of Liberia, rapidly advance the commerce of this country with Africa, hasten the destruction of the slave trade, and by affording greater facilities to emigration in the greater efficiency and rapidity with which it could be rendered, give an impulse to civilization that it would tell most favorably upon the interests of both continents.

We would, therefore, urge upon your consideration, as one of great national importance, the change of a line of steamers between our country and Africa, and we do so with the hope that you will not permit your present session to close without having enacted a law for its speedy accomplishment.

William Sawyer,	James London,
Jacob J. Greene,	Thomas Patterson,
John H. Blair,	E. P. Smith,
Jos. M. Parr,	Thomas A. Way,
Jos. J. Hoffman,	John Lacey,
D. P. Leadbetter,	Wm. Kinson,
Harmon Sudger,	J. P. Henderson,
Edward Archbold,	L. Chase,
John Larwell,	John Johnson,
Sam'l Quidley,	D. Wilson,
J. Thompson,	H. Thomson,
D. D. T. Hard,	J. Ewing,
R. W. Cahill,	Charles M. Cloud,
John E. Hunt,	C. S. Hamilton,
Robert Forbes,	George J. Smith,
W. S. Grosbeck,	Otway Curry,
John Cheney,	Jacob Perkins,
George Collins,	David Barnett,
Samson Mason,	Isaiah Morris,
Jacob Bleckenseder,	David Chambers,
Van. Brown,	Daniel Peck,
A. J. Barnett,	Simon Nash,
Joseph Scott,	A. Harlan,
Samuel Morehead,	Jos. S. Greene,
Thos. J. Larch,	Adva N. Riddle,
B. Stanton,	J. Dan Jones,
Thos. W. Ewatts,	F. C. Rink,
Jos. A. Smith,	G. W. Holmes,
John Graham,	W. S. Bates,
H. N. Gilet,	V. B. Horton,
William Barbee,	Richard Salwell,
S. J. Andrews,	Henry Sturtevy,
Joseph Barnett,	Edna Florence,
A. G. Brown,	James Arnold,
Jos. J. Worthington,	Peter Hitchcock,
James Steerke,	

CINCINNATI, January 13, 1851.

Memorial of the Maryland Reform Convention.

In United States Senate.

Mr. PEARCE presented the following

memorial, signed by the members of the State Constitutional Convention of Mary-

Memorial of the Legislature of Virginia.

land, praying for the establishment of a line of steamers from the United States to Africa:

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

The undersigned, members of the Convention assembled at Annapolis to revise the Constitution of the State of Maryland, beg leave respectfully to call the attention of Congress to the proposition recently submitted to their consideration for the establishment of a line of steamers from the United States to the republic of Liberia. Whatever merit the plan proposed may possess as a means of carrying the mails and extending the commerce of this country, the undersigned value it chiefly on account of the facilities it will afford in removing to the continent of Africa the free blacks of the United States, in which respect they regard it as promising better results than any other scheme ever offered to the consideration of the American public, and therefore eminently worthy the fostering care of the Government and people of the United States.

From the first promulgation of the great and philanthropic enterprise of African colonization, the people of Maryland have regarded it with peculiar favor. Her most eminent citizens have taken a leading and zealous part in the promotion of its objects; and the State herself, many years ago, through her General Assembly, appropriated the sum of ten thousand dollars per annum, for a series of years, in aid of the means of her State Colonization Society, the payment of which throughout the period of her greatest financial embarrassment never has been interrupted.

The undersigned, therefore, respectfully, but most earnestly, pray Congress to appropriate from the national treasury whatever sum may be necessary to carry into full effect a plan of colonization which in-

terferes with no party or sectional views, offends no prejudices, and which, as they well believe, will in an especial manner prove acceptable to the great body of the American people.

Jno. J. Dashiell,	J. G. Chapman,
Jacob Shower,	W. Cost Johnson,
S. P. Smith,	Thos. F. Bowie,
W. Weber,	C. J. M. Gwynn,
Jno. Sheer,	George C. Morgan,
J. M. Kilgour,	W. J. Blackston,
Elias Ware, jr.,	Jno. F. Dent,
James Fitzpatrick,	James R. Hopewell,
E. F. Chambers,	George Schley,
John Lee,	Lewis P. Free,
Thomas Donaldson,	John Newcomb,
Samuel Sprigg,	Thomas Hardine,
J. M. S. Macculbin,	Michael Newcomer,
Daniel S. Biser,	John Brewer,
James B. Ricard,	Alexander Neill, jr.,
John D. Gathier,	John S. Sellman,
S. P. Dickinson,	Francis P. Phelps,
Robert Annan,	W. F. Goldsborough,
Elias Brown,	Thomas H. Hicks,
Jas. M. Buchanan,	John H. Hodson,
H. J. Chandler,	Wm. Williams,
Edward L. Shriver,	J. W. Crisfield,
James L. Ridgeley,	James W. Dennis,
Thomas J. Welshe,	John Dennis,
W. Waters,	G. Wells,
M. G. Cockey,	Thomas B. Dorsey,
Samuel M. Magraw,	T. R. Stewart,
S. S. McMaster,	John Rowley,
James M. Hooks,	G. W. Hardeastle,
L. L. Derickson,	Curtis W. Jacobs,
Ebenezer Hearne,	James Nelson,
James Kent,	J. Sapington,
E. George,	W. B. Stephenson,
Henry C. Wright,	D. Jenifer,
Louis M'Lane,	James T. Mitchell,
David Stewart,	Benj. C. Pressman,
Wm. A. Spence,	Robert J. Brent,
W. H. Tuck,	Wm. Grayson.

[Republic of 5th Feb. 1851.]

Memorial of the Legislature of Virginia.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the members of the General Assembly of Virginia, respectfully represent to your honorable bodies, that they have adopted this method to express their warmest approbation of the principle of the measure now before Congress to establish a line of steamers to the western coast of Africa.

The passage of such a bill, with such

modifications as the wisdom of Congress may devise, will, in their opinion, eminently encourage the emigration of the free colored population from this country to Liberia—will, also, greatly increase our steam Navy, and thus obviate the necessity of maintaining, at great expense to our Government, and risk of the health and lives of our officers and seamen, a squadron upon the coast, in itself inefficient in the suppression of the slave trade; and will rapidly extend the mail service

Memorial of the Virginia Reform Convention.

and commerce of the United States. These are all objects, by universal consent, greatly to be desired, especially in a national point of view.

Stated as Virginia is, with a free colored population of 53,757, the presence of which is injurious to the moral habits of her slaves, and the removal of which from her limits, has been, for many years, an important object of her domestic legislation—a legislation which, though liberal in its spirit, has been defeated in its objects by the expense of transportation to Africa—an expense too onerous for a single state to sustain. Nor can her citizens fail to feel an interest in every plan that will increase and extend the rapidly growing commerce of the United States.

This plan, we are also satisfied will introduce into Africa a legitimate, peaceful, and valuable commerce, in the place of the infamous slave trade, and will eventually lead to the civilization of that immense, distant, and benighted country.

All of which is respectfully submitted.
G. W. Hopkins, Sp. Baxter R. Nelson,
House Delegates. Isaac C. Carrington,
William H. Dennis, John W. Speed,
Speaker Senate. James B. Dorman,
R. E. Scott, S. Patrick,
John F. Wall, W. C. Scott,
J. J. Bocock, W. W. Forbes
E. W. Massey, James Segar,
H. W. Thomas, A. Patterson,
F. B. Welton, S. Wheeler,
Chartain White, E. A. Williams
William H. French, William L. Jackson,
John D. Inaboden, P. Guerrant,

William M. Burwell, Joseph K. Pendleton,
Robert Crane, R. N. Hall,
R. F. Harvey, R. L. Wright,
William Kenney, C. J. Beirul,
Thomas H. Daniel, A. H. McClintie,
Evermont Ward, James S. Garrison,
Thomas M. Tate, L. P. August,
James G. West, John M. Jewell,
Charles Carter, J. W. Horner,
George J. Yerby, Philip Pitman,
E. A. Goodwyn, Charle W. Russel,
Peter F. Boisseau, B. Clark,
Wm. J. Thompson, H. Shackelford,
J. Hoimer, G. S. Barbee,
John C. Crump, Douglas B. Layne,
Louis C. H. Finney, Crawford Turner,
Andrew Danison, Austin M. Triple,
E. D. Kerman, Thomas J. Boyd,
Daniel Tompkins, George Cowan,
H. B. Goulin, Alex. Monroe,
J. W. Edwards, V. Witcher,
Hiram Muritz, J. W. M. Wither,
Theodorick Morris, B. A. Lewis,
James G. West, William B. Power,
S. J. Stuart, E. C. Carrington, jr.,
Wm. M. Hume, M. H. Johnson,
M. S. Granthorn, P. A. Bolling,
Wm. D. Massey, L. Vanroisdale,
Thomas Burwell, R. Dunlap,
Talbot S. Duke, Morris D. Norman,
J. B. Stovall, J. Marshal McCue,
H. L. Optie, R. J. Woods,
Thomas M. Isbell, John Carrol,
Mat. Edmonston, H. Deckins,
Richard M. Snyder, John S. Calvert,
William L. Jackson, Wm. J. Robertson.
James H. Ferguson, John B. Floyd,
Governor of Va.

Memorial of the Virginia Reform Convention.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the members of the Virginia Reform Convention, respectfully represent to your honorable bodies that they have adopted this method to express their warmest approbation of the principle of the measure now before Congress, to establish a line of steamers to the western coast of Africa.

The passage of such a bill, with such modifications as the wisdom of Congress may devise, will, in their opinion, eminently encourage the emigration of the free colored population from this country to Liberia—will also greatly increase our steam Navy, and thus obviate the necessity of maintaining, at great expense to

our Government, and risk of the health and lives of our officers and seamen, a squadron upon the coast, in itself inefficient in the suppression of the slave trade, and will rapidly extend the mail service and commerce of the United States. These are all objects, by universal consent, greatly to be desired, especially in a national point of view.

Stated as Virginia is, with a free colored population of 53,757, the presence of which is injurious to the morals of her slaves, and the removal of which from her limits, has been, for many years, an important object of her legislation—a legislation which, though liberal in its spirit, has been defeated in its objects by the expense of transportation to Africa—an expense too onerous for a single State to sus-

Memorial of the New York Colonization Society.

tain. Nor can her citizens fail to feel an interest in every plan that will increase and extend the rapidly-growing commerce of the United States.

This plan, we are also satisfied, will introduce into Africa a legitimate, peaceful, and valuable commerce, in the place of the infamous slave trade, and will eventually lead to the civilization of that immense, distant, and benighted continent.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

John Janney,	William Tayman,
Benjamin H. Smith,	James E. Stewart,
Samuel Chilton,	Benjamin F. Wegira,
William Watts,	Wm. G. Brown,
J. F. Strother,	Charles J. Faulkner,
Samuel Price,	George E. Deneale,
William Kenney,	Andrew Hunter,
Aug. A. Chapman,	Sam'l L. Straughan,
A. S. Pendleton,	Ira Williams,
W. L. Edwards,	James Nelson,
A. Stephenson, jr.,	Joseph Smith,
Littleberry N. Ligon,	Wm. I. Willey,
Robert L. F. White,	V. W. Southall,
Corbin Braston,	Robert C. Howard,
John E. Shell,	Giles Cook,
Samuel Watts,	F. M. Galley,

Edgar Snowden,	Z. Jacob,
Jno. Knote,	John Kinney,
E. J. Armstrong,	J. T. Marten,
John A. Carter,	Jno. Liomberger,
R. S. Tumbril,	Wm. M. Tredway,
D. Murphy,	Robert G. Scott,
B. J. Worsham,	Tazewell Taylor,
Ed. R. Chambers,	Hugh W. Miffley,
John Jones,	R. L. J. Beale,
James Saunders,	Charles Blue,
John Hill,	Arthur R. Smith,
G. D. Condon,	D. E. Moon,
Joseph Fugno,	Robert A. Banks,
G. W. Weighfield,	Wm. Martin,
Th. H. Flood,	Minen Garnett,
Jno. M. Botts,	Connolly F. Trigg,
Richard E. Cocke,	John A. Meredith,
D. Carter,	John Letcher,
R. E. Scott,	Sam'l M. Garland,
J. F. Snodgrass,	Wm. Lucas,
James Smith,	Arch. Stuart,
Sam'l McCommant,	Beverly B. Douglas,
James M. Whittle,	E. W. McComas,
O. S. Van Winkle,	Th. P. Bland,
R. C. L. Moncure,	N. C. Claiborne,
Sam'l S. Hays,	Thos. M. Tate,
	A. M. Newman.

Memorial of the N. Y. Col. Society.

In United States Senate.

Mr. DICKINSON presented the following memorial of the officers and managers of the New York State Colonization Society: To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

Your memorialists, the officers and managers of the New York State Colonization Society, respectfully represent to your honorable bodies that they have been, for more than twenty years, associated together and engaged in promoting the great scheme of African colonization.

They have adopted this method to express their warmest approbation of the principle of the measure now before Congress to establish a line of mail steamers to the western coast of Africa.

The passage of such a bill, with such modifications as the wisdom of Congress may devise, will, in their opinion, eminently encourage the emigration of the free people of color from this country to Liberia—will also greatly increase our steam navy, and rapidly extend the mail service and commerce of the United States. These are all objects, by universal consent, greatly to be desired, especially in a national point of view.

Situated as New York now is—the

commercial metropolis of the western world—her citizens cannot but feel an interest in every plan that will increase and extend the rapidly growing commerce of the United States. England alone carries on a trade with Africa which amounts to no less than five millions sterling, or about twenty-five million dollars per annum. Is it not desirable that our country should, if practicable, participate in this immense and enriching traffic more than she has heretofore? Africa is estimated to contain one hundred and sixty millions of people, and we cannot but indulge the belief that an immense and profitable commerce will be opened by the proposed steamers with these vast and undeveloped regions.

Still it is chiefly to advance the great patriotic and beneficent objects of removing the free people of color from our land, and of abolishing the slave trade, that the New York Colonization Society unanimously and heartily recommend the adoption of the proposed measure.

We are satisfied that the establishment of such steamers by the United States Government will be the most powerful aid ever yet given to the cause of colonization, and secure the emigration of great numbers to Liberia.

Memorial of the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

This plan, we are also satisfied, will introduce into Africa a legitimate, peaceful, and valuable commerce, in the place of the infamous slave trade, and will eventually lead to the civilization of that numerous, distant, and neglected continent.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

AMON G. PHELPS, President.

J. B. PINNEY, Cor. Secretary.

New York, January 3, 1851.

Memorial of the Legislature of Pennsylvania.

The undersigned, members of the Legislature of Pennsylvania, take this method of making known to Congress their views in regard to the proposition now before it, for the establishment of a line of steamers to the western coast of Africa. They feel that they cannot too earnestly urge upon Congress the adoption of the plan so early recommended at the last session by the Committee on Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives. The cheap and easy redemption of the coast of Africa, which it proposes, is the only way to put an end to the slave trade, and a check to further Africanizing of the American continent. The free people of color in the United States will be attracted by its rapid and extensive facilities to go in large numbers to the land of their fathers.

Our squadrons on the coasts of Africa and Brazil, attended with so large an expense, can be withdrawn, while all the objects ineffectually sought to be obtained by them, at the sacrifice too of many valuable lives, will be reached with certainty and safety, and with far less cost.

The emigration being under the control of the American Colonization Society, the negro will have every guarantee of its being judiciously managed:

John S. Rhey,	John McLean,
Thomas McKee,	Andrew Haine,
R. Laughlin,	Abraham Olwine,
S. Robson,	Oliver J. Fritz,
David Riddle,	James C. Downer,
Joseph E. Griffin,	Smith Skumir,
John Ross,	Isaac Rucklorn,

Wm. H. Blair,	William Dault,
A. McLean,	William J. Dolinger,
J. C. Evans,	Elwin C. Prone,
R. Simpson,	Cobery Freeman,
Wm. Hervey,	James W. Rhoads,
N. Shull,	D. Starnes,
J. D. Lent,	Joseph Gaffey,
Jacob Reemnyder,	Jan. C. Kunkel,
Saml. Feely,	H. E. Brown,
J. Patton,	W. Robertson,
G. W. Scofield,	Wm. F. Pecker,
John W. Shugert,	Jan. Hays,
S. S. Benedict,	Henry Fulton,
Lewis C. Cassidy,	Thos. H. Fernyth,
Wm. Goodwin,	Timothy Lee,
John D. Morris,	Isaac Hughes,
E. Mooney, jr.,	Thomas S. Fernon,
S. Bochman,	H. A. Mollenberg,
J. W. Killinger,	Jan. Baly,
S. J. Bigham,	R. M. Frick,
James Fille,	Charles Frauley,
John McCluskey,	J. J. Cunningham,
James Cowden,	Daniel Stine,
Robert Baldwin,	James Carothers,
Saml. Hamilton,	David Macley,
Wm. Evans,	James C. Reid,
John S. Struthers,	A. H. Blaine,
Edward Armstrong,	Joseph Brown,
J. S. Goble,	Wm. Haslett,
Bartram A. Shaffer,	Benj. Malan,
Robt. C. Walker,	Benj. Matthews,
Seth R. McCune,	Jos. Reymacher,
W. B. Smith,	Jan. H. Walker,
John W. Glenruvy,	Thos. Carson,
C. R. Buckshid,	George Sandersen,
Wm. McSherry,	C. Myers,
	H. Jones Brooke.

Commerce of Africa.

We are indebted to the editor of the New York Colonization Journal for the following article on the commerce of Africa:

We have with much care prepared, from all the sources completely accessible to us, tables exhibiting the value of this commerce.

TABLE I.

The materials for which, wholly unused, were taken from the Report made by Hon.

Mr. Kennedy to Congress in 1842, exhibits, *first*, the various African products imported into England, in their total and average yearly values, for fifteen years, from 1827 to 1841; *second*, the exports of Domestic and Foreign Goods from England to western Africa, giving the totals and the average for each year, of every article, as also the totals and average for each year, of all articles; *finally*, the proportion of the exports distributed

Commerce of Africa.

to five divisions of the coast of west Africa.

The reader's attention will be at once arrested by the discrepancy in the values exported and imported. The imports, so far from exceeding, as they would, if the profits were added to original cost and returned in produce, do not amount to one half the exports!

This may be accounted for on several suppositions. The *large expenditures* of Government for the military and civil list in its African colonies, for which payment is made by bills on England; the *gold dust* and bullion not included in the table of imports, but which annually amounts to a very large sum; the goods *consumed at slave-factories*, which are usually paid for by bills of exchange, may each or any of them singly, and will certainly collectively, furnish an explanation.

It will also attract the attention of American readers, that the three most valuable articles of export are *cotton goods, tobacco, and ardent spirits*, all originating in our own country. We say *all*, meaning principally; for the India cottons, we presume, are made of the good American cotton and poor India cotton mixed; the tobacco is from Virginia and Kentucky, and we fear that even some of the ardent spirits originates in America.

TABLE II.

This table, prepared from McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary, presents the export and import to a period three years later than the first, with an additional view of the whole British trade with all parts of Africa, including the north and east as well as west and south.

TABLE III,

Prepared from a portion of Rev. R. R. Gurley's Report to the Secretary of State, exhibits the amount of our own commerce with western Africa, in exports and imports, for six years, closing with 1849, in the total and average yearly values of each article.

The same discrepancy between the values exported and imported appears here as it did in the British trade. But, unfortunately, charity cannot find so probable and innocent an explanation.

In this table the bullion or gold is reported; we have the exact values given. There are no adequate causes of consumption in military forces, or missions, and we are, however reluctantly, compelled to

suppose the difference and all the profits comes back in bills, and these drawn chiefly by *slave traders*. However humiliating this conclusion, we do not see how it is to be avoided.

Another and more pleasing remark to be made from these tables is, that Africa is not only a large and increasing market, but has a vast variety of the most valuable productions to render commerce profitable. Gold, ivory, drugs, dyes, timbers, gums—these are but samples of that unlimited capacity in Africa, now latent, hereafter to be developed and enrich the world.

The disparity in value of the English and American commerce with Africa will also be observed. While the principal material of trade originates with us, our great rival secures the lion's share, and monopolizes three-fourths of it. That the existence of her colonies gives Great Britain an advantage cannot be doubted, and so far the disparity implies no want of care on the part of our Government, or of enterprise among our merchants. But surely we may deduce, from these facts before us, that it behooves the United States to look after so valuable a trade, and not needlessly give England a still greater advantage by throwing away the sympathies of the only settlement of American origin existing on this coast. We all know with what avidity England seized the earliest opportunity of acknowledging the independence of Liberia; we all know, too, that the want of protection from our Government, and the consequent annoyance by England, compelled the Liberian settlers to precipitate a separation from us. Knowing this we cannot but regret that no commercial treaty has yet been formed to save the colonists from estrangement from us, and render them less tributary to the commerce of Great Britain.

To conclude, we desire to call the attention of our business men to the capacities of Africa as a field of enterprise inviting them.

We ask our own Legislature to aid and encourage the extension of Liberia, by facilitating the emigration of all who seek a passage there. We express an earnest hope that this session of Congress will not be closed without the passage of a commercial treaty with the Republic of Liberia.

Commerce of Africa.

TABLE 1.

Imports from the Western Coast of Africa to England, from 1827 to 1841 inclusive.

	TOTAL OF ART'S.	AVERAGE OF ART'S.	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE.
Hardwood	14,891 tons.	973 tons.	\$291,829	\$19,454
Softwood	11,353 tons.	757 tons.	683,180	45,545
Coffee	1,006,836 lbs.	67,123 lbs.	110,754	7,383
Ebony	749 tons.	50 tons.	26,215	1,783
Ginger	4,465 cwt.	298 cwt.	31,825	2,083
Grains, Guinea, and of Paradise	517,665 lbs.	34,511 lbs.	64,708	4,313
Gum arabic, and copal	4,189 cwt.	279 cwt.	105,914	7,061
Gum Senegal	170,712 cwt.	11,381 cwt.	3,414,240	227,606
Hides, untanned	42,992 cwt.	2,866 cwt.	505,904	33,707
Oil, palm	305,951 cwt.	20,396 cwt.	1,835,706	122,380
Pepper	500,705 lbs.	33,267 lbs.	50,050	3,337
Red or Guinea wood	1,415 tons.	94 tons.	49,525	3,301
Rice not in the husk	13,447 cwt.	886 cwt.	67,235	4,480
Rice in the husk	48,909 bush.	3,260 bush.	73,353	4,791
Teeth, elephants' and sea horse	32,285 cwt.	2,152 cwt.	3,874,300	258,280
Teak wood	24,244 loads.	1,616 loads.	1,212,300	80,813
Bees' wax	67,410 cwt.	4,494 cwt.	2,022,300	134,830
			\$14,421,569	\$961,437

British and Irish Goods exported from England to the West Coast of Africa, from 1827 to 1841 inclusive.

	TOTAL OF ART'S.	AVERAGE OF ART'S.	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE.
Apparel, slops, and haberdashery	— — —	— — —	\$633,200	\$42,213
Arms and ammunition	— — —	— — —	6,680,000	446,000
Beef and pork	2,603 bbls.	173 bbls.	43,768	2,918
Beer and ale	9,528 bbls.	635 bbls.	134,921	9,061
Brass and copper manufactures	22,692 cwt.	1,512 cwt.	621,925	41,461
Butter and cheese	3,992 cwt.	266 cwt.	79,163	5,278
Cabinet and upholstery wares	— — —	— — —	68,378	4,558
Cotton manufactures entered by the yrd	75,197,670 yards.	5,013,178 yards.	9,781,259	632,084
Cotton hosiery and small wares	— — —	— — —	46,749	3,116
Earthenware of all sorts	5,837,089 pieces.	389,139 pieces.	297,452	19,830
Glass of all sorts	— — —	— — —	204,430	13,620
Hardware and cutlery	40,877 cwt.	2,725 cwt.	724,729	48,315
Hats of all sorts	12,700 doz.	846 doz.	95,018	6,337
Iron and steel, wrought and unwrought	23,489 tons.	1,429 tons.	1,078,342	70,556
Lead and shot	1,008 tons.	67 tons.	89,145	5,943
Leather and saddlery	— — —	— — —	129,366	8,624
Linen manufactures entered by the yard	921,659 yards.	61,443 yards.	180,066	12,004
Linen thread, tape, and small wares	— — —	— — —	4,987	325
Plate, plated ware, jewelry, and watches	— — —	— — —	52,843	3,506
Salt	3,816,805 bush.	254,453 bush.	381,950	26,253
Silk manufactures	— — —	— — —	57,741	3,849
Soap and candles	1,764,175 lbs.	117,611 lbs.	191,312	12,754
Stationary	— — —	— — —	65,129	4,342
Sugar, refined	5,428 cwt.	361 cwt.	54,127	3,608
Tin and pewter ware, and tin plates	— — —	— — —	46,846	3,123
Wood, viz. empty casks and staves	309,008 no.	20,600 no.	876,277	58,419
Woolen manufactures entered by piece	22,617 pieces.	1,597 pieces.	208,321	13,888
Woolen manufactures entered by yard	45,397 yards.	3,026 yards.	14,344	956
Woolen hosiery and small wares	— — —	— — —	124,602	8,300
All other articles	— — —	— — —	651,775	43,632
			\$21,626,086	\$1,575,072

Foreign Goods exported from England to the West Coast of Africa, from 1827 to 1841 inclusive.

(The values of these goods were not given, but are estimated by us approximately.)

	TOTAL OF ART'S.	AVERAGE OF ART'S.	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE.
Beads, amber and coral	19,207 lbs.	1,280 lbs.	\$9,603	\$640
Beef and pork, salted	6,043 cwt.	403 cwt.	36,258	2,417
Bugles and glass beads	3,708,874 lbs.	243,258 lbs.	759,775	50,632
Cocoa	221,623 lbs.	14,776 lbs.	27,704	1,847
Coffee	182,303 lbs.	12,160 lbs.	18,229	1,216
Corn, viz. wheat flour	8,903 cwt.	547 cwt.	94,609	6,309
Cotton manufactures of India	789,932 pieces.	52,595 pieces.	3,155,726	210,382
Crowns	33,264 cwt.	2,264 cwt.	— — —	— — —

Commerce of Africa.

TABLE I—Continued.

	TOTAL OF ART'S.	AVERAGE OF ART'S.	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE.
Iron in bars	40 ⁸ tons.	27 tons.	\$10,400	\$693
Iron and steel manufactures	7,762 cwt.	517 cwt.	388,100	25,873
Rice not in the husk	10,150 cwt.	676 cwt.	50,756	3,383
Silk manufactures of India	40,337 pieces.	2,689 pieces.	282,359	18,224
Spirits, foreign and colonial	3,077,054 gals.	205,137 gals.	769,363	51,284
Sugar, unrefined	12,007 cwt.	800 cwt.	90,079	6,001
Tea	53,487 lbs.	3,566 lbs.	13,372	892
Tobacco	14,648,937 lbs.	976,595 lbs.	1,464,894	97,660
Wines	163,011 gals.	10,867 gals.	97,866	6,520
Foreign goods	— — —	— — —	7,198,923	479,998
Domestic do.	— — —	— — —	23,626,086	1,575,072
			\$30,825,009	\$2,055,000
			14,421,569	961,437
Excess of exports over imports	— — —	— — —	\$16,403,431	\$1,093,563

Total declared value of British and Irish produce and manufactures exported from the United Kingdom to five Divisions of the West Coast of Africa, from 1827 to 1841 inclusive.

	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE.
DIVISION 1.—Senegal, on the coast from Morocco to the river Gambia exclusive	\$86,389	\$5,759
“ 2.—Sierra Leone, and the coast from the river Gambia inclusive to the river Mesurado	6,540,379	436,025
“ 3.—Windward coast, from the river Mesurado to Cape Apollonia	263,373	17,558
“ 4.—Cape Coast Castle, and the Gold Coast, from Cape Apollonia to the Rio Volta	6,321,451	421,430
“ 5.—Coast from the Rio Volta to the Cape of Good Hope	10,414,494	694,200
	\$23,626,086	\$1,575,072

TABLE II.

Value of Domestic British produce exported to Africa from 1839 to 1844 inclusive.

(From McCulloch's Commercial Dictionary, p. 713.)

	1839.	1840.	1841.	1842.	1843.	1844.	AVERAGE PER ANNUM.
Egypt	\$599,477	\$382,665	\$1,154,272	\$1,076,654	\$1,193,374	\$1,946,169	\$1,055,602.92
Tripoli, Barbary, and Morocco	358,523	309,295	213,570	203,047	404,111	85,861	262,400.60
West Coast of Africa	2,966,911	2,381,899	2,026,982	2,224,875	2,858,547	2,218,724	2,323,204.84
Cape of Good Hope	2,246,389	2,018,720	1,861,338	1,786,328	2,432,472	2,052,891	2,066,355.70
East Coast of Africa	— — —	— — —	106	— — —	— — —	614	124.00
African Ports on the Red Sea	948	— — —	— — —	1,268	193	735	522.72
Ascension Islands	1,612	— — —	2,618	5,542	21,084	10,667	7,419.72
Cape De Verd Islands	915	22,007	13,963	7,163	7,632	9,617	10,217.24
St. Helena	61,311	47,838	48,337	84,485	125,061	86,549	76,510.72
Mauritius	1,024,778	1,576,930	1,552,277	1,185,122	1,248,787	1,382,516	1,344,561.72
Madagascar	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	— — —	9,670	1,609.72
Total	\$6,560,857	\$6,739,356	\$6,918,746	\$6,568,146	\$8,294,254	\$7,819,165	\$7,050,088.44

TABLE III.

Exports to Africa from the United States, from 1844 to 1849 inclusive.

ARTICLES.	1844.	1845.	1846.	1847.	1848.	1849.	TOTAL VALUE.	AVERAGE PER ANN.
Flour	\$20,991	\$21,756	\$26,650	\$134,164	\$29,286	\$27,670	\$260,517	\$43,419
Gunpowder	52,881	59,560	51,688	38,071	58,076	57,709	317,985	52,997
Domestic cotton, &c.	149,644	137,653	149,089	131,267	162,289	164,047	893,989	148,998
Tobacco	189,330	107,024	87,248	144,331	240,141	139,097	907,171	151,195
Spirits	124,502	84,169	133,954	118,538	94,045	92,510	647,718	107,953
All other articles	103,958	115,401	104,751	134,060	177,542	195,736	831,448	138,574
Total produce	641,306	525,563	553,380	700,431	761,379	676,769	3,858,828	643,136
Foreign merchandise	68,938	79,543	78,971	41,439	61,403	31,642	364,986	60,833
Total	\$710,244	\$605,106	\$632,351	\$744,930	\$822,782	\$708,411	\$4,223,824	\$703,971

CONTENTS OF VOLUME

Imports into the United States from Western Africa, from 1844 to 1849 inclusive

ARTICLES	1844		1845		1846		1847		1848		TOTAL		AVERAGE	
	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.	lbs.	value.
Bacon	10,900	34,301	20,400	60,000	8,400	25,000	1,100	3,000	—	—	40,000	100,000	—	—
Beef	10,900	34,301	20,400	60,000	8,400	25,000	1,100	3,000	—	—	40,000	100,000	—	—
Butter	10,900	34,301	20,400	60,000	8,400	25,000	1,100	3,000	—	—	40,000	100,000	—	—
Cocoa	10,900	34,301	20,400	60,000	8,400	25,000	1,100	3,000	—	—	40,000	100,000	—	—
Coffee	10,900	34,301	20,400	60,000	8,400	25,000	1,100	3,000	—	—	40,000	100,000	—	—
Cocoa and ginger	10,900	34,301	20,400	60,000	8,400	25,000	1,100	3,000	—	—	40,000	100,000	—	—
Red pepper	10,900	34,301	20,400	60,000	8,400	25,000	1,100	3,000	—	—	40,000	100,000	—	—
Diaper	10,900	34,301	20,400	60,000	8,400	25,000	1,100	3,000	—	—	40,000	100,000	—	—
All other articles	10,900	34,301	20,400	60,000	8,400	25,000	1,100	3,000	—	—	40,000	100,000	—	—
Total imports	10,900	34,301	20,400	60,000	8,400	25,000	1,100	3,000	—	—	40,000	100,000	—	—

Cost of Colonization.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society
from its organization to December 31, 1850

YEARS.	RECEIPTS.
1817-9.....	814,031 50
1820-2.....	5,627 66
1823.....	4,758 22
1824.....	4,579 82
1825.....	10,125 85
1826.....	14,779 24
1827.....	13,204 94
1828.....	13,458 17
1829.....	20,295 61
1830.....	26,683 41
1831.....	32,101 58
1832.....	43,065 08
1833.....	37,242 46
1834.....	22,984 30
1835.....	36,661 49
1836.....	33,006 88
1837.....	25,558 14
1838.....	10,347 41
1839.....	51,428 26
1840.....	56,985 62
1841.....	42,443 68
1842.....	32,838 88
1843.....	36,093 94
1844.....	33,640 39
1845.....	56,458 60
1846.....	39,900 03
1847.....	29,472 54
1848.....	49,845 91
1849.....	50,332 84
1850.....	64,973 91

34 years, total receipts, \$913,636 83

The amount which was expended by State Societies, during their independent action, is about as follows:—

Pennsylvania Society, from	
1834 to 1839.....	\$50,000
New York Society, from	
1834 to 1839.....	50,000
Mississippi Society, from	
1836 to 1838.....	12,000
Maryland Society, from	
1834 to 1850.....	200,000

\$312,000

The whole amount of the cost of Colonization, since the organization of the American Colonization Society, may, therefore, be set down at about a million and a quarter of dollars

THIRTY-FIFTH
Historical & Phil. Society of Old
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,

WITH THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE
BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND OF THE SOCIETY;

AND THE ADDRESSES
DELIVERED AT THE ANNUAL MEETING,

January 20, 1852.

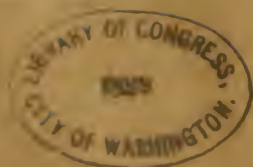
TO WHICH IS ADDED
AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING INFORMATION ABOUT GOING TO LIBERIA; THINGS WHICH EVERY
EMIGRANT OUGHT TO KNOW; MESSRS. FULLER AND JANIFER'S
REPORT; AND A TABLE OF EMIGRANTS.

WASHINGTON:
C. ALEXANDER, PRINTER,

F ST., NEAR NAVY DEPARTMENT.

1852.

68818



THIRTY-FIFTH
ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.
JANUARY 20th, 1852.

Annual Meeting—Decease of distinguished Members.

IN the order of a kind Providence, we are permitted, this evening, to celebrate the Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the American Colonization Society. While with grateful hearts, we acknowledge the goodness of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, under whose special superintendence our cause has continued to progress, we are called to bow in humble submissiveness to His sovereign will, in view of the afflictive dispensations of His providence, by which this Society has been deprived of the living example and co-operation of several of its warmest friends and most devoted advocates. Three of these were Vice Presidents of the Society—the RT. HON. LORD BEXLEY of England, who for many years was a zealous advocate and generous supporter of the cause in which we are engaged, and whose influence tended in no small degree to advance the interests of the Republic of Liberia in Great Britain; the REV. ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D.D., of Princeton, N. J., whose

fame is in all the churches; and who was an earnest and practical advocate of the African colonization enterprise from its formation to the time of his death; regarding it as of God, and consequently worthy of the hearty co-operation of all who desire to be laborers together with Him in carrying out the great object of His providential arrangement with respect to that particular class of the human family for whose benefit the enterprise was originated; and the REV. STEPHEN OLIN, D. D., LL.D., who for several years previous to his death, occupied the distinguished position of President of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., and whose fame as an eminent divine, and devoted practical philanthropist, will be handed down to posterity, embalmed with the grateful remembrance and admiration of the lovers of moral grandeur and Christian purity. Nor are these all of the warm friends and generous patrons of this Society who have been removed by death since our last Anniversary.

DISBURSES—Receipts last year.

We have been called upon to record the departure of others ; among whom we may make special allusion to the HON. JAMES McDOWELL, ex-Governor of Virginia, who was long and familiarly known as an eloquent advocate of African colonization ; the REV. THOMAS H. GALLAUDET, D.D. LL.D., of Connecticut, universally known as the founder of Deaf and Dumb Institutions in the United States, and numbered among the warmest friends of this Society ; JOSIAH SHELD, M. D., of Peacham, Vermont, who left a legacy of \$4 000 to the Society ; THOMAS D. MERRILL of Concord, N. H., who bequeathed \$1,000 to the Society ; ABRAHAM G. THOMPSON of New York, who by will made this Society one of his residuary legatees, by which we hope to realize upwards of \$30,000 ; NATHANIEL STORRS of Boston, who also made this Society a residuary legatee of his estate, from which we shall probably derive \$5 000, or more ; AUGUSTUS GRAHAM of Brooklyn, N. Y., who bequeathed to this Society the sum of \$10,000 "to be invested in some safe and productive manner, the income and interest of which is to be annually applied towards the support and establishment of schools in Liberia ;" and MISS SARAH WALDO of Worcester, Mass., from the execution of whose estate we have already received \$6,000, the amount

of a legacy left by her to this Society ; which amount, added to \$7,000 received from the estate of her sister Elizabeth, who made this Society one of her residuary legatees, together with the legacy of \$10,000 received from the estate of her brother, the Hon. Daniel Waldo, the decease of both of whom was noticed in a former Report, makes \$23,000 received by bequest from these three benevolent and exemplary friends of the colonization enterprise ; besides numerous liberal donations made during their lifetime.

In addition to these liberal bequests, we have had intimations of other legacies made, or to be made, to this Society ; which shows that the importance of the colonization enterprise is not lost sight of by some of the Christian philanthropists of our country, who desire to return to Him from whom cometh every good gift, the substance with which, in the order of his providence, they have been favored.

The total amount of the receipts of the Society from all sources, during the past year, were \$97,443.77—a much larger amount than was received during any preceding year ; which, however, includes the sum of \$37,800 received from the United States Government by virtue of an act of Congress passed at the last session for the relief of the American Colonization Society, in consideration of various expenses in-

Emigrants sent to Liberia.

curred and means used by this Society in the care and support of the liberated Africans who were landed at Monrovia from the slave-ship "Pons," in December, 1845.

During the past year, we have sent 676 emigrants to Liberia. Had we not been partially thwarted by circumstances beyond our control, in reference to the emigration, during the past year, of others whom we expected to send, and who will probably go during the present year, the total number of emigrants for the year 1851 would have been considerably greater.

Of the whole number sent during the year, 405 were free born, 232 were emancipated, and 39 purchased their own freedom or were purchased by their friends.

The first company sailed from New Orleans in the brig *Alida* on the 13th February, 1851, consisting of 139 emigrants; 83 of whom were emancipated by different persons in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana, including 36 by William W. Rice, Esq., who liberally provided for their comfort. 52 of the remaining 56 were born free, and 4 purchased their own freedom.

The second expedition sailed from Savannah, Geo., in the barque *Baltimore* on the 10th April, consisting of 126 emigrants; of whom 93 were born free, 20 who were born slaves had purchased their own freedom or

were purchased by their friends, and the remaining 13 were emancipated by different persons in Georgia. Some of these emigrants were men of considerable intelligence and enterprise. One of them, Edward Hall, of Savannah, who had purchased his own freedom and that of his wife and two brothers, carried with him a *steam saw-mill*, in which several of the other emigrants were interested as shareholders. This was the first steam mill ever sent to Liberia. It was located in Sinou county; and from recent advices, we are encouraged to believe that the enterprise will be attended with success, and will prove to be of great advantage to the young Republic.

The brig *Sea Mew*, which sailed from New York on the 13th March, took out 15 emigrants from Williamsburg and Brooklyn, all born free except 2 who purchased their freedom.

The *Liberia Packet* sailed from Baltimore on the 20th July, with 56 emigrants, of whom 42 were born free, 3 purchased their freedom, and 11 were emancipated by different persons in Maryland and Virginia. Several of this company were intelligent and enterprising men from the city of Baltimore.

By the barque *Zeno*, which sailed from New York on the 27th September, 36 emigrants were sent, all of

whom were born free, except 3 who purchased their freedom.

The sixth expedition sailed from Baltimore in the barque *Morgan Dix*, the 1st November, consisting of 149 emigrants; of whom 97 were free-born, principally from the valley of Virginia, 6 purchased their freedom, and 46 were emancipated, including 33 by the will of the late Miss Margaret Miller of Culpeper County, Virginia. One of this company, John Smith, a good practical engineer from Winchester, and others composing a joint stock company, carried with them a *steam saw-mill*, to be established in Grand Bassa County—the second one sent out during the year.

The seventh expedition was sent in the *Liberia Packet* which sailed from Baltimore on the 31st December, having on board 63 emigrants. The Packet touched at Savannah and received 92 more emigrants, making in all 155; of whom 75 were born free, 1 purchased his freedom, and 79 were emancipated by different persons in Maryland, Virginia, and Georgia, including 50 from the estate of the late John W. Houghton, of Augusta, Georgia.

We have received many evidences that throughout the entire country there is a growing interest in favor of African Colonization; and a stronger conviction that the American Colonization Society occupies a high position among the various benevolent

institutions of this eminently philanthropic age. Its former opponents are beginning to view it in the true light—as an institution founded in wisdom, under the direction of an overruling Providence, and adapted to place the free colored people of the United States in a position in which they can enjoy all the privileges and blessings of freedom—privileges from which they are virtually debarred in every part of this country, and blessings which they can fully enjoy no where else than in Liberia.

It is also evident that the free people of color in this country are becoming more and more conscious of their real position and prospects, and are beginning seriously to ponder the subject of voluntary emigration to a land in which no barriers to political exaltation exist, and no impediments to the free exercise of all the privileges of social equality—a land in which the mind can act without restraint, and in which incentives to a laudable ambition may operate without the trammeling influences of conventional rules, established by the white inhabitants of this land, and clearly recognised in every part of the country. Notwithstanding the show of opposition made by some of them whose minds have become imbued with a prejudice which cannot be easily eradicated; yet in many parts of the country, intelligent men among them are

Influence of the Liberian Government on the Native Tribes.

earnestly engaged in trying to work out the problem of their destiny, with minds open to conviction, and judgments unbiassed by the influence of agencies avowedly opposed to the colonization enterprise. And we doubt not that within a few years there will be a far more extensive movement among the free colored people of the United States in favor of emigration, than has ever yet been witnessed;—a movement which will doubtless be speedily and practically exhibited in the event of the successful issue of the plan for the establishment of a line of steamships to ply regularly between this country and Liberia.

We perceive, with pleasure, that in several of the States, the chief executive officers, in their communications to the Legislatures, have strongly recommended the American Colonization Society, as the only organized agency which has contributed to produce practical results beneficial to the African race; and, consequently, as worthy of approval and encouragement.

From Liberia, our advices, received from time to time, during the past year, are of a very encouraging character, especially in view of the agricultural prosperity of the Republic. Since the establishment of the present form of government, the citizens of Liberia have appeared to be more fully aroused to the consideration of the superlative impor-

tance of agricultural operations; and we have received frequent evidences of the increasing attention given to the cultivation of the soil; on which chiefly depends the prosperity of any country. Their commerce is also steadily increasing. The cause of education is receiving increased attention; and during the past year, most of the churches have been blessed with extensive revivals of religion. Over the surrounding native inhabitants of the country, the influence for good which the citizens of Liberia are exerting, is becoming more and more perceptible. Through the mediation of the Liberian Government, several of the belligerent native tribes have been induced to lay down their weapons of warfare; and thousands of the benighted inhabitants of that land of superstition and degradation have thus been rescued from the agonies of a violent death, or the horrors of the nefarious slave-trade; which latter, in most cases, has given rise to those mercenary and cruel wars that have for centuries devastated that land; and which the Liberians are determined to abolish forever from all the territory over which they may, from time to time, acquire jurisdiction.

The political jurisdiction of the Republic of Liberia extends over a tract of country on the Western coast of Africa, from the mouth of

Annual Meeting of the Society.

the Sherb river on the north, (which is near the southern boundary of the British colony of Sierra Leone,) to the northern boundary of "Maryland in Liberia," a distance along the sea-coast of about 500 miles, which, added to the territory within the jurisdiction of the Maryland Colony, makes the sea-board extent of the two governments about 600 miles. The present emigrant population of the Republic is about six to seven thousand, and the number of native inhabitants residing within the territory of the Republic, is probably one hundred and fifty to two hundred thousand; many of whom, through the example, influence and agency of the citizens and government of Liberia, have

not only been brought within the pale of civilization, but also to a practical realization of the sublime truths and transcendent blessings of our holy Christianity. Thus we believe the civilization and christianizing of the degraded aborigines of Africa are to be chiefly effected, in the order of Divine Providence—by the example, influence and agency of her own returning civilized and Christian children. Thus shall the belligerent hordes of that land of moral desolation be induced to convert their instruments of warfare into implements of husbandry; thus shall the slave trade be effectually and forever suppressed; and thus shall Ethiopia be taught to stretch out her hands unto God.

 Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the American Col. Society

WASHINGTON, }
January 20, 1852. }

The thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society was held in the First Presbyterian Church, on Tuesday evening, the 20th January, 1852.

In the absence of the Hon. Henry Clay, President of the Society, the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER, one of the Vice Presidents, presided.

On taking the chair, Mr. Webster made the following remarks in reference to the necessary absence of the President of the Society:

*Gentlemen of the American
Colonization Society.*

There is not only no member of this Association, but also no citizen of the country, who does not lament, and I should hesitate more deeply than I do, the cause to which it is to be ascribed that I have been called upon to-night to occupy the Chair of this Association. That eminent, distinguished, I will say that illustrious fellow-citizen of ours, who was one of the early founders of this institution, who has now for so many years manifested his sense of its importance and his zeal for its success, is, by continued illness, deprived of the opportunity, not only of being here to-night, as the President of the Society

Annual Meeting of the Society—Remarks of Mr. Webster.

but also has been, and still is, prevented from exercising his usual salutary influence in the councils of the country.

Gentlemen, it is now many years since this Society was formed and organized and put into successful operation by eminent persons, of whom he was one. His opinion of its usefulness, his zeal for its advancement and prosperity are known to you all; and I am sure that there is no deeper sympathy in the heart or feeling of any person present than in my own, that Providence, in His wisdom, may see fit to restore him to his accustomed ability of patriotic service in the national councils, and of devoted care for this institution.

Let us, gentlemen, implore the Throne of Grace and of Mercy, not only for his restoration to health, but for the usefulness and prosperity of this Association. The Rev. Dr. Butler will be pleased to open the meeting with prayer.

The Rev. C. M. Butler, D. D., then addressed the Throne of Grace.

After which, the Rev. W. McLain, Secretary of the Society, read an abstract of the Annual Report.

The Hon. FREDERIC P. STANTON, of Tennessee, was then introduced. He offered the following resolution, viz :

Resolved, That African Colonization, as pursued by this Society, is of national importance; and that its plans and operations strongly commend themselves, by their success, to the favor and encouragement of the General Government.

This resolution was supported by Mr. STANTON in the following address :

In common with you, Mr. President, and all who heard your feeling and eloquent

allusion to the circumstance which places you in that chair, I lament the melancholy cause of the absence of the regular President of this Society. But whatever may be the design of Providence towards him—whether to remove him from amongst us, or to restore him again to the bosom of society, and to that activity which is peculiar to him in the affairs of our country and at the head of this association, there is one thing at least, which must afford to him the highest satisfaction, as it does to us all—and that is, he has lived to a period when every one can distinctly foresee the brilliant success of those labors for colonization, in which he has had so great a share. He is permitted to look over upon the promised land, and to behold the near fulfillment of all his humane wishes in regard to the free colored people of the United States.

From the report just read by the Secretary, it is plain that the affairs of this society, were never before in so flourishing a condition. The attention of the country has been drawn to its operations; and the public interest in all sections of the land, has been so vividly awakened, that a new and powerful impulse must be given to it, and the movement which originated some thirty-five years ago and which has struggled along slowly during that period, must now assume an increased velocity and momentum towards the accomplishment of its great end.

There are many things which have contributed to produce this feeling of interest on the part of the people of the United States. First, and perhaps the most important, is the great fact—the fundamental fact—which I think is now established beyond doubt, that the plans originated and pursued by this Society are feasible—that the colonization of Africa by the free blacks of this country is a practicable scheme.—The success of the Liberian colony is un-

Hon. Mr. Stanton's Address.

questionable. Silently and slowly, under your auspices, has this infant establishment pursued its course, until it now begins to acquire a certain degree of strength and respectable importance. The steady progress of the Colony, the prudence and good sense of its government, have inspired confidence everywhere. Self government on the part of the civilized blacks is no longer altogether an experiment—or if it be still an experiment, it is one which gives promise of great success and invites a still more extensive mode of operations. What are the evidences of this success? Growth, expansion, stability, influence—adding new acquisitions and extending its jurisdiction; suppressing the slave trade; cultivating friendship with the native tribes and settling their disputes, and to some extent absorbing and of course civilizing the native population; fostering agriculture and commerce, and thus gradually developing the resources of a country, which is now proved to be rich in all the elements necessary to sustain a large and prosperous population. I speak of these things generally, for it is unnecessary to mention the particular facts, which are known to every intelligent gentleman in this association.

Now this improvement has been accomplished under great disadvantages and in spite of great difficulties. Compare the growth of this colony at its present age, with the growth of any other known in history, and the comparison will be found to be highly favorable to the colony of Liberia. It is very true this colonization has taken place in the nineteenth century with the advantage of all the great improvements of the day. It is true this colony has had the favor of this government, and to a certain extent, the favor of most of the great civilized governments of this world. But when you take into consideration the physical conformation of the African Con-

tinent—that which has undoubtedly been powerfully influential in preventing its civilization up to the present time—you cannot fail to see the great obstacles which this cause alone has presented to the plan of colonization. Look at Europe, with the deep indentations of its coast, its splendid estuaries and harbors, affording every facility for commerce and intercourse with the various parts of the same continent as well as of all the other great divisions of the globe. Witness a similar physical conformation of the great continent of America. You are all perfectly familiar with the vast influence of those great physical features, not only upon the climate of these continents, but also upon the character, pursuits and progress of the people who inhabit them. You do not require to be told that if Africa had been found with the same advantages—if it had been indented with great inlets, commodious bays and harbors, entered by great navigable rivers, its destiny and that of the vast population which inhabit it, would have been far different from what they now are. Hence the great difficulties, also, in the way of successful colonization—difficulties which did not attend the efforts of those Europeans who first settled this continent.

These disadvantages may be considered as more than a complete offset to the benefits enjoyed by the colony of Liberia in the protection of the American people and of this Society. Then the great fact stands forth, that in spite of all these difficulties, a growing, prosperous, and successful colony of free blacks has been planted on the coast of Africa—a colony which may be advantageously compared with any similar example of emigration made known to us in history. It is the importance of these facts, now known and appreciated by the whole country, which creates the interest, manifested in all

Hon. Mr. Stanton's Address.

parts of the United States for the success and increase of the Colony of Liberia.

There are, however, other causes in operation which have contributed to this result. And among these is that great excitement under which the country has labored for some years past—the great sectional difficulty between the North and the South, on the subject of slavery. No such great and general agitation ever takes place among any people, without accomplishing something for the cause of human progress. And I think as the results of this vast commotion in the public mind, some three or four conclusions have arisen and fixed themselves as settled convictions of the American people. The first of these is, that the people of the Northern States are not benefitted, but on the contrary, are positively injured by the presence of the free blacks. The second is that the same is the case with regard to the white population of the Southern States. Third, that the slave himself is injured by the presence of the free black man; and finally, that the free blacks themselves can never enjoy liberty and equality, and consequently can never attain to the full exercise of their faculties, or rather the full development of their capacity for freedom, while they remain in this country.

As to the first of these propositions, that the people of the Northern States feel the presence of the free blacks, in any considerable numbers, to be a disadvantage to them, I need only refer to the legislation of some of the north-western States, actually excluding them from their limits. And I think I may refer to the tone of public sentiment all over the North as evinced by the public press. I might also refer to the messages of Governors of Northern States, to the proceedings of their legislative bodies, as evidence of the fact that this conviction has fixed itself upon the minds

of a very considerable majority of the Northern people. I know there is a different feeling among some, and that not perhaps an inconsiderable portion of the Northern people; but I speak of the general sentiments—the general convictions of the people of that part of the Union.

Now, sir, as to the second and third propositions, that the free blacks are felt in the Southern States to be a population that does not contribute to the welfare of either the white man or the slave. Here again I refer to the uniform legislation of all the Southern States—a legislation, not of recent origin, but going back almost to the foundation of the States themselves. The tenor of that legislation is to prohibit the emancipation of slaves except upon condition of their removal beyond the limits of the respective States. And it is usual, I believe universal, to prohibit the ingress of free negroes from the other States under the severest penalties. The foundation of this legislation, as everybody knows, is the conviction and the experience, that the presence of the black man in a state of freedom is injurious to society. I might refer you to the fact that even in South Carolina, within a few years past, the Governor of that State made the removal of the free negroes beyond its limits the subject of a direct recommendation in his message to the Legislature.

Now I say, with the utmost confidence, that this injury is not felt only as resulting to the interests of the white man, who is the master, but also to the black man, who is the slave. I shall presently endeavor to show that the free negro in this country is almost always a degraded being. He communicates this degradation to the slave, and generally exerts his influence in misleading and corrupting him. It is not that he incites the slave to rebel or to escape, so much as he induces him to pilfer and

Hon. Mr. Sumner's Address.

ness, rewarding him with interesting work. The result is vice and misery on the part of the slave, and increased poverty on the part of his owner. So I assure you, sir, that it is beyond all doubt a fixed conviction on the part of the Southern people, that both the whites and the slaves would be benefited by the removal of the free blacks.

As to the influence of the situation of the free blacks upon their own happiness, prosperity and progress, I need only refer you to the results exhibited by the census of 1842—results which will no doubt be sustained by the census of last year, when its details shall be made known. You all remember the celebrated letter of Mr. Calhoun, as to the comparative condition of the slaves and free negroes in this country. I know it was said in some quarters that the exhibit made in that letter was founded upon an error in the statistics upon which Mr. Calhoun based his conclusions. However that may be, every one must acknowledge, that, in the main, these conclusions are true. They may have been exaggerated by the supposed error of Mr. Calhoun, but still the facts remain undoubted, that in vice, crime, and degradation, the condition of the free negro in the non-slaveholding States is immeasurably below that of any other part of the population.

But if this be the result of experience, exhibited by statistical facts which cannot be successfully questioned, it is equally the conclusion to which every mode of correct reasoning will inevitably bring us. In the very nature of things—from the constitution of society and the natural nature of man, the general condition of the free black in any portion of this country, must be one of inevitable degradation. Individual instances to the contrary do not shake this conclusion. The general result follows necessarily from the

existing condition of things—the actual relation of the two races on this continent.

A moral demonstration—reasoning from cause to effect—is not always satisfactory. In a rather usual demonstration, the facts are brought to the test of the senses—to the sight or the feeling. You take two triangles, with equal sides and angles, and impose one upon the other—they coincide in all parts—they are equal. I believe every mathematical problem can be brought down to this test, which appeals to the sight or feeling. But to the minds of educated men, a moral demonstration is, or at least ought to be, equally as convincing. Now take for the elements of our investigation a few distinctive facts which nobody can dispute. Take, in the first place, the unconquerable repugnance, the instinctive repulsion, between the white and black races—that prejudice, if you choose to call it so, which renders utterly impossible a social intercourse between the races upon a footing of equality. Take again the equally unquestionable superiority of the white race in intellect, in activity, and in physical force, or at least in those devices which supply the want of physical force or increase its efficiency. Then take, in addition, the overwhelming numbers of the whites. And now what do you make of the premises? You cannot dispute them. The wildest abolitionist, who professes to place the negro upon an equality with himself, cannot so far reel against nature and conquer the natural repulsion of the races, as to intermarry with the objects of his philanthropy. The few exceptions to this assertion are anomalies and misstatements, looked upon with utter loathing and disgust, by the great mass of the whites. In his actual condition, the negro is inferior to the white man. I do not pretend to decide the question of the origin of races, or to determine whether this inferiority results from circumstances

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and conditions long operating to produce it, or whether it comes from a difference of mental and physical organization. I deal only with the facts as we find them to exist. The negroes of this country, free as well as slave, are not the equals of the white race, whatever may be the cause of the difference.

Then we have an inferior race, greatly in the minority, living among those who are vastly their superiors in activity, intellect, and enterprize, and who have an unconquerable aversion to social intercourse with them. What must be the inevitable result? Aye, with all your benevolence, with all your efforts to elevate and sustain this inferior population, what must be the end? They must go down. They cannot meet the competition, under such circumstances, of a superior race with greatly superior numbers. They must sink in the scale of prosperity, and consequently of intellect and of morals.

What is the principle which will control two races placed in contact under the circumstances I have described? It is the principle of antagonism. Such is the law of nature—such is the lesson we derive from history in all ages. I do not mean to say that this antagonism *ought* to exist. I do not mean even to assert that it *would* exist, if the principle of Christian charity were carried to its full extent; though under all circumstances the natural repulsion of the races would continue to operate. But I speak of human nature as it is, with all its cupidity, criminality, and its disposition to impose upon the weak and inferior. The free negro cannot stand up against this antagonism, in the existing condition of mankind, even if we consider only the operation of those impulses and desires which are usually considered irreproachable. Already they are fast being driven from profitable employment in all

parts of the country by the competition of the whites. They are going down in the scale of prosperity, and they must necessarily sink in the scale of civilization by the continued operation of the same cause.

The only remedy for this antagonism, which must exist as long as the races remain together, is, in my humble judgment, *slavery*. Like the alkali which causes the oil and water to combine, slavery neutralizes the antagonism of the whites and blacks for the mutual interest of both. I do not mean to say that "slavery in the abstract" is right. I am not one of those who believe that slavery is either destined to be, or ought to be, perpetual. But I speak of the necessary and inevitable relations between the two races in a condition such as that which exists in the United States. The free black man in this country, deprived of social equality and generally of political rights, is virtually a slave. I believe he assumes a level in society even lower than that of the slave.

Such will not be the case with any white race of men who may be brought into contact with us on this continent; because one element of the condition of the blacks does not exist—that is the instinctive repulsion between the races. You may bring an inferior European people into the United States, and in the course of one or two generations they melt away and mingle with our population—perhaps strengthen and improve it. But this the black race never can do. Their inevitable doom, among us, is to assume a lower caste and to go down in the scale of civilization.—But it does by no means follow that placed upon a different continent under different circumstances, precisely the opposite may not be the result. I believe that precisely the opposite would be the result. The black man is peculiarly docile; he is capable of improvement; he is susceptible of

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a high degree of civilization; he has an intellect which some persons believe to be as good naturally as that of the white man. Place him in favorable circumstances on the shore of Africa, free from the injurious contact of the white man—his great superiority in strength, industry, and intellect, will therefore preponderate him by the very weight of this superiority—the tendency of the black man is to improve. His inevitable destiny, under such circumstances, is to raise the scale of humanity by the exercise of independent power and self-control. The seeds of civilization have been planted in his human heart, they will germinate and expand there, in a soil and climate, fitted by the Creator to his physical and moral nature.

It is a question of doubt in the minds of many, whether the black man placed in the most favorable circumstances in the Colony of Liberia, will be able to maintain free institutions. We are pointed to the condition of France at the present time, and we are told that one of the most enlightened nations of the earth, having its dominion in its own hands, has been unable to maintain a free government. It is therefore asserted that the black man, inferior in civilization and in intellect, at least at the present time, must be incapable of it. But it must be remembered that these European nations, enlightened as they may be, have their ancestral traditions of thousands of years, their despotic customs, and as we have been recently told by a very distinguished individual, that attitude certain which invariably produces despotism. Nobody could have failed to perceive, during the existence of the French Republic since 1789, that the people there seemed to have no idea, certainly no idea like ours, of the true nature of a written constitution. Their constitution was always considered, or seemed to me to be con-

structed, in conformity with their former monarchial maxims and laws. In truth their institutions had not been changed in conformity with their change of constitution.

When the crab throws off his shell, his internal constitution and vital organization will remain the same, and they necessarily reproduce the shell again. So when the Government of France changed its head, or threw off its shell—the crust of despotism—its general institutions and internal organization remaining the same, it could produce nothing by the very nature of things, but despotism again. There must be an entire change in the internal organization of the body itself, in order that the caterpillar may come out a butterfly. It does not follow because the people of Liberia are in a lower state of improvement, that they are incapable of free institutions. I apprehend that free institutions are as natural and as easy to be maintained and carried on, as despotic governments. The Government of Liberia will start with that internal organization and those institutions which necessarily tend to produce freedom by their very operation. If this be the case, we may justly expect from the nature of the thing as well as from existing facts and the past history of this Colony, that they will be able to maintain their institutions, and that their destiny is to go forward progressively and not to go backwards.

Mr. President and Gentlemen, I have attempted to show and I believe every one must acknowledge, that the removal of the free blacks from this country to Africa, where they can enjoy liberal institutions and where they can be in a position to improve in civilization, prosperity and happiness, is to the advantage of the white man and of the black man—of the free man and of the slave—of the Northern man and

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of the Southern man. It is the interest of all parties that they should be removed—black and white, East and West, North and South. It is the general—the universal—the *national interest*. I think this great fact is becoming known to the people. They are beginning to appreciate the policy which has been so perseveringly, through so many difficulties and discouragements, pursued by this Society for more than a quarter of a century. Results are becoming manifest. The negro, free in Africa, carrying civilization and Christianity with him, rises in the scale of being; while, in this country, his freedom does not relieve him from degradation, but dooms him and his posterity to inevitable decline. Humanity, self-interest, patriotism, all combine to urge the supreme necessity of colonization for the benefit of both races.

If these facts be true—if all interests, particular and general, individual and collective, local and national, require the prosecution of this great scheme, can you tell me, Mr. President, why the General Government must have no concern with it? why it may not look to this as a wise and legitimate collateral object, in the performance of its great constitutional duties?

Mr. President, in your speech in the Senate in March, 1850, of which I will say nothing, but which the whole country concurs in saying did you so much honor, and for which I had the pleasure of bearing to you the congratulations of some of my constituents of a political party opposite to your own, you, so far as I know or am informed, first broached the idea that the government might appropriate money for the purpose of colonizing the free blacks of the United States. I do not know that it would be practicable in the present state of public opinion, or at least, in the present state of that opinion which

controls the councils of the nation, to carry out your idea, which I believe to be a just idea. But there is a mode which, it seems to me, obviates all difficulty, and removes all objections, either on the score of policy or of constitutionality.

It is expected, for I am so informed, that I should say something about the scheme which has been so much agitated, generally known by the nickname of “the Ebony line of steamers.” This is the proposition, Sir, though not original with me, which I had the honor to bring forward in the House of Representatives, and which I believe will accomplish the great object suggested by you in the speech to which I have referred. This proposition had the unqualified approbation of the President of the Society, (alluding to Mr. CLAY.) I do not know, Sir, what your views may be, (addressing Mr. WEBSTER.) But I think the scheme avoids all difficulties of a constitutional character, and renders it possible for the government of the United States to aid essentially in the cause of this Society, without offending the prejudices of any portion of the people.

From the earliest period of our history under the present constitution, it has been the custom, as every body knows, in making our postal arrangements, to provide for the carriage of the mails in post coaches wherever the routes have been of much importance. And although no one probably would contend that the government of the United States has the right to establish and maintain stage coaches for the purpose of carrying passengers alone, yet it is well understood that this usual requirement in the post office contracts, altogether unnecessary for the mere transportation of the mails, was made for the public accommodation, and for the express purpose of facilitating the carrying of passengers from one point to another. In the performance of its conceded constitutional

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tions, the government has not felt itself bound, nor have the people heretofore expected it, to hold itself aloof from the political contest, whenever that could be consistently prevented. Accordingly, similar arrangements have been made for some years past with reference to the foreign mails, and lines of steam vessels have been established, connected with the navy, and foreign, and I believe, a very important and indispensable branch of the naval service, having precisely the same object, and with precisely a similar object—the extension of the intercourse and commerce of the country with the different countries of the world. Until this African steam line was proposed, bearing, in my humble judgment, more important collateral objects than any other, I believe I never heard of a constitutional objection to the contracts which have been entered into for carrying the mail between this and other countries. The proposition to establish this line, important as would be its bearing upon all the great interests to which I have alluded as being involved in the removal of the free blacks—interests, not less momentous to our own country, than to those of that little commonwealth on the other shore of the Atlantic, which is the worthy ally and friend of this Society—it is not, in any particular, different in principle from any of those lines which have heretofore been established without objection.

In another point of view, I think this policy of very high importance. I believe, and it is generally acknowledged, that the invention of the steam engine will produce a thorough and complete revolution in the art of naval warfare. It is well known that in anticipation of this revolution, which must be solidified in the next naval conflict which shall occur, all the great maritime powers of the world have made such preparation as to have at their own

command an immense force of steamers for any sudden contingencies. England has numerous lines of steamers, established upon the same principle to which I have already referred, comprising more than a hundred powerful vessels, ready at any moment to receive their armaments, and to answer the call. In the "*Washington Union*" of this morning, I find the following extract from the "*London Times*:"

"STEAM COMMUNICATION WITH THE COLONIES.—The government has advertised for tenders for conveying mails by steam steamers between the Cape of Good Hope and Calcutta, via the Mauritius and Ceylon. This will establish a steam-packet communication between the Mauritius and this country, both by the Cape and overland routes. It will also connect the Cape with the overland route. When the contracts for conveying mails at present advertised for are all taken, there will be a steam-packet communication with every important English colony and possession in the world, except New Zealand and Vancouver's Island. The total cost to the country of the mail packet service may be set down at £50,000*l.* per annum, and next year this sum will be increased to 1,000,000*l.*"

But in addition to this information, which shows very plainly the drift and direction of English naval policy, I was recently informed by an intelligent gentleman of another equally important fact. I do not know how authentic it may be, but the gentleman who informed me received it from such a source that he gave it implicit confidence. He stated that there is not a steamer built in England, by private owners or companies, either for the coasting or foreign trade, for which the government of Great Britain does not provide an armament, marked and numbered, and deposited in her arsenals, to be placed upon

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that vessel in the contingency of war. And it was stated as a consequence, that if war should break out to-morrow, between England and any other country, she could put upon the ocean no less than a thousand steamers, bearing these armaments.

I shall not attempt to decide, for I feel myself entirely incompetent to decide, that great question which is of so much interest, and about which there is so much diversity of opinion among naval men themselves, whether, in a future war, steam-power will be used merely as an auxiliary, or whether it will be the primary force relied upon. Certain it is, that these swarms of steamers, by the celerity and certainty of their movements, would not only sweep the ocean, but they could take cities and towns, by landing large forces at any given point. They could concentrate at a designated spot in any portion of the world within a given time, and would thus introduce into naval warfare that system of combination which has characterized the operations of military power since the days of Napoleon. They could outrun and evade sailing vessels, leave them behind, and carry on commerce in spite of them. So that it may be a question worthy of consideration whether steam is not destined to be the most efficient—indeed, the indispensable agent in any future war, instead of being, as many suppose, the mere auxiliary power in aid of the old organization. But whichever may be the truth, it cannot be doubted, if the facts I have mentioned be well founded, that England is acting wisely and with proper foresight, in preparing to make use of this powerful agent upon so extensive a scale, for her own defence, or for aggression upon others. We are far behind her. So far as actually existing arrangements—I mean our state of actual preparation—are concerned, we are behind all the great mari-

time powers of the world—Russia and France as well as England. But I do not mean to say that we are behind either of those powers in our naval resources—in our capacity, eventually, to put a fleet upon the ocean.

I think it follows from these considerations, that in entering upon this system by which the building of steam vessels is encouraged, and by which they are kept constantly running to all quarters of the world, we not only extend our commerce and repay for the expenditure by the general benefits received from this source, but we do also, at the same time, make the best possible preparation, and indeed the only valuable preparation, for the contingency of a war.

Mr. President and gentlemen, there is another consideration which for some time has been weighing upon my mind, and which I have expressed to some extent upon other occasions. But I am almost afraid to declare what I feel, because I know I shall be flying in the face of old ideas, and prejudices which have long existed. But I will venture to ask you to think of this single fact: if we should have another twenty-five years of peace, and if the expenses of our navy during that period should not be reduced, as they probably cannot be and ought not to be, considering the vast extension of our country and its prospective increase of population, the expenditures for the naval service will amount to at least TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS OF DOLLARS. (Turning to Mr. Fillmore and Mr. Webster,) You who have the control and management of this government and its destinies to some extent in your hands, and also the destinies of humanity, so far as the influence of this great Government goes, what are you accomplishing by the aid of this vast expenditure? Or, perhaps, I ought rather to ask what might you not accomplish in the next twenty-five years by the judicious use of

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these two hundred millions of dollars? I know very well that the time has not yet come when we can dispense with our naval armaments, or send our military forces on shore. But I do believe the time has come when the enlightened condition of the world requires that those vast expenditures in making preparation for war, shall be made useful in maintaining the arts of peace, and that prosperity which is the result of peace—of extending and promoting that inviolable commerce, and that friendly Christian intercourse of nations, which the navy is designed to protect.

I have said upon another occasion, that when you take one of those magnificent steamers, which plough the ocean almost without any reduction of the power which produces the result, and place upon her an armament fitted for her own defence and for the defence of that commerce which she is related so much to extend, you have half accomplished that great prophesy, which perhaps a few generations are to see fully accomplished, when the sword shall be turned into the ploughshare.

The closer you bring nations together, the more intimate you make their intercourse—especially the intercourse of the people with each other—the more distant do you make the possibility of war. And while it is clear that the increased destructiveness of the instruments of war, has had a tendency to diminish the disposition of nations to engage in it, the invention of the powerful agency of steam has had a still more humane and noble influence—what is, to quote an excellent French name—brotherly internationalism, which is fast leading them to the conclusion that war is no longer necessary, except to minister to the ambition of personal rulers.

Now, I hold it to be a proposition which we men can demonstrate by policy, that if our country too soon will be defeated in the way proposed, by which the public expenditure

will at the same time be made to accomplish happy results for the welfare of the country—if it can be thus as well defended as it can be by the old system of floating batteries—the old frigates and ships of the line which frequently lie two or two and a half years out of three in some distant port—if you can substitute active and efficient steamers for these old vessels, with security to the country, and at the same time with advantage to the commerce of the country, it is our solemn duty to do so. Such will be the judgment of the country—such will be the judgment of the civilized world.

I do not know, Mr. President, that I can add any thing more to the views which I have sketched. I have not entered into them with any very great detail, because I know that to this intelligent audience, it is necessary only to give the great outlines of my position. They will themselves supply the minute features of the picture. I might properly allude to the fact, that the Government of the United States in former times, has felt itself at liberty to enter into treaties which imposed upon it the obligation to keep a large squadron on the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade. I believe now, the conviction is very general, not only in this country but in England, that the colored natives of the two countries have done little towards the actual suppression of the trade in African men. Sir, I heard your predecessor in that chair, (Mr. Clay,) the venerable President of this Society, twelve months ago, demonstrate in his own most eloquent mode, that the Colonization of the Coasts of Africa was the only efficient means of accomplishing that great result. One of the greatest merits of the Colony of Liberia—one of its highest claims to your consideration and encouragement—is the fact that it has done much; that it promises to do

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still more, to suppress this infamous traffic. Now I think it would be a very wise change—a very beneficial and humane change—one that would not to any extent, endanger the true interests of the country, to make use of the expenditure which is now applied for sustaining this squadron on the Coast of Africa, to establish a line of communication, by which the emigrant from this country will be afforded a cheap, quick, and comfortable passage, to the home of his fathers. In a few years what might be expected as the result of the establishment of such a line? Africa will become a place of promise to the black man, as this country has become a place of promise to the white man of the European continent. It is not supposed that the Government of the United States, by any facilities which it might thus incidentally offer, could remove the whole race of free blacks in this country. But by this movement, so much strength and prosperity might be infused into the new colony, that the free black man would be attracted, and would of his own accord, seek a home in Africa. This is the great result at which this Society is aiming. When this shall be accomplished, its mission will have been completed. The free negroes of this country will hasten to the shores of Africa, they will build up a prosperous Government; they will carry civilization and Christianity into the interior of that vast continent, and they will develop its resources to an extent which will astonish and delight mankind.

I believe the black man, in former times, under bad advice and baleful influences, has shown himself averse to leaving this country and taking up his abode in Africa. Recent indications, however, go to show that he is beginning to change, and to learn that he can never enjoy true freedom, or make real progress in this country

—that the desire to remove to Africa is extending itself among the blacks themselves. Nothing remains, but that the Government of the United States shall give its favor and encouragement to this proceeding. This it can do, without stepping out of the usual mode of accomplishing similar results—without doing any thing which it has not done often before, without objection—and without contravening any constitutional principle, or any cherished principle of policy.

Mr. President, I forbear to speak of the capacities of that country for agricultural and commercial development. There is a vast field of investigation which I leave for others to explore. I will not even speak of the commercial advantages which in the course of time might accrue from the particular measure, which I have now especially advocated. I leave all these to other gentlemen, or for other occasions. I am aware that other gentlemen are expected to address you, and I will no longer keep you from the enjoyment of those better things, which, I have no doubt, are in store for you.

The Rev. PHILIP SLAUGHTER, of Virginia, was next introduced. He offered the following resolution, viz:

Resolved, That the scheme of African Colonization affords a basis broad enough for Christians of all creeds and politicians of all parties to stand upon; and that its principles and conduct are in entire harmony with the rights of individuals, the rights of the States, and our obligations to the Union and to God.

In support of this resolution, Mr. Slaughter spoke as follows:

MR. PRESIDENT: In the year 1607 three English ships were driven by stress of weather into the Capes of Virginia, and,

Rev. Mr. Augustus Adams

having ascended the James river, erected the first settlement of the white race upon the continent of America. About twelve years afterwards, in the year 1620, a Dutch man-of-war ascended the same river and landed at the same place twenty African slaves. And now, for the first time, the white man, the black man and the red man stood face to face and gazed upon each other in the New World.

From that moment, these three races started upon a new career—a career which is even now in the process of development before our eyes—a career which was destined, in my humble judgment, to fulfil upon a large scale that remarkable prophecy uttered thousands of years before by the patriarch Noah, when, in the name of God, he proclaimed, "God shall enlarge Japan and he shall dwell in the tents of Sheen, and Canaan shall be his servant."

The contemplation of the career upon which these three races started at that eventful moment may teach us some exceedingly instructive and interesting lessons. There was the white man, the type of Christian civilization. He began immediately to increase and multiply in the most rapid and wonderful manner. In a very few years, or in a comparatively short time, he penetrated every river and spread its mouth into the Atlantic ocean—he ascended every hill—he passed every mountain—passed along the valleys and spread over the entire continent of America. But not merely has he subdued the wilderness and made those vast solitudes which hitherto were unbroken, save by the warwhoop of the Indian and the scream of the eagle, vocal with the hum of industry and with the songs of Christian praise; but, in the same space of time, he has accomplished a revolution which has no parallel in the annals of the world. He

has reared the fabrics of government which have no model upon the face of the globe—governments which are now attracting the observation of the entire world. The kings of the continent of Europe at this very moment are looking with awe and disquietude upon "this new Rome rising in the West," the forked dows of whose greatness yet to be are extending darkly and heavily over their dominions and obscuring the lustre of their thrones.

Where are the other parties to this interesting meeting? The red man has retired before the rising tide of white population, receding from the Blue Ridge to the Allegheny—from the Allegheny to the Mississippi, and disappearing from each in quick succession, like snow before the sun. He may linger for a few years in our Western horizon, but is destined ere long to make his "ocean grave with the setting sun." His history is an instructive instance of the effect of leaving an inferior in immediate contact with a superior race, and in the enjoyment of its own wild liberty.

To return to the African. Had he been left, like the Indian, in his native freedom, his would have been the fate of the Indian. But in the mysterious providence of God, the African was "bound to the ear of the Anglo-Americans," who has borne him along with him in his upward career, protecting his weakness, and providing for him physical comforts which were never enjoyed by the Indian, nor indeed by the lower classes in any country under the sun.

Accordingly he has grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength, until he is numbered by millions instead of scores, and if the accession by immigration had not been arrested, the black

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might have surpassed the white population.

In the meantime the black man has been trained in the habits, manners and arts of civilized life—been made acquainted with the Christian religion and been gradually rising in the intellectual and moral order until he is far above his race in their native seats. In these facts, Sir, we see some traces of the designs of an all-wise Providence in permitting the black man to be brought here and placed in contact with the institutions of Christian civilization. As we proceed, we shall discover new and more beautiful instances of design, as the history of the race is evolved under the Providence of God.

No sooner had we taken our place as an independent power among the nations of the earth, than a new phenomenon presented itself to our view—to wit.—The class of *free* colored people. The thirteen colonies which adopted the Declaration of Independence, were slave-holders. When these colonies became States, they reserved their sovereign power over the question of slavery. In the exercise of their sovereignty, seven of the original thirteen, in process of time, emancipated their slaves. Many individuals in the Southern States, emancipated a still larger number. This new phenomenon soon began to attract the public attention. The agitation of the subject began in the Legislature of Virginia in 1776, but nothing definite was done. In after years the subject was repeatedly discussed in the Legislature and was a matter of grave consideration and of correspondence and consultation among the leading statesmen of the commonwealth, who at last concluded that it would be a wise measure of policy as well as an act of humanity to remove this anomalous class of people from the State. Measures were

accordingly taken to effect this object in co-operation with the general government.

For many years previous to this era, Christian men had been anxiously pondering the problem of the conversion of Africa to Christianity. When adventurous travellers and missionaries, who had penetrated the interior of that continent, returned and disclosed the condition of that unhappy people—generation after generation of whom, had for centuries been going down to their graves unblessed by the light of Christianity, and living millions still groaning under the yoke of the most debasing bondage and the most cruel superstition to which humanity ever bent the knee or bowed the mind, the mighty heart of Christendom beat with the liveliest sympathy, and a cry of horror went up from all her borders.—Shamed by past apathy, and burning with present zeal, different branches of the Church, projected mission after mission and sent them forth at an immense expense of life and treasure to convey the glad tidings of salvation to these perishing millions. The experiment was tried for more than 200 years, and the result was an absolute failure; and the bones of a noble army of martyrs, bleached the burning sands of that benighted land. When the heart of Christendom had again sunk down into apathy and black despair seemed to rest on the prospect in that direction, then it was that the happy thought occurred to many christian minds who had been long pondering the problem presented by the presence of the free colored people in this country, and also the unhappy condition of Africa, of taking these very persons whose presence was not desired here, and whose removal was eminently desirable on many accounts, and sending them back to the land of their fathers learning along with them the Ark of God, and all the institutions of Christian civilization.

Here is one of those remarkable instan-

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res in which Divine Providence acts far out of the sight of men. In allowing these persons to be kept here for 200 years in contact with the institutions of Christian civilization, daily rising in the scale of intellectual and moral improvement, having become acquainted with our principles, and in many instances imbued with the spirit of the religion of Jesus Christ—God, as it has been beautifully and eloquently said, had been long elaborating in the depths of his own unfathomable counsel, just as he elaborates the diamond in the mine, that gem of Christian civilization which now blazes on the sable brow of Africa.

Politicians looking at this question from a political point of view, and actuated by political considerations merely, were also pondering this very problem, and contemporary with the conclusion to which Christians came, they had come to identically the same conclusion. Accordingly, as we all know, politicians of all parties, and Christians of all creeds, assembled here in the city of Washington in 1846, and laid the foundation of the very Society whose 35th anniversary we are now celebrating, burying under its corner-stone all party feeling and sectarian jealousies in religion. What but the superintending providence of God could have produced this conjuncture of circumstances and union of minds.

Men of the highest sanctity of character and splendor of talent—burning and shining lights in the church and in the State, were present and participated in the proceedings which are familiar to us all.—The result of their deliberations was that in 1820, (just 260 years after the landing of the blacks in Jamestown,) the "Elizabeth" sailed for the coast of Africa with 83 emigrants and a few white men who had volunteered to be pioneers in

this perilous enterprise. I will not detain you by reciting the affecting story of their adventures, which in many incidents are strangely like those of the first settlers of our own country.

Only 30 years have elapsed and what has been the result. I will not enter into the details. You have heard many of them already in the annual report. But what has been the general result? There it stands in the sight of all men, a Christian Republic in the very central region of African barbarism and the slave trade, a republic of free blacks constructed after the model of our own, with all the machinery of a free republican government, presided over and administered in all its departments by free colored men from the United States of America. There are between 20 and 30 Christian Churches in full and successful operation. There are Sunday schools and day schools. There are printing presses and newspapers.—There is all the apparatus of Christian civilization in full and distinct and visible operation, exerting a powerful influence upon hundreds and thousands of the natives who are daily coming within the range of its influence. We are told that even Kings are coming already to the brightness of the rising of this Lone Star, and bringing their children to be educated in the principles of free government, and still more in the principles and glad tidings of salvation by Jesus Christ our Saviour. We have thus pushed the base of our missionary operations in Africa across the Atlantic, 4000 miles in advance of our former centre of operations. And it is a fact worthy of being noted that white missionaries are now able to maintain their ground by means of the comfort and protection afforded by the presence of the Colonies.

Mr. President, I desire to consider in a few words in the conclusion of this rapid and desultory view of the question,

Rev. Mr. Staughton's Address.

what is our duty as patriotic men? What is our duty as humane men? What is our duty as Christian men in relation to this great measure of State policy and of Christian beneficence. First, then, this is a question of humanity. There is a large class, now amounting to between 300 and 500,000 of our fellow-creatures occupying a state of intellectual, of moral, of social, and of political degradation far below that of the white population and in many cases even of our slaves. There are some visionaries who profess to entertain the expectation and the hope that these persons will some day or other be brought to stand upon the same platform of political and social equality with the white race. Sir, no dream in the Arabian Tales was ever more vain, mischievous, and visionary.—It is utterly impossible. Almighty God has placed between us and them by a visible mark, an impassable gulf. No human power or wisdom can ever bridge that gulf so that they can come over and stand on the same platform of political and social equality with us. No, sir, they stand and frown upon each other—

“Like cliffs that have been rent asunder,
A dreary sea now rolls between;
But neither heat, nor frost, nor thunder,
Shall ever do away, I ween,
The marks of that which once hath been.”
[Applause.]

It does not become me, perhaps, to speak of this question in a political aspect; but I will say one word upon that point. We are all patriotic men. All American citizens are patriotic men. All admire and love the institutions of their country, and desire to perpetuate them to the latest posterity. Need I suggest what is the cause which has come more nearly than any other cause, to overwhelm this proud fabric of free government, to which the thousands and tens of thousands of refugees from the old and worn-out governments of Europe,

are flocking every day, as doves to their windows! It is this very question of the black race. Do we not know that questions connected with this very class have agitated this country—have shaken the great fabric of government from its base to its topmost turret, have made it heave to and fro as if with a mighty moral earthquake, and have threatened utterly to overwhelm it in one entire and tremendous ruin. Is it not clear that if this Society proceeds to do as it has already done, it will abstract, to a certain extent, some of the causes of this political agitation, in entire harmony with the rights of individuals, the rights of property, the rights of the States, and all our obligations to the Union and to God? If it tends to abstract one of those causes of political agitation and disturbance, does it not tend in the same ratio to establish and perpetuate our free and glorious institutions? Is there an American citizen who will not do all that in him lies, in the providence of God, to hand down to his posterity this noble structure, under whose shadow such multitudes of the miserable and oppressed from every nation of the earth are now taking shelter? Sir, it is encouraging us, to see among the bright names upon the roll of our Society, those of the men who laid the foundation of our government, and cemented it with their blood, as well as of those who have built up its walls, and who now stand as the firmest pillars and the most graceful ornaments of that wondrous structure, whose crowning dome is the constitution of the United States.

Again, not to dwell on this branch of the subject, we are Christians, and this subject has a missionary aspect. There are thousands and tens of thousands of Christians in this country, who believe that we have now clear and distinct, and most encouraging evidence, that this is one of the

Rev. Mr. Plauter's Address—Hon. Mr. Webster's Address.

special modes by which God's providence is going to solve that so long vexed and perplexing problem of the establishment of Christianity in Africa. So long as the white man was employed as the instrument for conveying the gospel to Africa, all his efforts were attended with absolute failure. Utter failure was written upon them all. It would seem as if Almighty God, by those dispensations of his providence, had absolutely interdicted that road to the white man; and that he had been preparing those persons, who can live in that climate, so fatal to the white man, to be instruments of the entire and permanent establishment of all the institutions of Christianity and free government in that benighted land. Oh! what an animating view is not this to the Christian; and what a powerful stimulus should it not give to our support of this great scheme of African colonization. There are many of us who do not doubt for one single moment, however vain and chimerical, or visionary, other persons may deem it, that this instrumentality will have precisely that full and glorious development and issue.

Sir, there stands upon the coast of Africa a civilized community, whose influence is felt throughout all the region round about. Why should not that instrumentality be used by Divine Providence for the purpose of the entire regeneration of the whole continent of Africa? Is that too much for the eye of faith to anticipate? Why, let us reflect a moment upon the history of our own country. It has been well said, where was the Christian, or the policeman, sufficiently sagacious to see in that little tobacco plantation at Jamestown, two hundred years ago, or in that little company which was washed across the wintry ocean in the *May Flower* and landed upon the

barren rock of Plymouth, the germs of this colored America of ours, which now stands with her feet in the tropics, her head reposing upon the snows of Canada, stretching her right hand to the Pacific and her left hand to the Atlantic in token of welcome and shelter to the refugee and oppressed of all lands. (Great applause.) Why may we not anticipate that God will thus bless that Lone Star which now shines with faithful and tremulous light in the very central regions of African barbarism and the slave trade, and that, by his blessing upon it, upon our prayers, upon our example, and upon the efforts of individuals, of States, and of the United States, that Lone Star may become a mighty constellation like our own, shining like light-houses around the coast of Africa, their light transmitted through all the dark valleys of the shadow of death, until the very Mountains of the Moon reflecting the Sun of Righteousness, shall light up the midnight of African barbarism.

The Reverend Gentleman resumed his seat amidst great applause.

The Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER next addressed the Society, as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY:—It is now many years since I took part in the original organization of this society. It was formed under the lead of Southern gentlemen. Its first President, if I remember aright, was that most estimable, virtuous, and distinguished magistrate, Judge Basilrod Washington. In the list of its Vice Presidents at that time, if I remember aright, was the gentleman to whom allusion has already been made—the present President of this Society. Circumstances have not called upon, nor even permitted me, in the course of the many years that have rolled over our heads from that day to this, to take any particular active part in furthering the ob-

Hon. Mr. Webster's Address.

jects or promoting the success of this Society. I have, nevertheless, never for a moment entertained a doubt that its object was useful, that to a certain degree it was practicable and that in the end it might show itself to be of the highest importance in producing beneficial effects upon the state of society among us arising from the mixed races that inhabit the United States.

Gentlemen, there is a Power above us which sees the end of all things from the beginning, though we see it not. Almighty God is his own interpreter of the ways of his own providence; and I sometimes contemplate with amazement, and I may say with adoration, events which have taken place through the instrumentality of the cupidity and criminality of men, designed nevertheless to work out great ends of beneficence and goodness, by our Creator. (Applause.)

As has been said by the eloquent and reverend gentleman who has addressed us, African slaves were brought hither, to the shores of this continent, almost simultaneously with the first tread of a white man's foot upon this, our North America. We see in that, our short-sightedness only sees, the effect of a desire of the white man to appropriate to himself the results of the labor of the black man as an inferior and a slave. Now let us look at it.

These negroes, and all who have succeeded them, brought hither as captives taken in the wars of their own petty provinces, ignorant and barbarous, without the knowledge of God, and with no reasonable knowledge of their own character and condition, have come here, and here, although in a subordinate, in an inferior, in an enslaved condition, have learned more and become to know more of themselves and of their Creator, than all whom they have left behind them in their own barbarous kingdoms. It would seem that this is the mode, as far as we can judge, this is

the destiny, the rule of things, established by Providence, by which knowledge, letters, and Christianity shall be returned by the descendants of those poor ignorant barbarians who were brought here as slaves, to the country from which they came.

Who but must wonder, who can fail to see what appears to be so plainly the indication in the providence of God. He who now goes back to Africa under the auspices of this Society is an intelligent man. He knows that he is an immortal man, what his ancestors hardly knew except from that instinctive principle which pervades all human nature, that there is an hereafter. He has the lights of knowledge; he has the lights of Christianity, and he goes back infinitely more advanced in all that makes him a respectable human being than his ancestors were when they were brought from the barbarism of Africa to slavery in the United States. (Applause.)

Gentlemen, the ways of Providence are dark and intricate. Our imagination traces them in vain. We do not see where the combination ends; but we may depend upon it that since there are various races upon earth, since there are, as it seems to me unquestionable that there are, instructive repulsions between these races grown up during thousands of years by difference of climate and difference of color, there is nevertheless an end in view in the providence of our Creator which will be promotive of the happiness of all by the agency of the benevolent and well disposed in this modern and civilized age. Emigration from land to land—emigration from country to country, is one of the new and striking ideas of this age. I say it is a new idea. I do not mean that emigration from region to region has not been known from time immemorial, but I say as a great movement of society, as a great operation in the commercial, political, and moral world, emigration has now become an em-

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ment and predominant idea and object.—We see it in more instances than one and in more results than one.

One of the wisest gentlemen that it has ever been my fortune in public life to be concerned with, the late Lord Ashburton, in a correspondence which he had with this government while here, remarked that it seemed to be the design of Providence,—by facilitating the intercourse between country and country, by causing the transmission of men from one continent to another, to be only the work of so much time, and that a short time, and that time continually growing shorter,—by that particular branch of advancement in the arts, to average the population of the world upon the area of the world, to enable Europe to pour forth her over population, and to spread that population upon the too thinly peopled country of North America. This great work of averaging men upon acres, of giving every man breadth and room and space, especially as applied to our Anglo-Saxon race, to spread them with their knowledge and their principles, their activity, and their energy, and their love of liberty, civil and religious, over the largest possible space on the habitable globe, is the great idea of emigration in our time. We cannot stop it. We ought not to desire to stop it. It has for a time its inconvenience. It brings among us persons not as yet entirely or very much acquainted with our system, bringing perhaps in many cases too much of the notions in which they were bred, to the new country to which they come. That is the affair of a generation; and all the evil that is in it is suppressed, overgrown, and done away with in the next generation.—Of all those foreigners who are among us now, stretching all the way from the sea coast to the Mississippi and beyond the Mississippi, English, Irish, French, Germans, from whatever country, a generation

hence, they are all Americans like ourselves. (Applause.) We cannot resist this course of things if we would, and we ought not to resist it if we could. It is in that order of things, in that destiny of nations, which is prescribed by the providence of God, and to which we must submit.

There is another sort of emigration. It is the emigration from the New World, or this Western continent, to the Eastern—the emigration of the free colored race, with some degree of information, with some notions of religion and free government, and with some notions of what belongs to civilized life, and in many respects with a considerable idea of that, from these United States back to the land of Ham, from which their fathers were brought in chains and slavery.

I do not know, I do not profess to foresee, what may happen in years to come, or in generations to come, but I say with frankness and confidence, that it appears to me that the emigration of the free blacks from this country to Africa is destined to produce great good. If it be true, as I believe it is, without entering into any physical argument on the subject, that an amalgamation of the races here is not practicable, then the necessary result is that a separation of the races so as to enable each to pursue its own ends, its own social institutions, its own physical alliances and affinities, is what humanity requires under the influence of the same general principles of public liberty, and under the influence of the same light of the Christian religion. This appears to me to be practicable and desirable.

There are half a million of persons in the United States, of the African race, free.

Well, it is a great work to place them in a condition and in a place in which they may not only be free, but in which they may be subject to no feeling of inferiority. No man flourishes, no man grows in a

Hon. Mr. Webster's Address.

state of conscious inferiority, any more than a vegetable grows in the dark. He must come out. He must feel his equality. He must enjoy the shining sun in the Heavens as much as those around him before he feels that he is in all respects a man. (Applause.) Now it appears to me that this emigration is not impracticable. What is it to the great resources of this country, to send out a hundred thousand persons a year to Africa? In my opinion, without any violation of the analogies which we have followed in other cases, in pursuance of our commercial regulations, upon the same principles as have already been stated by the honorable gentleman from Tennessee, who has addressed the meeting, it is within our constitution—it is within the powers and provisions of that constitution, as a part of our commercial arrangements, just as we enter into treaties and pass laws for the suppression of the slave trade. If we look now to other instances, we shall see how great may be the emigration of individuals, with slight means from government.

What has been the result within a very few years? Why, if the efforts of this Society, sustained and encouraged by the General Government, should in five years accomplish half as much as has been accomplished in Ireland by individual action and very slight governmental support in the emigration of persons from Ireland, the whole work would be done. A million and a half of persons have become emigrants from Ireland within a very few years. There has been an actual diminution of the population of Ireland to the extent which I have mentioned, within some three or four or five years. They come here, a white race, they join a white race, laboring men, in the general well disposed, they go into our forests, at first not well acquainted with our institutions, gradually obtaining that information, surrendering

themselves to the general current and tone and feeling of society, becoming more and more industrious, until, as I have said, in the next generation, they are Americans without reference to origin. If to this extent the population of Ireland has been poured upon this country and upon Canada, and perhaps in some degree upon the possessions in Asia—if to the extent of one million and a half of persons the general population of Ireland has been diminished within five years, when these whites come from that land and join whites here, what could we not do to accomplish the object of sending free black persons to join other free black persons in the country of their ancestors?

At this late hour of the evening, gentlemen, it is not my intention to pursue these remarks. I concur entirely in the views suggested by both the resolutions before the meeting. I wish prosperity to this institution. I wish to see that done which shall comport most with the interests and the character and the improvement of all those persons of color who are free, and who choose to go to a country of their own. I think it is for their interest. I think it is for the interests of the country itself, especially of the North. I say nothing of the South with which I am not so much acquainted. But I believe it is right; I believe it is expedient to follow the example of the patriarch, and say to these, our black fellow citizens, take the right hand and we will take the left. Let us be harmonious, and let us wish each other well; let us do all that we can for the harmony and the happiness of us all, but trust to God that in your destiny, in the land of your fathers, you will be happier than you are here, and trust to God also, that when you shall have left us, you will leave us, not less happy than if you were to remain among us.

Election of Officers.

The Society then adjourned to meet at the Colonization Rooms to-morrow, the 21st instant, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,
January 21, 1852.

The Society met according to adjournment. Amos G. Phelps Esq., being the oldest Vice President present, was, in the absence of the President, called to the Chair.

The minutes of the last Annual Meeting of the Society were read.

The Rev. John Maclean D. D., the Rev. Joseph Tracy, and the Rev. J. B. Pinney, were appointed a Committee to nominate a President and Vice Presidents of the Society for the ensuing year—whereupon, the following named persons were nominated and elected :

PRESIDENT :
HON. HENRY CLAY.

VICE-PRESIDENTS :

1. General John H. Cooke, of Virginia.
2. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.
3. Charles Foster Mercer, of Florida.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.
5. The late Frederick Douglass, of N. Y.
6. Louis McLane, of Maryland.
7. Moses Allen, of N. Y.
8. Gen. Walter Jones, of District of Columbia.
9. Joseph Gibbs, of District of Columbia.
10. Rt. Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia.
11. Rev. James O. Andrew, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
12. William McCord, of Virginia.
13. Hiram Whitney, of Ohio.
14. Walter Loring, of N. Y.
15. James Barrett, of Ohio.
16. Stephen Denson, M. D., of Mass.
17. William C. Rives, of Virginia.
18. Pres. J. Loring, D. D., of District of Columbia.
19. Rev. William Warren, D. D., of Mississippi.

20. James Boorman, of New York.
21. Henry A. Foster, of New York.
22. Robert Campbell, of Georgia.
23. Peter V. Broom, of New Jersey.
24. James Garwood, of Virginia.
25. William Hall, of Delaware.
26. Rt. Rev. Bishop Oley, of Tenn.
27. Gerard Rosten, of England.
28. Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, of New Jersey.
29. Thomas Hedekin, M. D., of England.
30. Rev. P. Burrows, D. D., of Mass.
31. Thomas R. Hazard, of R. I.
32. Thomas Moore, M. D., of Virginia.
33. Major Gen. Winfield Scott, U. S. A.
34. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
35. James Raley, of Mississippi.
36. Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D., of N. Y.
37. Eliott Cresson, of Pennsylvania.
38. Amos G. Phelps, of New York.
39. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., of Mass.
40. Rev. Beverly Wagh, D. D., Bishop of the Meth. Episcopal Church.
41. Rev. W. B. Johnson, D. D., of South Carolina.
42. Moses Sheppard, of Maryland.
43. Rt. Rev. Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio.
44. Rev. Dr. Edgar, of Tennessee.
45. Rev. P. Lindsey, D. D., of Tenn.
46. J. R. Underwood, of Kentucky.
47. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of New Jersey.
48. H. L. Lumpkin, of Georgia.
49. James Lenox, of New York.
50. Rev. Joshua Sule, D. D., Bishop of the M. E. Church, South.
51. Rev. T. C. Upham, D. D., of Maine.
52. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
53. Thomas W. Williams, of Conn.
54. Sharon Greenleaf, of Mass.
55. Rev. John Early, D. D., of Virginia.
56. Rev. Levek Pierce, D. D., of Ga.
57. R. J. Walker, of Mississippi.
58. Samuel Gurney, of England.
59. Charles McMicken, of Ohio.
60. John Bell, M. D., of Penn.
61. Charles M. Conrad, of Louisiana.
62. Rev. Robert Ryland, of Virginia.
63. Frederic P. Smith, of Tenn.
64. Rev. Nathan Beers, D. D., of New York.
65. John Bayne, of New York.
66. James M. Wayne, of Georgia.
67. Robert F. Snelton, of New Jersey.
68. Henry W. Colver, of Alabama.

On motion, the Annual Report was referred to the Board of Directors.

On motion of Rev. John Mac-

Resolutions—Adjournment.

lean, D. D., the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That we deeply sympathise with our venerable President, the Hon. Henry Clay, in his present protracted illness, by which we are deprived of his presence and able counsels at this annual meeting of our Society, to which he has, from its foundation, devoted himself with signal ability and unwavering fidelity; and that we hold him in affectionate and grateful remembrance for the distinguished services he has rendered in the prosecution of the great scheme of African Colonization.

On motion of Francis Hall, Esq., the following resolutions were adopted :

Resolved, That the cause of African Colonization commends itself more forcibly than ever to the christian community, in view of its *missionary aspect*; presenting, as it does, a wide and open door of access for the Bible, and the preaching of the Gospel to the millions upon that dark continent of heathenism, through the Republic of Liberia, which is now prosperously sustaining churches, missionaries, and schools, in every town and settlement within its jurisdiction.

Resolved, That to the christian ministry and churches of all denominations, whether north or south, this Society will still, as heretofore, look with confidence for their continued prayers and liberality in its behalf.

The following resolutions were also adopted :

WHEREAS, The people of the United States have been ever ready to rejoice in the multiplication of free governments, in all lands and upon either continent; and whereas, it is a principle of American policy to establish relations of amity and commerce, with every nation of freemen, who, having declared independence, are able to maintain it; therefore,

Resolved, That if the Republic of Liberia, founded on the model of our own government, on the western coast of Africa, though it be the least among the sovereignties of the earth, is as much entitled to recognition now, as it will be when "the little one shall become a thousand, and the strong one a mighty nation."

Therefore, the American Colonization Society feel it their duty respectfully again to urge the recognition of the Liberian Republic to the favorable consideration of the United States Government.

Resolved, That we gratefully appreciate the recommendation of the Governors of several of the States, that legislative action should be taken, and appropriations made for the purpose of advancing the ends of this Society; and that the several State auxiliary Societies be requested to memorialize the legislatures of their respective States, soliciting State appropriations for the purpose of removing the free people of color to the Republic of Liberia.

The Society then adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1853, at 7 o'clock, P. M.

Extracts from the Minutes of the Board of Directors of the Am. Col. Soc.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,

Washington, Jan. 20, 1852.

THE Board of Directors of the

American Colonization Society met according to adjournment, at 12 o'clock M.

Delegates appointed.

On motion, Anson G. Phelps, Esq., one of the Vice Presidents, was called to the chair, and G. P. Disosway, Esq., was chosen Secretary of the Board.

The Rev. J. Orcutt opened the exercises with prayer.

The Secretary of the Society reported that the following named gentlemen had been regularly appointed by the several Auxiliary State Societies as Delegates to this Board, viz :

Vermont Col. Soc.—Hon. James Meacham.

Massachusetts Col. Soc.—Hon. B. Thompson, Hon. William Appleton, James Hayward, Esq., Dr. John Green, B. C. Clark, Esq., Rev. Joseph Tracy.

Connecticut Col. Society—Hon. Truman Smith, Hon. Charles Chapman, Hon. Origen S. Seymour, James Brewster, Esq., Rev. John Orcutt.

New York State Col. Society—Rev. J. B. Pusey, *Life Director*, Anson G. Phelps, Esq., *Life Director*, D. M. Reese, M. D., G. P. Disosway, Esq., Hon. D. S. Gregory, Francis Hall, Esq., Thomas G. Talmadge, Esq., Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D.

New Jersey Col. Soc.—Rev. John Maclean, D. D., Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D.

Pennsylvania Col. Soc.—William V. Pettit, Esq., Peter J. Clark, Esq.

Virginia Col. Soc.—Rev. Philip

Slaughter, Hon. John S. Caskie, Gov. John B. Floyd, S. S. Baxter, Esq., Robert B. Bolling, Esq., Wm. H. McFarland, Esq., Richard L. Moncure, Esq., P. V. Daniel, jr., Esq., Robert G. Scott, Esq., Hon. Jeremiah Morton.

Louisiana Col. Soc.—Hon. S. W. Downs, Hon. John Moore, Hon. Aristide Landry, William L. Hodge, Esq.

Knoxville, Tenn., Col. Soc.—Hon. F. P. Stanton, Hon. James C. Jones.

Ohio Col. Soc.—Committee of Correspondence—Hon. John McLean, Hon. Thomas Corwin, Hon. J. L. Taylor, Hon. D. T. Disney, Hon. E. Newton, William D. Galbraher, Esq., E. D. Mansfield, Esq.

Of the foregoing Delegates the following were present: Hon. B. Thompson, James Hayward, Esq., and Rev. Joseph Tracy, from Massachusetts; Hon. O. S. Seymour, and Rev. J. Orcutt, from Connecticut; Rev. J. B. Pusey, A. G. Phelps, Esq., D. M. Reese, M. D., G. P. Disosway, Esq., and Francis Hall, Esq., from New York; Rev. John Maclean, D. D., and Rev. A. D. Eddy, D. D., from New Jersey; William V. Pettit, Esq., and Peter V. Clark, Esq., from Pennsylvania; Rev. Philip Slaughter, and Hon. Jeremiah Morton, from Virginia; Hon. John Moore, from Louisiana; Hon. F. P. Stanton, from Tennessee; and Rev. W. McLain, *Life Director*.

Resolutions—Officers nominated.

The minutes of the last meeting were read.

On motion, Messrs. Phelps and Reese were appointed a committee to audit the Treasurer's account.

A statement of the doings of the Executive Committee during the past year was read, and submitted to the consideration of the Board.

Adjourned to meet to-morrow, the 21st instant, at 10 o'clock A. M.

—
Wednesday, January 21st.

The Board of Directors met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and accepted.

The Rev. Dr. Maclean presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the Hon. Henry Clay be informed that if the state of his health will admit of his seeing the members of this Board, they will be happy to call upon him at any time that may suit his convenience, and that he may be pleased to designate.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Pinney, it was

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to report upon the proper method of forming the roll of the Board of Directors for the present year, and of the correct interpretation of the constitution relative to the Board of Directors, and of the basis of representation.

Messrs. Pinney, Maclean and Tracy were appointed this committee.

On motion of the Rev. Mr. Pinney, it was

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to nominate officers of this Board for the present year. The chair appointed Messrs. Orcutt, Tracy and Slaughter; to which committee, on motion, the Rev. Mr. Pinney was added.

The committee appointed to audit the Treasurer's account reported, that they had discharged the duty, and found it to be correct according to the exhibit. (For which see page 36.)

The Rev. Dr. Maclean who had been requested to present to the Hon. Mr. Clay, President of the Society, the resolution of this Board in regard to their calling upon him, reported, That he had waited upon Mr. Clay, and presented to him the resolution passed by this Board of Directors, expressive of their desire to call upon him, if the state of his health would admit of his seeing them, and that Mr. Clay would be much gratified to see the members of the Board, but that he must forego that pleasure as he has been advised to avoid as much as possible the excitement arising from conversation.

The Rev. Dr. Eddy presented a communication from the New Jersey State Colonization Society, in relation to a purchase of land made for that Society in Africa; which, on motion of Mr. Disosway, was referred to a special committee.

Roll of the Board of Directors—Officers elected

Messrs. Clarke, Pettit, and Disosway were appointed.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock, A. M., to-morrow.

—
Thursday, January 22d.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The minutes of the last session were read and accepted.

The committee to whom was referred the subject of forming the roll of the Board of Directors, for the present year, &c., made a report, which after a very full discussion, was amended and adopted. The following is an extract from the report:

The committee further report, that hereafter at the organization of the Board of Directors, a committee on commissions shall be appointed, whose duty it shall be to examine the commissions, to prepare a table stating the number of Directors to which each State Society is entitled, and to report a correct roll of Directors for the year.

—That for their guidance as to the number of Delegates to which each State Society is entitled, the Recording Secretary be directed to have prepared a table exhibiting the amount of funds received from each State from all sources, to the 31st December, and no later.

—That among these funds be included the amount which any State Society may have expended in fitting out any expedition sent through and in cooperation with the Executive Committee of the American Colonization Society, in accordance with the resolution pass-

ed by the Board of Directors at their annual meeting in January, 1851.

—That the roll of Delegates so made, if approved by the Board of Directors, shall, with the Life Directors, be considered as forming the Board for the ensuing year.

—And further, that the several State Societies may fill vacancies, and also may complete the lists of their several delegations, if they deem it expedient, having respect to the article of the constitution on the appointment of delegates.

The committee appointed to nominate officers of the Board for the present year, reported as follows:

The committee on nomination of officers have attended to the duty assigned them, and beg leave to report the following:

Secretary and Treasurer, Rev. Wm. McLain.

Recording Secretary, J. W. Lugenbeel, M. D.

Executive Committee, Matthew St. Clair Clarke, Harvey Lindsly, M. D., Elisha Whittlesey, Joseph H. Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, D. D., William Gunton.

The report was accepted, and the gentlemen named were severally elected.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Maclean, it was

Resolved, That in all cases hereafter, when an Auxiliary Society shall desire to send out an expedition of emigrants to Liberia, they shall communicate such desire to the Executive Committee, and thereafter they shall act in the further

Resolutions—New Jersey Col. Society.

progress of such expedition as the agents of this Society, and account for the expenses thereof with the Executive Committee; and such Society shall be credited in account as for a donation with such sum as may be raised and contributed by such Auxiliary Society, and so accounted for with the said Committee.

The Rev. Mr. Slaughter presented the following preamble and resolution, which were adopted:

Whereas, the Constitution of the American Colonization Society declares that the object to which its attention is exclusively directed, is "to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa," therefore

Resolved, That the publication of schemes of emancipation, and arguments in their favor, in the African Repository, and other official documents of this Society, is a departure from our fundamental law, and should be excluded from such documents.

The committee to whom was referred the communication from the New Jersey Colonization Society, made the following report, which was adopted:

The committee appointed to consider the subject of the purchase of a body of land in or contiguous to the territory of the Republic of Liberia, by the New Jersey Colonization Society, respectfully report,

That they have taken the same into consideration, and recommend to the Board the following resolutions:

Resolved, That this subject be referred to the Executive Committee, with instructions that when they shall be satisfied by evidence from Liberia that a perfect title to said land has been vested, the sum of _____ (being the consideration for said land,) be paid to the person or persons entitled to receive it.

Resolved, That the land so acquired be used for the purpose designated in the communication from the New Jersey Colonization Society, of the 21st January, 1852.

On motion of the Rev. Dr. Maclean, the thanks of the Board were presented to Anson G. Phelps, Esq., for the courteous and efficient manner in which he has presided over the deliberations of this body.

The minutes were then read and approved. After which, on motion of Rev. Mr. Tracy, the Board adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday in January, 1853, at 12 o'clock, M.

The meeting was closed with prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Slaughter.

ANSON G. PHELPS,

Chairman.

GABRIEL P. DISOSWAY,

Secretary

From 1st January, 1851, to 1st January, 1852

To Balance due by Secretary per last report.....		By Balance due by the Society per last report.....	
Cash on hand.....	\$6,422 24	On hand.....	2,442 24
	\$0 41	Salaries of Physicians in Liberia.....	720 00
		Colonial Surgeons.....	90 74
Receipts from the following sources, to wit:		Pay of clerks, &c., quarter of year, &c.,	
Colonial Surgeons.....	266 25	provision, &c.....	25 72
Laborers.....	13,406 98	Miscellaneous.....	25 29
Landlords.....	4,781 42	Compensation to agents, and other ex-	
Pen's Club.....	37,800 00	penses in collecting funds.....	4,908 30
Donations.....	25,801 40	Salaries of the Secretary, Recording	
African Repository.....	1,991 42	Secretary, and clerk of the Am. Col.	
Missionaries.....	241 39	Soc., rent of office, fuel and stationery,	
Profit and loss.....	352 26	paper for the Annual Report and print-	
		ing, travelling expenses on office busi-	
Total receipts.....	\$97,443 77	ness, &c.....	6,147 46
Balance due by the Society.....	6,862 34	Paper for the African Repository and	
		printing.....	2,193 20
		Profit and loss.....	424 81
		Total expenditures.....	60,759 69
		Balance due the Society.....	\$35,141 48
		Cash on hand.....	8,396 94
			\$104,306 11

COLONIZATION ROOMS, Washington City, January 1st, 1852.

NOAH FLETCHER, *Book-keeper.*

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement to be correct and satisfactory.

ANSON G. PHELPS, } *Auditors.*
D. M. REESE, }

APPENDIX.

Information about going to Liberia.

For the information of all persons who may contemplate emigrating to Liberia, we have prepared the following statement of facts, exhibiting, in a condensed form, the most important subjects, in reference to which we presume information may be desired :

TIME OF SENDING EXPEDITIONS.

Hereafter, it is our intention to send a vessel from Baltimore regularly on the 1st of May, and the 1st of November, of each year; and from Savannah and New Orleans at such times as there are persons enough ready to emigrate to justify the necessary expenditure, of which we will give timely notice. And if circumstances should require it, we will fit out other expeditions from those cities, or from any of the northern ports, so as to accommodate, as far as it is in our power, all persons who may wish to emigrate. We cannot, however, promise to send an expedition at any particular time, (except the two from Baltimore,) unless we can have the assurance of a sufficient number of emigrants to justify us in incurring the expense of chartering and fitting out a vessel. It is important, therefore, that applicants for emigration should give us early notice of their desire to go to Liberia, and of *the time when they will be ready.*

LENGTH OF THE VOYAGE.

The length of the voyage from Baltimore or Savannah is from thirty to forty days—the average is about thirty-five days. From New Orleans it is ten to fifteen days longer.

ACCOMMODATIONS ON BOARD.

Emigrant vessels are always fitted

up expressly for the comfortable accommodation of the emigrants; and abundance of good provisions is always put on board, of which the master of the vessel has the charge, with instructions to furnish the emigrants with everything necessary to their health and comfort.

AMOUNT OF BAGGAGE, &c., ALLOWED TO EACH ADULT EMIGRANT FREE OF CHARGE FOR TRANSPORTATION.

Our rule is to allow each adult emigrant the bulk of two barrels, or ten cubic feet, in addition to the bed and bedding necessary for the voyage, which latter it is expected, of course, they will furnish themselves. A proportional allowance for children. It is expected that those who wish to take bulky articles of furniture, and boxes of goods, will pay freight on them, at the rate of \$1 50 a barrel.

WHAT EMIGRANTS SHOULD TAKE WITH THEM.

1. *Clothing.* Every emigrant ought to be well supplied with clothing, previous to leaving home, both for winter and summer, similar to what he needs in this country. Though there is no winter in Liberia, yet during at least one-half the year, warm clothing is necessary to comfort, and the preservation of health.

2. *Mechanical tools.* Those emigrants who are mechanics ought to carry with them the tools of their trade. Indeed, all emigrants ought to have the common tools used in carpenter's work, such as axe, hatchet, handsaw, auger, &c.

3. *Agricultural implements.* Every emigrant, whether a mechanic or a farmer, ought to be supplied with the ordinary gardening implements,

Information about going to Liberia.

such as hoes, spades, rakes, &c. As the soil of Liberia is much more easily broken up for planting than that of this country, the larger agricultural implements, as ploughs, harrows, &c. are not absolutely necessary to farming operations, though they are advantageous in carrying on these operations on a large scale.

4. *Cooking utensils and table furniture.* As every family is expected to keep house, they ought to have a supply of necessary cooking utensils and table furniture.

5. *Household furniture.* In consequence of the space occupied in the vessel by chairs, tables, bedsteads, and other large articles of furniture, it is generally very inconvenient for such things to be taken. Consequently, though we are disposed to accommodate emigrants in every way in our power, we cannot encourage them to expect to take such articles. In view of the want of room in the vessel to pack them securely, and consequently of the risk of their being broken or damaged during the voyage, as well as the cost of transportation, and the greater comfort of the emigrants on board, when the vessel is not thus crowded, we would advise applicants for emigration to dispose of such articles of furniture previous to the time of sailing. In emigrating to a distant country, they must expect to put up with some inconvenience at first—must not expect to commence house-keeping in Liberia just where they left off in this country. All these articles can be purchased there in style and quality, not much inferior to the best in this country, at the cost of about fifty per cent., (frequently less,) advance on the price of similar articles in the U. States.

6. *Additional articles.* Those who can afford it, would do well to take with them a keg or two of nails for

shingling, &c.; also some common cotton goods—bleached and brown shirting, calico, handkerchiefs, (fancy patterns,) and various kinds of cheap stuff for pantaloons and coats or jackets, and other necessary articles of wearing apparel; also some money (gold or silver.) These will be useful to them in erecting their houses, and paying for any labor they may need. All these articles can be purchased in Liberia; but as they generally cost more there than in this country, and as the expense of transportation is not much, it would be well for those who can afford it, to furnish themselves with a small supply of such articles. To these might be added a barrel or two salted provisions, in case, on inquiry at the place of embarkation, (where they can be purchased,) it is found that they can be carried. Emigrants should always carry with them a variety of good garden seed; sealed up in vials or bottles, or wrapped in paper, and packed in saw-dust to prevent injury during the voyage.

EXPENSE OF EMIGRATION.

The actual expense incurred in the transportation of emigrants to Liberia may be set down at the average of \$30 for adults, and \$15 for children under twelve years, which, added to the average cost of subsistence during the first six months after their arrival—say \$50 for adults, and \$25 for children—makes \$80 for the former, and \$40 for the latter, or a general average of \$60. The average of \$50, as previously stated, has been found by experience to be insufficient to meet all the various expenses necessarily incurred. This average of \$60, we expect to receive from those persons who are fully able to pay their own way. The Society, however, will not refuse to send any who are unable to pay, in part or in whole, the neces-

sary expense of transportation and support, but will give a free passage to all who are not able to pay for themselves, and will aid them in supporting themselves during the first six months after their arrival, by furnishing them with provisions and medical attendance when necessary, and providing them houses to live in; thus taking care of them a sufficient length of time to enable them to make arrangements to take care of themselves.

ACCLIMATING FEVER.

On this point, we quote from Dr. Lugenbeel's Sketches of Liberia, in which may be found a full account of the diseases of Liberia.

"The physical system of every individual who removes from a temperate to a tropical climate must undergo some change—must experience some process of acclimation, which may, or may not, be attended with much fever, according to circumstances—to the constitutional peculiarities of the individual, his previous habits of life, the state of his mind with respect to calmness and patience, or irritability and disquietude; together with other imaginable circumstances. Some persons, in passing through the process of acclimation have very little, if any, fever, and are not at all interrupted in their daily avocations by sickness, during the acclimating process. Others are not so highly favored, and some die during the first few months of their residence in Liberia—not always in consequence of the violence of the fever, but frequently in consequence of not exercising the necessary precautions in the preservation of health; such as proper attention to their habits, diet, and clothing, to the extent of exposure to the heat of the day, as well as to the damp and chilling night-air, and especially to the avoidance of all sources of mental inquietude. In some cases, the physical system becomes sufficiently adapted to the climate to resist the surrounding deleterious influences, in two or three months. In other cases, a year or more elapses before this desirable point is reached; the individual in the mean time being subject to occasional attacks of chills, followed, of course, by more or less fever."

Once safely through the acclimating process, the individual may, by the exercise of such prudence as

common sense would dictate, enjoy as good health as in most parts of the United States. In reference to this, we again quote from Dr. Lugenbeel's Sketches.

"The majority of colored immigrants, who have sufficient prudence to use such means for the preservation of their health as an enlightened judgment would dictate, usually enjoy as good health, after the first year of their residence in Liberia, as they formerly enjoyed in the United States. In some cases, indeed, the state of the health of immigrants is decidedly improved by the change of residence from America to Africa. The large majority of cases of sickness that came under my observation, among those persons who had resided a year or more in Liberia, was in indolent, and consequently, indigent, persons, whose prudence was commensurate with their improvidence. Indeed, in view of the heedlessness, carelessness, and indolence of some persons, who were scarcely ever sick, I was astonished at their continued exemption from disease."

We may here add, that emigrants are always furnished with necessary medical attendance, by competent physicians in the employ of the Society; and that it is important to pay strict attention to the advice and directions of the attending physician.

QUANTITY OF LAND GIVEN TO EMIGRANTS.

By the laws of Liberia, each emigrant on his arrival receives *five acres* of good land, or if he prefers it, a town lot. If he is the head of a family, the quantity of land is increased according to the number of his family, not exceeding ten acres. This allowance may seem small, but in consequence of the great productiveness of the soil, it is abundantly sufficient for the comfortable and independent subsistence of all who will properly cultivate it. Any person who desires a greater quantity, can usually purchase it from the Government of Liberia, at from one to five dollars an acre, according to the location.

FACE OF THE COUNTRY, SOIL, AND PRODUCTIONS.

Liberia does not consist, as some

Information about going to Liberia.

suppose, of arid plains and burning sands, but of hills and valleys, covered with the verdure of perpetual spring, presenting to the eye of the observer, as viewed from the highest points of land in the vicinity of the ocean, the appearance of a deep, unbroken forest, with hill-top rising above hill-top towards the vast interior. The country is well watered by many beautiful streams; the banks of some of which present encouraging scenes of agricultural industry.

The *soil* of Liberia, like that of other countries, varies in appearance, quality, and productiveness. There is, however, no very poor land in Liberia; and most of it is very rich, not surpassed perhaps by any other country in the world.

Among the numerous agricultural products of Liberia, we may specify as *exportable articles*, rice, coffee, cotton, sugar, arrow-root, ginger, pepper, and ground-nuts, all of which can be raised in quantity and quality not surpassed by similar products in any other part of the world. Of other vegetables that may be abundantly raised, we may specify, as the principal, sweet-potatoes, lima or butter-beans, snap-beans, peas, cucumbers, melons of various kinds, beets, radishes and carrots, besides several articles peculiar to tropical countries, as cassadas, yams, &c., Indian corn, or maize, grows very well on some lands; not so well, however, as in some parts of the U. States.

A great variety of fruits grow plentifully; some of which are, the orange, lime, lemon, pine-apple, guava, mango, papaw, cocoanut, tamarind, soursop, chiota, and okra; to which may be added the plantain and the banana, the former of which is one of the most luscious and wholesome fruits in the vegetable kingdom, easily cultivated, and affording an excellent and nutritious article of food.

Domesticated *animals* of every necessary kind, and in any required number, may be raised with much less trouble and expense than in this country—such as beeves or bullocks, cows, sheep, goats, swine, geese, turkeys, ducks and chickens. Besides which, numerous kinds of wild game, including deer of several varieties, are very plentiful; also a variety of excellent fish in the rivers. So that, no industrious man need apprehend any difficulty in getting enough animal as well as vegetable food.

To the industrious agriculturist, therefore, Liberia offers an inviting home—a home in which all the necessities, and many of the luxuries of life may be produced, with much less labor than in this country.

CLIMATE AND SEASONS.

In reference to the climate, we quote from *Sketches of Liberia* as follows:

"On the whole, I regard the climate of Liberia as decidedly pleasant. The extremes of the thermometrical state of the atmosphere may be set down at 65° and 90°. The average height of the mercury, during the rainy season, is about 76°, and during the dry season about 84°. The mean temperature for the year is about 80°."

"The only recognized division of the year into seasons is the *wet* or *rainy* and the *dry* season, or, in common parlance, the "rains" and the "dries;" the former of which answers nearly to our summer and autumn, and the latter to our winter and spring. During the half of the year commencing with May, much more rain falls than during the other half commencing with November. As a general rule, however, it may be stated, that some rain falls during every month in the year; and in every month there is some fine, clear, pleasant weather."

EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES.

By the aid of the Government of Liberia and several Benevolent Institutions in this country, good free schools have been established in nearly all the settlements; so that all parents can avail themselves of the facilities thus afforded for the education of their children. Efforts are now making in this coun-

Information about going to Liberia.

try for the establishment of a regular collegiate Institution in Liberia, which it is hoped will soon be put into operation. And here we may state a fact very encouraging in view of the future prosperity of Liberia: as a general rule, the children born there are as far advanced in education as children of the same age in most communities in this country. The privilege of having their children properly educated, and thus prepared for future usefulness and happiness, is one worthy of the consideration of the free people of color in the United States.

POLITICAL PRIVILEGES.

The government of the Republic of Liberia may, in every essential particular, be regarded as a miniature representation of the Government of the United States; and the citizens of that Republic enjoy equal privileges with the white citizens of this country. Colored emigrants are invested with the rights and privileges of citizenship immediately on their arrival; but no white person is, under any circumstances, allowed to become a citizen; consequently, white residents cannot hold any office in the Government, or have the privilege of voting.

RELIGIOUS PRIVILEGES.

Not the least among the privileges enjoyed by the citizens of Liberia are those which pertain to the worship of the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, whose providential superintendence has been so signally exhibited in the establishment and progress of that Republic. And perhaps in no other country in the world are the ordinances of Christianity and the ceremonies of divine worship observed with more strictness and regularity. Probably a larger proportion of the citizens of Liberia are members of some Christian Church, than of any other

people in the world. In every settlement, there is one place, or more, of public worship, in which religious services are regularly held.— And several of the pulpits are statedly filled by men brought up and educated in Liberia, and exhibiting talents and qualifications highly creditable to themselves and to the institutions at which they were educated.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In conclusion, we would make a few general remarks. And first, in reference to the *advantages* of the emigration of the free people of color from this country to Liberia: these are of a three-fold character, having reference to themselves, to their children, and to the native inhabitants of Africa. A comparison of the condition of the citizens of Liberia with that of the free colored people in this country, drawn from actual observations, must convince every candid observer that the social, political, and religious condition of the former is greatly superior to that of the latter. The free man of color may, therefore, confidently expect to better his own condition by removing to Liberia, where he can enjoy privileges of which he is virtually deprived in every part of this country. Not only can he better his own condition by emigrating to Liberia, but if he is the father of a family of children, he cannot but desire that they should receive the inestimable benefits of intellectual training—benefits that are there freely extended to all, but which can be enjoyed by colored children to a very limited extent in the United States. A country in which our children may be introduced into the temple of knowledge, and may compete with all other aspirants, on the score of merit alone; and in which they may enter the avenues of commercial enterprise,

Information about going to Liberia.

of professional distinction and usefulness, or of political rivalry, with the privilege and prospect of being elevated to a position as high as any occupied by their fellow-men in the same community; is certainly vastly preferable to one in which such privileges cannot exist. But, not only in view of bettering their own condition, and affording their children facilities for acquiring an education, and thus becoming qualified to occupy positions of dignity, honor, and responsibility among their fellow-citizens, should the free colored people of this country desire to emigrate to Liberia: among other inducements, that of being instrumental in elevating the benighted native inhabitants of Africa to the true position and dignity of men, deserves the serious consideration of those to whom the finger of Divine Providence clearly points as best calculated to rescue that land from the thralldom of ignorance, and the debasing influences of superstition.

If colored men cannot understand and appreciate such advantages as these, it is not worth their while to go to Liberia! Those, on the contrary, who can and do appreciate them, and who fully resolve to emigrate cheerfully and with a determination to try to overcome every obstacle that may be presented, may confidently expect to live more easily, more comfortably, and more independently, than they can in this country; and may enjoy the satisfaction of aiding in laying the foundation for a great nation, in maturing institutions and laws for the government of a great people, and in redeeming an immense continent from the worst of Pagan darkness and superstition—a work infinitely more sublime and glorious than can possibly be performed by any of the

colored people in *this country*, however favored may be their position, enlarged their opportunities, and determined their energy and perseverance! When the historian comes to write up the labors of their race, who will stand far above all comparison, if not the bold and successful pioneers in the only successful effort ever made for their social, civil, and religious redemption?

Leaving out of view everything touching their own personal interests, there are considerations connected with their race and the destiny before them, which should induce the most highly-favored of them in this country to seek a field of usefulness in Africa. But when we take into consideration that in Liberia is the only place on the face of the earth where they and their children can enjoy the luxury of true freedom, and infinitely advance their social, moral, and intellectual interests, is it not marvelous that any of the free people of color in this country should still prefer their present inferior and unenviable position among the whites, and still cherish the gross delusions of which they have been made the victims, willing to believe the most fabulous stories about Liberia, and shutting their eyes tightly against all the light which shines upon them, and shows it to be a dictate of wisdom, as well as a demand of duty, for them to go to their fatherland, and be MEN!

We are happy to know, and to have it in our power to inform our friends, that some persons have recently gone to Liberia, who rightly appreciate the circumstances of their situation, and who are prepared to make themselves useful and rise to a desirable fame, should their lives be spared; and that others of similar character are preparing to emigrate.

Things which every Emigrant to Liberia ought to know.

Things which every Emigrant to Liberia ought to know.

It is important that all persons who contemplate going to Liberia, should be fully and correctly informed in regard to their prospects.

1. *They should understand that they are going to a comparatively new country;* and, consequently, that they must carry with them the courage and energy to bear the burdens, and to surmount the obstacles naturally belonging to such a state of things.

2. *They must expect to begin life for themselves.* They will not have any friends there who will think and act and contrive and plan for them. They must rely on themselves. They receive a tract of land, in its wild and uncultivated state, and if it is ever cleared and planted, they must do it. They must build a house for themselves, and begin to keep house. And if they have but few of the necessities, and none of the conveniences and luxuries of house-keeping, still they must not be discouraged, but "struggle on and struggle ever." Brighter days will come. Every brilliant noon must be preceded by its morning. They must not despise the day of small things, but cheered and sustained by the example of many around them, who commenced life just as they are doing, and are now comfortable and happy, they must press their way onward, and, they will find that industry and perseverance will secure to them plenty and happiness.

3. *They must not depend upon the Colonization Society.* The business of the Society is to help them to get to that country, where they can thenceforward help themselves. Many persons have supposed that the Society would do every thing for them; pay their passage, furnish them every thing to eat and drink after they get to Liberia, and let them live in ease. But the truth is far otherwise. And hence, when they reach Liberia, and begin to find provisions running low, and are made to understand that the time has arrived when they must support themselves, they become offended, abuse the colony and the Society, and pretty nearly everybody and every thing else, and then perhaps they write home to their friends, and advise them not to come to so horrible a place. "These things ought not so to be."

4. *They must expect to work for their living.* How else can they hope to live? Liberia is no unearthly paradise. If men there have not money enough to live on, they must make a living some other way. By the labor of their heads or the labor of their hands, they must get bread for themselves. And it would be well for

them to understand that there is no business more honorable or more important to the welfare of the colony, and profitable to the individual, than the cultivation of the soil. It always yields a liberal reward to the industry of the husbandman.

5. *They ought to be impressed with a sense of the responsibility which will devolve upon them, as members of a free and independent government.* Every citizen of Liberia must consider himself as one of the builders of a great and cultivated nation, a Christian Commonwealth, on the shores of a barbarous continent. The very circumstances in which they are placed, stimulates them to action, and furnishes exciting motives for elevated sentiments and noble conduct.

Persons, therefore, who contemplate going to Liberia, ought to understand beforehand the nature of the duties they will be called to perform. On their arrival there, they will be invested with all the rights of citizens; they must vote at elections, and consider and decide upon the measures most necessary to secure the welfare of the citizens and the stability of the government. The highest offices in the commonwealth are within their reach. They may aspire to them, and, if sufficiently intelligent and virtuous, they may ultimately reach them.

What a reward is thus held out to inspire a pure ambition, and incite a determined effort? Liberia is destined to enlarge itself for ages, and gather within its expanding influence multitudes of the present and millions of the future generations! Interest and duty, hope and fear, patriotism and religion, self-respect and stern necessity, all combine and urge them to act with manly courage and unbending fidelity.

6. *They ought to be sensible that, not only for themselves, but for the benefit of their race, must they labor.* Liberia is, in one respect, a great missionary station, a great centre of light and influence, and it is destined to make all the surrounding tribes and country just what it is, and continues to be. The natives have never before beheld such a spectacle as is presented to their view in the citizens, the houses, the schools, the churches, and the Government of Liberia. Hence they look on with intense anxiety. They feel a desire to copy the example set before them. The natives and the colonists are all mixed together, and thus the style and manners of every family is seen, and an influence for good or for ill, goes forth from every individual. How important, therefore, that colonists, before leaving this country,

Messrs. Fuller and Janifer's Report.

should be made to feel the immense importance of a correct course of conduct, governed and controlled by thorough religious principle. They ought to be made to feel that it is their highest privilege, as well as their imperative duty, to cast in their lot with the pioneers in the work of

Africa's civil, social, and religious redemption, and sacrifice themselves, if need be, in the stupendous work of spreading free government and civil institutions over all Africa, and bringing her uncounted population all under the dominion of the kingdom of Heaven!

Messrs. Fuller and Janifer's Report.

It will be recollected that a Colonization Society of colored people was formed in Dorchester county, Maryland, about a year since; but it was determined in the outset to take no definite action in regard to emigrating to Liberia, until they had obtained more full and satisfactory information in regard to it. It was therefore determined to send out a special delegation, to spy out the land; and Messrs. Janifer and Fuller, two of the most respectable and intelligent of their number, were chosen for that purpose. They sailed from Baltimore in the *Liberia Packet*, in July, 1851, and returned on the 12th December. The following is their report, written out and prepared for the press before their arrival, and published word for word. It bears internal evidence of authenticity, enough, we should think, to satisfy the most skeptical.

PREFACE.

The undersigned were appointed in May last, by the Cambridge Colored Colonization Society of Dorchester county, Maryland, delegates to proceed to Liberia, if in our power to get there, and to inform ourselves of the natural advantages of the country, the character of the government, and the present condition and prospects of its inhabitants, and to see what might be the inducements to emigrate. We applied to the Maryland State Colonization Society for a free passage, which they granted us, in the *Liberia Packet*, out and back to the United States. The following report was drawn up by us, and completed on our passage home, every sentence and word just as it now stands. It is not so full as it might be, but we think it contains all the essentials, and all that was required of us by the Society which sent us. On arriving home, we concluded it best to have it printed, that it might be circulated among our friends in Dorchester county and elsewhere, all of whom we could not expect to meet face to face. We have endeavored to do our duty, have examined carefully and candidly, without bias or prejudice, and have made an honest, fair report, without fear or favor. In the main, our impressions are favorable, and as we have expressed ourselves; and it is

our intention speedily to seek in Liberia a home for ourselves and families, leaving others to act as they see fit. This report is respectfully submitted, not only to the Society and our own personal friends, but to the public in general,

By their obedient servants,

BENJ. JANIFER,

THOMAS FULLER, JR.

Baltimore, Dec. 17, 1851.

To the President of the Dorchester Co. African Colonization Society:

SIR:—In the performance of our duty, as set forth in a resolution of this Society, adopted prior to our embarkation for Liberia, in reference to us as the committee chosen to proceed to Africa for personal observation for the benefit of this Society, we proceeded to make the following general report:

On Saturday, July 19, we embarked on board of the *Liberia Packet*, and after a pleasant passage of thirty-two days, we arrived at Monrovia, August 28, 1851.

First, upon inquiry and observation, we found the government of Liberia to be of a republican form; the chief magistrate of the State is elected by the people, and the people are represented in their legislative bodies by those of their own choice by ballot, whom they think best qualified, and with whom they believe their interest and privileges will be the safest. The President's cabinet is appointed by himself, with the consent of the Senate. The commissioned officers of the republic are also appointed by the President. We subjoin a list of the names of the public officers in the republic, with their respective salaries:

J. J. Roberts, President, \$1500 per annum.

A. D. Williams, Vice-President, \$4 per diem, during the session of the Legislature.

S. Benedict, Chief Justice of the Republic, \$100 per annum.

B. P. Yates and S. A. Benson, Associate Judges.

J. H. Chavers, Secretary of the Treasury, \$500 per annum.

Daniel Warner, Secretary of State.

H. Tenge, Attorney General, \$100 per annum. He also receives \$4 for each case prosecuted, in case of conviction.

John N. Lewis, Brigadier General; pay during service, \$44 per month.

Messrs. Fuller and Janifer's Report.

James C. Minor, Collector of Customs.
N. M. Hicks, Register of Wills, &c.

LEGISLATIVE BODY.

SENATORS.—*Montserrado Co.*, J. B. McGill, A. F. Russell. *Grand Bassa Co.*, J. Day, J. Hanson. *Sinoe Co.*, Edward Morris, James N. Lewis.

REPRESENTATIVES.—*Montserrado Co.*, B. R. Wilson, D. T. Harris, J. H. Paxton, M. H. Smith. *Bassa Co.*, S. S. Herring, J. H. Cheeseman, D. A. Madison. *Sinoe Co.*, Wm. H. Monger.

We further observed that, together with their state officers and legislative body, they have in Liberia all the local officers that are necessary for a well ordered government, in order that the laws may not only be enacted, but faithfully executed: such as sheriffs, magistrates, judges of the courts of quarterly session, marshals, constables, grand and petty juries, clerks of courts, coroners, &c., &c., and these of the best men that the country will afford. And we will here assert that they are all colored men, and further, that there is not a single office filled by a white man. Nor is there but one white man doing business in all Liberia, whose name is Mr. Godlet, a German. These assertions are the results of personal observation, and not of hearsay; for we visited frequently both officers and offices, courts and magistrates' offices, and heard the laws expounded by judges and lawyers, and saw the penalty of the same inflicted on the violator of the laws of the country.

Besides the officers above mentioned, they have a revenue cutter, commanded by Captain Reed Cooper. The officers of the republic are paid out of the public revenue. The revenue not being sufficient to cover the expenses of government, direct taxation is in contemplation. The government expenses for 1850 were \$23,017 27; the amount of receipts for the same was \$18,018 16.

Having satisfied ourselves in relation to the government of Liberia, that it is well adapted to the feelings, capacities, and interests of the people who are now citizens, and to those who shall hereafter emigrate from America to Liberia, and become citizens, we next turned our attention to the soil and its products, which left our minds favorably impressed in its favor. As for the soil, as in all other countries, it varies both in kind and quality.

Near the sea-shore, as a general thing, the soil is rather light and sandy. Nevertheless, there are often to be found near the beach many tracts of good stiff land, and that well covered with large timber and thick undergrowth. But on the banks of the rivers the land is decidedly the best; there, we would say that it is universally

good; perhaps as good as we have seen in America. And judging from the quantities of rice, sweet potatoes, sugar-cane, coffee, cassada, ginger, arrow-root, corn, Lima beans, cabbage, &c., with its thousands of tropical productions and fruits, which burden the land and make the hearts of the natives rejoice,—we say, judging from these evidences, we would pronounce that the soil and climate of Liberia is as well adapted to the growth of these things as any other climate perhaps in the world. And we would here add, so far as the products of the country are concerned, the citizens of Liberia have few complaints to make. In our judgment, if they exerted themselves a little more, and depended not so much on the natives, they would have none to make. But we are happy to state that the settlers of Liberia are not dependent on the productions of the soil alone for subsistence; for we saw bullocks, or oxen, sheep, goats, hogs, cows, calves, kids, turkeys, ducks, chickens, &c., in abundance. Not only did we see them, but we ate of them almost every day while in Liberia. And for the comfort of those who love such things, we would inform them that they can raise as many as they choose, and cure their pork too in small quantities. For we ate bacon more than once, which was cured in Liberia. In conclusion, on this head, we would say, that no man can starve in Liberia, unless he closes his mouth willyfully, and resolves to die surrounded with the good things of Africa.

As we were in Liberia during the rainy season, of course we can say but little of its climate. During our stay it was very pleasant. We had considerable rain, but not half as much as we expected from what we had heard of the African rains. It did not rain all one day without interruption during our stay in Liberia. And as regards the heat, we were as much disappointed in that as any thing else.

It is a mild, pleasant climate. Some suppose that we could not live in it, but we can; and when there, we wore the same thick clothing that we do in America. We think that there is as much cloth and flannel clothing worn by the Liberians as there are by the same number of citizens in the United States, during the months of March, April, and May. And for your satisfaction we would inform you that we wore our cloth clothes during our stay in Liberia, and found them not only comfortable, but absolutely necessary, and that we did not feel it so warm at any time in Liberia as we left it in the United States in July.

The settlements in Liberia are matters of great interest and importance, especially

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when we consider that the new settlers are to make a choice or to choose a home from among the many. For us to give a particular description of each individual settlement, such a one as may guide you in a choice, is both unnecessary in this place, and out of our power to do. But we recommend to you Dr. Lugenbeel's description of the different settlements in Liberia, in which you will find every thing perhaps that is of any moment.

But notwithstanding we would say, that Monrovia is a fine flourishing town, and the capital of the Republic, with about fifteen hundred inhabitants, who appear to enjoy as good health as any citizens of the Republic. It is the principal commercial point in Liberia, though all the settlements on the coast are somewhat so. The streets are wide and regularly laid out, although some of them have many large rocks in them, and we think rather more bushes than the citizens have need of. The geographical position of Monrovia is too well known for us to attempt to give it. The private dwellings of Monrovia are like those of other towns, they correspond generally with the purse of the owner. Hence you may find there private dwellings which cost from twenty-five dollars up to five thousand. We might say many things of Monrovia; but as we will be interrogated by this Society, and called upon to deliver public lectures on Liberia, we deem it unnecessary to write a long report. And we make the same excuse in reference to the other settlements.

Bassa Cove and Edina, the next point visited by us, are rather small settlements, nearly opposite each other, situated near the mouth of the St. John's river. Neither the public nor private buildings are so good as those at Monrovia, though they are sufficiently large and comfortable for all practical purposes. Bassa Cove is one of the principal commercial points in Liberia. Bassa was settled in 1834. The population is about 600. We were told that Edina was considered the most healthy of the two settlements. But the most business is done in Bassa. The land is generally sandy about the Cove and Edina.— But there are some fine coffee trees, as any we saw in Liberia; and we would here remark, that coffee seems to thrive in any part of the coast that we visited. We were informed that a very beautiful point, called Freetown, about three miles distant from Bassa, would be settled in a short time; and for location, we think it preferable to either of the above named towns.

The next settlement visited by us is situated near the mouth of the Sinoe river,

called Greenville. It is thought, in the judgment of your Committee, the prettiest of the towns or settlements in Liberia.— The population of Sinoe county is about 1,000; that of the town of Greenville, 300. This is not so much of a commercial point as the ones above mentioned, but still it is quite a thriving little place. The main street is very handsome, and all the buildings, public and private, present a comfortable appearance, except the Methodist church. But they are making preparations to erect a new one. Greenville, in fact, seems to be in a state of improvement. They have a steam-engine for a saw-mill, which they are about to erect, at a place on the Sinoe river, called Fish Landing. But that which seems to give the most life to Greenville is, that they have had two very fine emigrations recently, all of whom seem to be willing to turn their attention to the agricultural interest.

Any one that knows any thing of the history of Liberia, is perhaps well acquainted with the history of Cape Palmas, the point of our next visit. Therefore, we deem it unnecessary to say much about this interesting colony in our report. The public and private buildings are well built and commodious; and it will not be much out of the way to say, that they bear an air of cleanliness and comfort which would be an improvement to some of the settlements in the republic.

The number of inhabitants of Maryland in Liberia is between 900 and 1000.

The number of churches is four.

These embrace the Methodists, Episcopalians, and Baptists.

The number of schools in the colony is six. These are supported by the Maryland State Colonization Society, Episcopal, Methodist, and Baptist missions. There are also six Sabbath-schools, well attended.

There are in the colony two regularly organized Societies of Mutual Relief, one of the males, and the other of the females. There has lately been formed an Agricultural Society, which promises well. There are in operation, in various vicinities of the colony, several schools confined to the instruction of the natives. These schools are supported by different societies of foreign missions in the U.S., and able teachers, appointed and sent here for that purpose.

The annual exports consist of about 100,000 gallons of palm-oil, some camwood, and a little ivory; also Malagetta pepper. A good business in wood—that is, camwood—can be done in the colony.

The revenue is raised by duties collected on import chiefly. This does not include large amounts expended annually for im-

ternal improvement by the Society. The revenue of the colony is about \$1800.

The militia of the colony is composed of two volunteer uniformed companies, and one non-uniformed; these parade monthly, except on general parades, which occur semi-annually, when they are commanded by the Lieutenant-colonel, A. Woods.

The street called Maryland Avenue, which runs from Harper to Tubmantown, is a good road, about three miles in length, and is the thoroughfare of the colony. On either side of this road are the dwelling-houses, lots and farms of the colonists. The land about Cape Palmas looks rather thin, but every thing planted seems to thrive well, and, like all the rest of the land on the coast, the farther you go from the beach, the better it is. Hence the impropriety of farmers settling on the beach. In short, we find but one fault with Cape Palmas, and that is, the thickly settled native towns on the Cape, which we hope, in all conscience, will be in due time removed, to the advantage of both parties concerned. We are happy to inform you that, although the farming interest at the Cape has been neglected for a long time, the settlers have at last awakened to a sense of their best interest, and determined to go right to farming, and no humbugging about the matter. And in order to give life and energy to the cause, they have formed an Agricultural Association; and for the benefit of this Society, we obtained a copy of the Constitution of said association.

As it regards the rivers of Liberia, in consequence of the rains, and having to go on board the vessel every evening, we could not get to see much of them. However, one of us got up the St. Paul's river, and the other up the Sinoe; and from what we saw, and from what we learned from old and respectable citizens of Liberia, we think it safe to state, that the St. Paul's is far in advance of any other river in Liberia, in perhaps every respect. There are several fine flourishing settlements on the St. Paul's river, and well cultivated banks show that she is far indeed in advance of her sister rivers in point of agriculture.

On passing through the farms of Messrs. Harris, Blackledge, Jimison, Simpson, Russell, and others, who have gone the right way to work in raising coffee, sugar-cane, rice, potatoes, cassadas, ginger, &c., any man who is in his senses is at once convinced that a colored man with industry and enterprise can live as happy and as comfortable and as independently in Liberia, as he can in any part of the U. States

of America, under present circumstances. —The St. John's and the Benson are also fine large streams, especially the St. John's. But we did not see much of them. In fact, we saw no more of them than we saw in passing from Bassa Cove to Edina. We were informed, however, by those who live on the St. John's, that it is a fine river, whose banks are perhaps as productive as any other in Liberia. Bexley is situated on the banks of the St. John's, about six miles from its mouth. It is said by those who live there, and by others who profess to know, that it is a flourishing farming settlement. But as neither of us saw it, we refer you to Dr. Lugenbeel's report for particulars in reference to Bexley.

The Sinoe river is also a fine, bold stream. One of us was up this river as far as necessary, some five or six miles from its mouth, where there is a farming settlement of some note. The Sinoe is like all the other rivers of Liberia, her banks yield plentifully the good things of the country.

There are many other fine rivers and streams in Liberia, which we did not see. But we saw enough to satisfy us that on the banks of any of them there is good living for the industrious farmer.

As we were in Liberia a short time, and for reasons above stated, we could not get to see as much of the country as we should like, in order to give all the particulars, and consequently, general satisfaction, (but we are happy to state that our want of opportunities and observation are fully supplied by Dr. Lugenbeel's excellent report, of which we hope every individual of this society will possess themselves,) knowing that we should not have an opportunity to give particulars and details like one who had lived in Liberia, we took great pains to compare the Doctor's report with what we saw; and in doing so, we found it in every instance to be strictly true. And further, we took every pains to inquire of the citizens of Liberia, (gentlemen,) whose veracity cannot be doubted, of the correctness of that part of the Doctor's report which we had not an opportunity of testing; and they informed us that every particular was strictly true. Therefore we cordially recommend Dr. J. W. Lugenbeel's report to the careful perusal of every individual who is interested in the subject of emigration to Liberia.*

We would state to this Society, that the people of Liberia seem to us to live as happy, and in the enjoyment of as good health, as any people we have seen in our lives. They seem also to appreciate the privileges

* Copies of Dr. Lugenbeel's Sketches of Liberia will be furnished gratuitously at the Colonization Rooms, Washington City; or will be sent by mail to those who may request them by letter, postpaid.

Messrs. Fuller and Janifer's Report.

and passion as a people, and in a great measure, avail themselves of the opportunities they have to improve their political and moral condition. We would state that, on the St. Paul's river, the people have turned their attention to brick-making, and that upon a pretty large scale, and the farmers on this river are building themselves fine, comfortable, one and two-story brick houses, and furnishing the citizens of Monrovia with all the bricks they want for building purposes, and those of a very good quality.

The water in Liberia is very good, so much so that we did often speak of it. And we can say, that we did not drink of what we would call one glass of bad water during our stay.

We observed that, in every settlement we visited in Liberia, they have good schools; in the larger settlements, two or three, with competent teachers. They are all free schools, supported by benevolent societies in America. And we are happy to state to this Society, that those schools are well filled by the children of the colonists. Besides these every-day schools, there are Sabbath-schools taught in all the churches. We judge, therefore, that the children of the colonists in Liberia are educated with as little expense to their parents as in any other part of the world.

There is being built in Monrovia a seminary, in which the higher branches of education will be taught. This building will cost some seven or eight thousand dollars.

In most all of the settlements of Liberia, we found literary and benevolent institutions, intended for mutual edification and relief. At Monrovia alone they have some three or four. The settlements are also well supplied with churches. The Baptists and Methodists are the most popular, but, at the same time, Presbyterian and Episcopal churches are well attended.

Under all these favorable circumstances, you will naturally be led to inquire, What are the colonists doing, and what are their reasonable prospects?

We answer, that so far as we were eye-witnesses, they seem to be doing as all other people in the world do. Some are rich, some are doing well, and some are just able to get along in the world, others are poor, and there are those that beg.—Among the citizens of Liberia we find those who have farms under cultivation with their hands and the hands of coffee trees, &c., growing, yielding a bountiful reward to the hand of the diligent.—And in Liberia, we see the farms and lots of money (who complain of hard times and poverty) grown over with bushes, and not a single potato planted in them. In the

very countenance of some of the Liberians, we see industry and enterprise depicted; but with others we discover the reverse. And hence the varied condition of the inhabitants. But, upon the whole, we think that the colonists are doing a great deal better than they would have been doing, had they remained in America. And they are aware of that fact, for we saw but three or four in all Liberia who wish to return to America to remain. And for your satisfaction we will give the reason of each of those individuals, as stated to us by themselves. The first was, that the prices of milk and eggs were so high in Liberia, that she did not like the place. The second was, that he could get no work to do, (but took good care to do none,) when at the same time he owned a good lot, in which there was not a single thing growing but bushes and grass. The third said, two of her children were slaves in America, and it would be better for her to be there too. The fourth, she had always been used to living in a large city, and therefore she wanted to return.

So, from all we saw and heard while in Liberia, we can but say that the colonists are a contented and satisfied people; and farther, that, in our opinion, an exalted position among the nations of the earth awaits Liberia in the future; and that it is our judgment that it would be indeed to the advantage of the free people of color in the United States to emigrate to Liberia, where they may enjoy all the rights and privileges of freemen.

In relation to the natives, we are glad to state that friendly relations exist between them and the colonists. We saw many natives in the employ of the colonists; and we were informed that their usual wages are twenty-five cents per diem and board. The colonists have also many native boys and girls in their houses as domestic servants; and as such, they are said to be very apt and useful. We think the colonists who have those native boys and girls as servants, have a favorable opportunity of doing them much good, in teaching them our language, the habits of civilization, and the principles and doctrines of our holy religion; and thus qualifying them for missionaries to their respective tribes when returned. Whether or not the colonists in general avail themselves of this favorable opportunity of doing them good, is for the colonists, and not for us to say.

Signed, THOMAS FULLER, JR.

BENJAMIN JANIFER.

At sea, on board the Liberia Packet, December, 1851.

Table of Emigrants.

Showing the number of Emigrants sent to Liberia by the American Colonization Society and its Auxiliaries, from each State, in the several expeditions from 1820 to 1851, inclusive.

[illegible]

Emigration to Liberia.

TABLE OF EMIGRANTS—Continued.

No.	Names of vessels.	Date of sailing.	Massachusetts.	Rhode Island.	Connecticut.	New York.	New Jersey.	Pennsylvania.	Delaware.	Maryland.	Dist. Columbia.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.	Tennessee.	Kentucky.	Ohio.	Indiana.	Illinois.	Missouri.	Michigan.	Iowa.	Total number.
26	Ship Jupiter.....	November, 1832	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	37	.	146	22	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	38
27	Ship Hercules.....	December, 1832	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	144	.	1	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	168
28	Ship Lafayette.....	December, 1832	.	.	.	6	.	.	.	.	.	95	20	.	2	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	146
29	Ship Kanouke.....	December, 1832	.	.	.	6	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	127
30	Brig American.....	March.....1833	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	5	99	41	1	.	.	.	6
31	Brig Ajax.....	May.....1833	.	.	3	.	.	.	.	1	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	148
32	Sea. Margaret Mercer.....	.....1833	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	6
33	Ship Jupiter.....	November, 1833	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	12	37	50	.	5	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	52
34	Brig Argus.....	December, 1833	.	.	.	5	.	.	.	16	.	7	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	58
35	Ship Ninus.....	October...1834	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	110	1	.	.	.	.	69	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	127
36	Brig Rover.....	March.....1835	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	71
37	Ship Louisiana.....	March.....1835	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	9
38	Ship Indiana.....	June.....1835	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	62
39	Brig Independence...	December, 1835	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	80	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
40	Brig Luna.....	March.....1836	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	42	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	22
41	Schooner Swift.....	April.....1836	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	42
42	Brig Luna.....	July.....1836	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	65
43	Brig Roundout.....	December, 1836	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	10	69	23	.	.	.	.	.	34	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	34
44	Schooner Oriental.....	May.....1837	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	95	.	.	.	.	.	.	34	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	38
45	Ship Emperor.....	December, 1837	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	96
46	Sea. Charlotte Harper,	December, 1837	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4
47	Barque Marine.....	January...1838	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	72	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	22
48	Brig Mail.....	May.....1838	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	37
49	Ship Saluda.....	February...1839	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	13	.	.	2	.	37	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	17
50	Ship Saluda.....	August....1839	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	10	20	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	30
51	Ship Saluda.....	February...1840	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	60	30	.	.	3	.	.	.	12	.	5	.	.	.	.	110
52	Barque Hobart.....	September, 1840	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
53	Brig Rudolph Groning,	February...1841	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	30	.	.	.	.	.	.	10	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	40

Emigration to Liberia.

TABLE OF EMIGRANTS—Continued.

No.	Names of vessels.	Date of sailing.	Massachusetts.	Rhode Island.	Connecticut.	New York.	New Jersey.	Pennsylvania.	Delaware.	Maryland.	Dist. Columbia.	Virginia.	N. Carolina.	S. Carolina.	Georgia.	Alabama.	Mississippi.	Louisiana.	Tennessee.	Kentucky.	Ohio.	Indiana.	Illinois.	Missouri.	Michigan.	Iowa.	Total number.
54	Barque Union.....	May.....1841	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	20	20	.	.	.	.	.	.	40
55	Ship Saluda.....	October...1841	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	84	.	.	.	14	2	3	3	229
56	Ship Mariposa.....	June.....1842	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	16	10	14	.	5	.	81	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	19
57	Barque Globe.....	December.1842	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	18	.	3	.	.	77	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	80
58	Barque Renown.....	June.....1843	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5
59	Barque Latrobe.....	November.1843	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	5	.	.	.	.	91	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	91
60	Brig Lime Rock.....	March....1844	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	33	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	21	.	.	.	18	.	.	58
61	Ship Virginia.....	June.....1844	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	21
62	Brig Chipola.....	November.1844	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	166	13	1	.	.	.	.	.	25	34	2	.	.	.	.	.	187
63	Ship Ronoke.....	November.1845	.	.	7	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	61
64	Barque Rothschild....	January...1846	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	4	.	1	.	3	1	.	.	.	.	.	2
65	Barque Chatham.....	May.....1846	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	11
66	Sch. Mary Wilkes....	January...1847	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	25	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	3	.	.	.	26
67	Liberia Packet.....	December.1846	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13	24	1	.	.	23	35	37	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	40
68	Liberia Packet.....	September.1847	.	.	2	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	28	.	.	.	6	.	.	129
69	Barq. Nehemiah Rich.	January...1848	.	.	1	.	.	8	.	.	.	28	1	.	6	.	.	.	.	44	.	.	.	.	.	.	138
70	Brig Amazon.....	February..1848	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	134	4	.	45	54	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	99
71	Liberia Packet.....	April.....1848	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	31
72	Brig Col. Howard....	May.....1848	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	15	8	.	2	.	9	142	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	151
73	Liberia Packet.....	September.1848	.	.	4	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	55
74	Barque Laura.....	January...1849	.	.	.	3	.	3	.	.	1	46	2	.	.	.	2	.	.	19	.	.	.	.	.	.	21
75	Liberia Packet.....	February..1849	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14
76	Clintonia Wright....	April.....1849	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	50	131	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	135
77	Barque Humu.....	May.....1849	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	11	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	167
78	Liberia Packet.....	August....1849	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	2	.	65	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	14
79	Liberia Packet.....	January...1850	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	69	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	135
80	Barque Chieftain.....	February..1850	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	13	154	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	167
81	Sch. D. C. Foster....	March....1850	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	7	35	19	.	17	.	.	.	.	79

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

"*Article 1.* This Society shall be called 'The American Colonization Society.'

"*Art. 2.* The object to which its attention is to be exclusively directed is, to promote and execute a plan for colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government and such of the States as may adopt regulations on the subject.

"*Art. 3.* Every citizen of the United States who shall have paid to the funds of the Society the sum of one dollar, shall be a member of the Society for one year from the time of such payment. Any citizen who shall have paid the sum of thirty dollars, shall be a member for life. And any citizen paying the sum of one thousand dollars, shall be a Director for life. Foreigners may be made members by vote of the Society or of the Directors.

"*Art. 4.* The Society shall meet annually at Washington on the third Tuesday in January, and at such other times and places as they shall direct. At the annual meeting, a President and Vice Presidents shall be chosen, who shall perform the duties appropriate to those offices.

"*Art. 5.* There shall be a Board of Directors, composed of the Directors for life and of Delegates from the several State Societies and societies for the District of Columbia and Territories of the United States. Each of such societies shall be entitled to one Delegate for every five hundred dollars paid in to the treasury of this Society within the year previous to the annual meeting.

"*Art. 6.* The Board shall annually appoint a Secretary, a Treasurer, and an Executive Committee of seven persons; all of whom shall *ex officio*, be honorary members of the Board, having a right to be present at its meetings and to take part in the transaction of its business; but they shall not vote, except as provided in article 7.

"*Art. 7.* The Board of Directors shall meet annually in Washington, immediately after the annual meeting of the Society, and at such other times and places as it shall appoint, or at the request of the Executive Committee. Seven Directors shall form a quorum. But if, at any annual meeting, or meeting regularly called, a less number be in attendance, then five members of the Executive Committee, with such Directors, not less than four, as may be present, shall constitute a Board, and have competent authority to transact any business of the Society; provided, however, that the Board thus constituted shall carry no question unless the vote be unanimous.

"*Art. 8.* The Executive Committee shall meet according to its own appointment, or at the call of the Secretary. This Committee shall have discretionary power to transact the business of the Society, subject only to such limitations as are found in its charter, in this Constitution, and in the votes that have been passed, or may hereafter be passed, by the Board of Directors. The Secretary and Treasurer shall be members of the Committee *ex officio*, with the right to deliberate, but not to vote. The Committee is authorized to fill all vacancies in its own body; to appoint a Secretary or Treasurer whenever such offices are vacant; and to appoint and direct such agents as may be necessary for the service of the Society. At every annual meeting, the Committee shall report their doings to the Society, and to the Board of Directors.

"*Art. 9.* This Constitution may be amended, upon a proposition to that effect by any of the Societies represented in the Board of Directors, transmitted to the Secretary, and published in the official paper of the Society, three months before the annual meeting; provided such amendment receive the sanction of two-thirds of the Board at its next annual meeting.

OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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HON. HENRY CLAY

Secretary and Treasurer

REV. W. McLAIN.

Recording Secretary

J. W. LUGENBEL, M. D.

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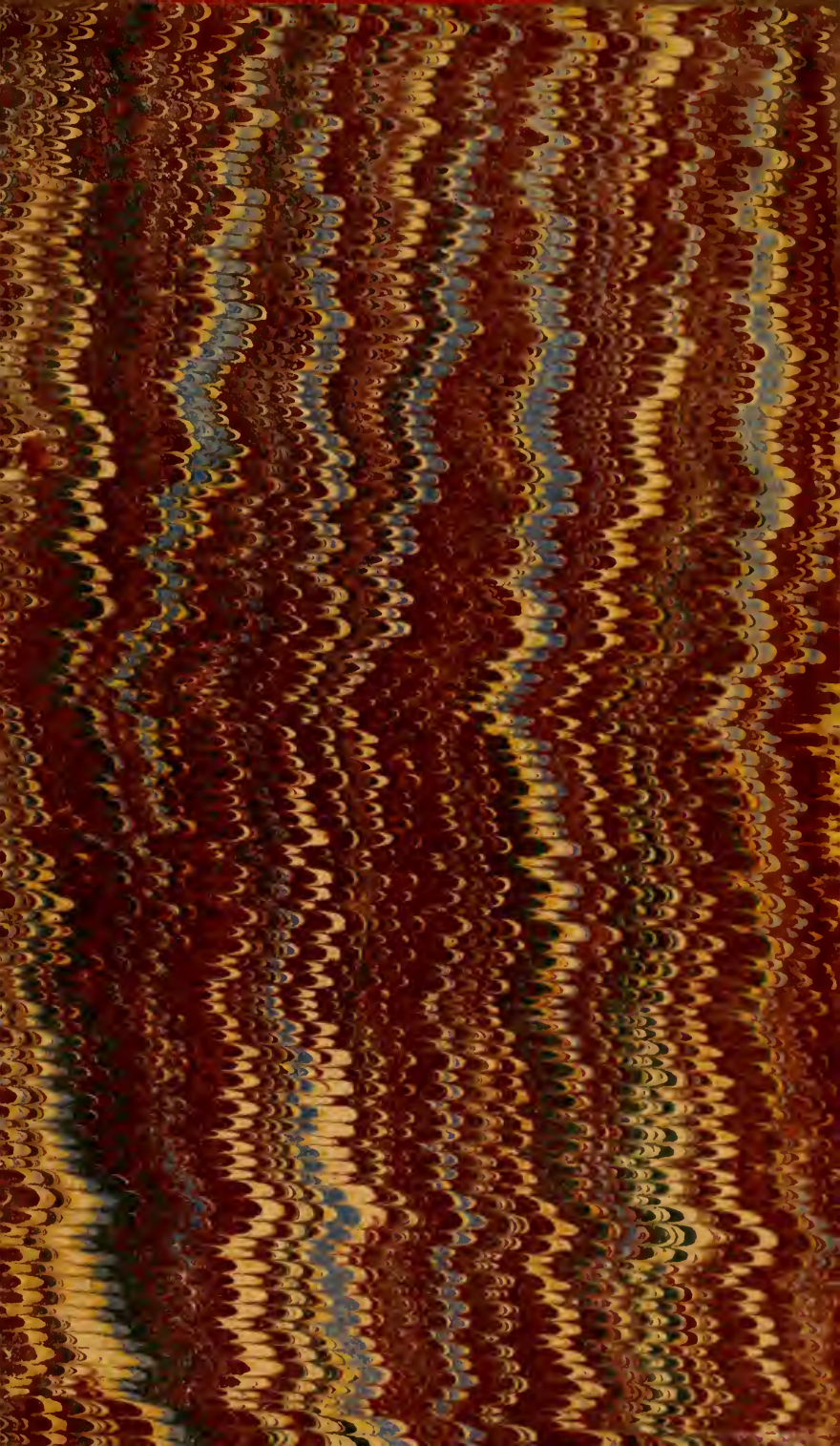
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